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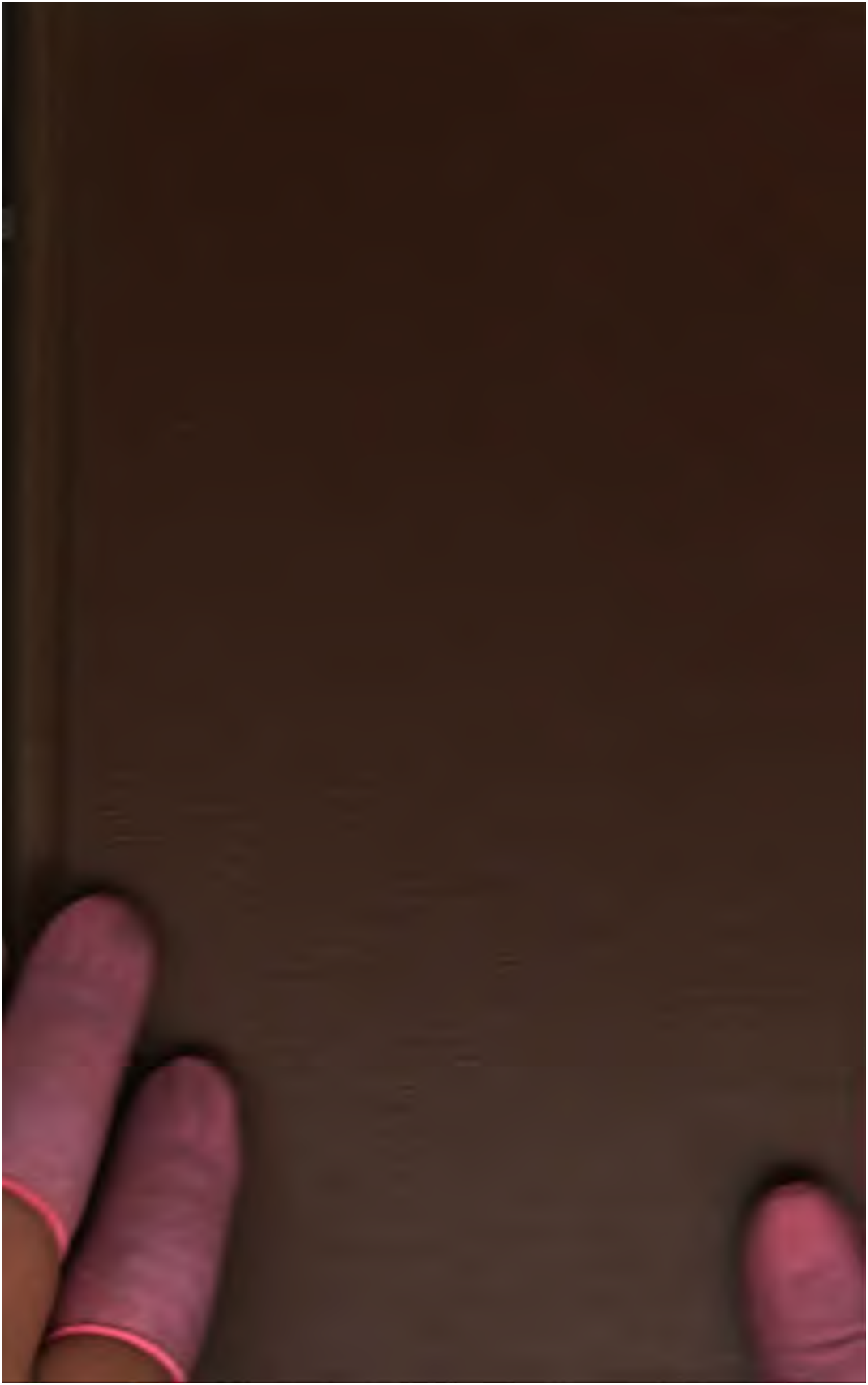

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OR

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FOR

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1824.

No. LXXXI.

ART. I. 1. *Reflections on the Nature and Tendency of the present Spirit of the Times.* By the Rev. G. BURGES. 8vo.

2. *A Comparative View of the Principles of the Court and the Country Parties in Modern Times.* 8vo. London, 1821.

3. *Le Roi est Mort—Vive le Roi!* Par le VICOMTE DE CHATEAUBRIAND. 8vo. Paris, 1824.

THERE is no better way of making any one sensible of his failings, than exhibiting the same failings in another person; and even nations, whose self-sufficiency and vanity far exceed that of individuals, may sometimes be prevailed upon to contemplate their own faults and prepared to correct them, by seeing their effects upon the people of other countries, when they would be too angry to listen to any reproofs of themselves. As there is, in the present age, a disposition, extremely prevalent with a party among us, to inculcate the most slavish maxims under the flimsy pretext of holding up loyalty, and recommending a sort of religious veneration for all establishments; and as there can be no doubt that the effect of their doctrines being generally received, if it is not the very object they have in view, would be to destroy the fundamental principles of the English constitution, it is fit that the people should, from time to time, be put on their guard against such wiles; and warned against suffering themselves gradually to adopt the language of despotic governments, and to substitute the feelings of servile flatterers, abjectly cringing before an arbitrary master, for the manly attachment to their country and its institutions, which becomes the citizens of a free state—subjects of a limited monarch, who is as much as themselves amenable to the law of the land. It is true, that the party we allude to may be thought to have come a century, or rather two centu-

ries too late—with their 'legitimacy,' their 'rightful sovereigns,' their 'chivalrous devotion to the crown,' their 'consecrated thrones and celestial altars.' There is no great fear, indeed, that such boyish tropes should ever usurp the place of that rational preference for limited monarchy, which has, upon the whole, cast the balance in its favour as against a commonwealth, chiefly because the latter is more likely to end in an absolute government. Yet the direct power, and the weight and influence of those who hold, and by their tools would propagate, the very worst opinions, is so great, from the stations they occupy in the country, and their places in the administration of its affairs, that their unceasing efforts in society, and through the press, cannot but be attended with some little success; and a tone of sycophancy towards mere Royalty is sometimes observable, which seems wholly at variance with the spirit of the age, The efforts of the High Church party, too, always the most bitter enemies of liberty, and indeed of all improvement, are steadily pointed in the same direction; because they justly believe that whatever tends to make the crown despotic, must lead to the extirpation of religious liberty, and the joint domination of priestcraft and kingcraft. It may therefore be worth while to show those whom the parties in question would fain seduce into the worship of despotism, how very creditable a figure its most pious adorers make in the eyes of reasonable men; and for the reason already given, as well as because this piety is far more fervent in France than elsewhere at the present moment, we may advantageously turn our eyes towards the lively emotions of religion and loyalty lately exhibited in the capital of that country.

Louis XVIII., though, as a private gentleman, he might have passed for a good humoured man, of some information and classical attainments, (nay even for a person of some talents, until he unwarily wrote a book), was certainly one of the least distinguished kings that ever sate on a throne. It is not that more insignificant princes have not reigned in ordinary times, but that he showed an eminent defect of all great qualities in trying emergencies. His emigration; his long life, or vegetation abroad previous to the sudden reverse of fortune which befel the French arms; his restoration by foreign force; his inglorious expulsion thereafter, when the mere sight of a great man's face, and the sound of his voice, drove all that was Bourbon instantaneously out of the country; his far more inglorious re-entry in the rear of the enemy's troops, by whom that country had been conquered and ravaged; his enduring the sceptre for years while the enemy's soldiers garrisoned his

territories; his later years passed in favouring all manner of attempts to defraud the people of the constitution to which he and his family pretended they owed their restoration —Such were the claims of the Monarch to the respect and the gratitude of Frenchmen; while the man was commended to their veneration by a life in which, for a considerable time past, the rational had nearly merged in the animal nature; and it was notorious that the state to which he was at last reduced by the most hopeless and shocking infirmities, rendered his death a release, in a degree exceeding almost any case ever before known. Over this prince—this individual—but above all this patient, whose deplorable condition was as well known as his advanced age, and about whose physical state, at least, the most loyal of devotees could not affect to raise a doubt—there have been chanted rhapsodies of lamentation and of love that would have appeared extravagant to all rational minds had Henry IV. been suddenly snatched from his people in the fulness of clemency and success, or Louis XIV. at the height of his splendour and his fortunes. 'Every one (says a journal) has learnt, with the utmost grief, 'the sad event which covers France with mourning.' This affliction was thus communicated to the soldiers of the garrison at Paris by their commandant, an officer, we will venture to say, not to be equalled in any army for steadiness of countenance, whatever may be said of him in other respects. 'Soldiers! his Majesty Louis XVIII. has just closed his *glorious* 'life. The King has ordered public prayers. It is his Majesty's, Charles the Xth's, intention that the troops should be 'present. Your standards, drums, and trumpets, are to be covered with black crape; the officers are to wear black crape 'on their arms, and on their swords, till further orders. Soldiers,' he added, *with a loud but tremulous voice*, 'after having 'given your tears for him, whom it has pleased God to take to 'himself, let us give our hearts, and our arms, and our blood, 'if necessary, for his Majesty Charles X. These words were 'answered by unanimous cries of "Vive le Roi!" "Vive 'Charles X.!" from the soldiers, of course, but whether with the 'loud and tremulous voice' or not, we have no means of ascertaining.

It is the custom, when a king of France dies, to show the body for some hours, as they do in Russia and elsewhere; a custom originating in the tricks so often practised or suspected within the walls of 'legitimate' palaces; and arising from the liability which their inhabitants have to go out of the world by other than natural deaths. Multitudes go to see, as a matter

of course, in a populous city, where there are always thousands of idly curious people. But even such an indifferent act as this must be turned into something tenderly sentimental, by the indefatigable chronicler of the court.

'An innumerable crowd came to-day to the Chateau *to be-*
'*stow a last look* on the coffin which contains *the King France*
'*has just lost.* More than sixty thousand persons came to of-
'fer this last homage; besides those who had cards, there
'were more than 1200 equipages in the Place du Carousel, and
'the adjacent parts. At three o'clock the multitude was ad-
'mitted. Not the smallest accident occurred.' It should seem, however, that the excess of grief was somewhat assuaged by the idea that the body yet remained in Paris. But the time was to arrive when even this consolation should be withdrawn; and who shall then presume to imagine the depth of woe into which the orphan people must be plunged! An ingenious device happily comes to their relief; by an opportune recourse to the constitutional fiction, by a sort of 'confounding of the persons,' a revival of the dead king is, as it were, operated. The manner in which these glad tidings are announced, must be allowed to be in admirable harmony with the subject matter.

'This day (September 23d) the capital will be widowed of its
'King, *who will not be restored to it, under new circumstances,*
(that is, in the shape of another and a different man) 'till
'Monday next. A funeral procession will advance this day
'through our walls, escorted by our tears; three days hence
'a Royal procession will return to us, saluted by the acclama-
'tions of our love. The immortal city will regain *immortal*
'*Royalty*—France and the Bourbons are imperishable.' Nor is it the least notable part of this happy receipt for the cure of loyal affliction, that the nostrum is one of universal application; for the dead King may be one of the Antonines, and succeeded (as indeed they were) by a Commodus; and yet he will revive in this successor, according to the cheering tenor of Royalist logic. It is another crumb of comfort afforded by the same rational system of legitimacy, and, with a kind consideration, afforded on the same day, that the appointment is announced of the Duke de Bordeaux, aged at least three years, perhaps four, to the Colonelcy of the Swiss Guards. How feelingly does this felicitous combination bring home to the thinking mind, the genius of '*immortal Royalty!*' How exquisitely fitting is it that foreign mercenaries, kept in spite of nature to overawe 'imperishable France,' should, in spite of nature, be commanded by an infant! Truly the 'Bourbons

' are imperishable,' if such things excite the gratitude of France.

Let us now hear the clamorous, the unruly grief of the organ of the Ultra party—the genuine lovers of Royalty for its own sake, and determined enemies of all popular rights. The overwhelming intelligence that an old man of seventy, who had never distinguished himself by any one act of his public or private life, had died, and was succeeded by an old man of sixty-eight who had distinguished himself as much, is thus communicated to an undone and sorrowing world.

' *The terrible catastrophe*, which the ardent wishes of a whole people hoped in vain to avert, has been this instant accomplished. The King has ceased to live! Another son of St Louis has ascended to heaven. Let us pray for him; *let us weep for ourselves*, for his whole life was lavished on us. His last words were for his family, for his people, for all his children. Grief interdicts us even the praises which gratitude would dictate on the tomb which opens, on the benefits accumulated upon France by the Monarch who has just been ravished from her love. We would praise the King—the Legislator, but words fail us—we can only lament the father.

' The agony endured long—Louis supported it as he had borne misfortune. Never did a Monarch, never did a man know better how to support the heavy burthen of age, adversity, of infirmities, of the Throne. He has quitted the earth for ever; but not a French heart will forget that he restored peace to our fields, children to our mothers, liberty to our laws, and, more recently still, glory to our standards. O Louis! thy last moments might be softened by the reflection, that nothing more remained to be done for our France, for ever secured under the immortal sceptre of the Bourbons.

' The night conceals from us as yet the aspect of this afflicted capital. We pray, we weep, in the secrecy of our hearts. To-morrow our temples will be opened. *Let us go thither, Frenchmen, to derive strength to support the immense loss we have suffered.* Let us go to pray for the precious days of the King, who does not die, and who is restored for the consolation of France in the person of a magnanimous heir.

' *King Louis XVIII. is dead, Live King Charles X.!*'

We trust no one can for a moment suspect us of believing that there is a word of truth in this most base piece of folly and sycophancy, excepting the single statement, that ' the King has ceased to live.' That the whole, or any part of the French people, wished ardently, or at all, to avert the terrible catastrophe, is as contrary to the notorious fact, as that his last words were for his people, or that his exploits had left nothing to do for France. The contempt of fact, however, is not more remarkable than that of reason—the people are urged to pray for the King's life—why? Because ' he does not die.'

It was to be expected that, upon this occasion, calling for all the efforts of the undertaker's art in all its branches, M. de Chateaubriand, one of the chosen priests of Libitina, should step forth, tired in the most gorgeous livery of woe; not that we would be understood to confine his genius to funerals, when we remember how great he also is in the matter of christenings. Indeed, it is rather from a recollection of his extraordinary skill in this last department, that we are led to form a high estimate of the refinements to be expected upon the present occasion. He who provided water from the river Jordan to baptize the young Napoleon withal, must surely have some cedar deal from Lebanon, if not a rafter of Solomon's Temple, to make a coffin for 'the King who saved France' from Napoleons, old and young. Let us not harbour a doubt on this subject; but in the mean time, and before the funeral can be got ready—before the Royal remains can be prepared for interment—nay, before any steps can be taken for the purpose, out comes a pamphlet by this celebrated artist, in less than twenty-four hours after the King's decease. The title is—'*Le 'Roi est Mort, Vive le Roi!*'—which must not be translated, '*The King is dead, Huzza!*'—but rather, we suppose, according to the Irish anecdote of one in a branch of business somewhat akin to M. Chateaubriand's—'*The King is dead, long life 'to him!*' The opening of this Tract is of a piece with the title.

'The King is dead! Day of terror! when this cry was heard the last time in Paris thirty years ago.—The King is dead. Is the Monarchy to be broken up? Is divine vengeance again ready to fall on France? Whither can we fly? Where hide ourselves from terror and anarchy? *Weep, Frenchmen, you have lost the King who saved you*—the King who restored you peace—*the King who made you free!* but do not tremble for your fate. The King is dead, but the King lives! THE KING IS DEAD—LONG LIVE THE KING!'

It required all the firmness of countenance which the habits of a court acting upon a happy natural constitution can bestow, to call Louis XVIII. the King who saved and liberated France; but the following passage very greatly excels the one now cited, rich as that is in the beauties of Royalism.

'The first service which the inheritor of the *fleur de lis* performed for his country, *was to get rid of the European invasion.* The capital of France was *never conquered* under the legitimate race. Bonaparte had conducted foreigners to Paris with his sword. Louis the 18th sent them away with his sceptre. A whole nation yet animated, yet intoxicated with the glory of arms, saw with surprise an old Frenchman come and place himself naturally at its head, like a father who returns to his family after a long absence, and never supposes that any body can contest his authority.'

Each assertion here is a glaring misrepresentation of a known fact. It was to place this man and his family on the throne that foreign armies invaded France, and brought the King and the other Bourbons in their baggage-waggons, the battle having been wholly fought for them by others. The foreign armies remained in the country for years. The father who came so naturally to place himself on the throne, was forced upon the people by foreign bayonets. And as for Paris never having been occupied by foreigners 'under the legitimate race,' we presume that Charles VI. was nearly as legitimate as Charles X.; and we never yet heard it denied, that his imbecility, and the quarrels of his equally legitimate kinsmen the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, one of whom murdered the other immediately after taking the sacrament in pledge of his sincere reconcilement, and in token, we presume, of the union between the throne and the altar, were the causes of the kingdom, capital and all, being conquered by Henry V., a prince who was very far from being as legitimate as themselves. The assertion, that freedom is the gift of the late King, is, however, the one which occurs most frequently, and is the most wide of the truth. Can any reader observe, without amazement, this author, a week or two after he had filled the shops and stalls of Paris with invectives against the last act of Louis's life, the abolition of the liberty of the press, now describing him as 'the Sovereign who established liberty on the ruins of revolution,' —the man who 'secured us independence abroad after having given us liberty at home,'—'who, being at liberty to grant nothing on his return to France, gave us liberty for misfortune'—nay, actually assert, 'that the French are one of the freest people on earth?'

In the midst of all these courtly mistatements, it is refreshing to find a single thing that wears the appearance of a fact. After describing the malady that seized Louis's lower extremities, in consequence of the cold to which he was exposed in flying before the French armies, our author very justly observes, that 'his disease was partly the work' of the French. In truth it was wholly owing to them and the frost together; and we marvel it should never have occurred to him that this allusion brings naturally to mind another fact, namely, that the whole French people, with the exception of some few hundreds, in those days, were determined enemies of every thing like a Bourbon. Possibly the hundreds may now be changed into thousands, if even that is not too great an allowance, as far as regards free choice and a predilection for the family. A desire to escape the repetition of the scenes through which France has passed during the last thirty years, no doubt,

keeps them quiet under a Bourbon, as it would under any other existing sovereign; but to secure any thing like a firm footing in the esteem of the people, must be the work of time and of a wise and liberal policy. Far otherwise thinks, at least writes, the Courtier, whose pages are before us. No exaggeration is too gross for his palate; and he construes the effects of vulgar curiosity in bringing together the multitude, into symptoms of real affliction for the King's decease. But first, he lays it down, that the characteristic of the Bourbons is to make finer ends than any other family in the known world; which makes it the more singular, that during the wars so long carried on for their individual benefit, they showed but little disposition to do what they so much excelled in.

'For a long time it has been the lot of the bravest people to have at their head a race of kings, who die the best. From the example of history, we shall be authorized to say proverbially, "Die like a Bourbon," to signify every thing magnanimous displayed by a man in his last hour. Louis XVIII. did not depart from this family intrepidity. After receiving the Holy Viaticum in the middle of his court, the eldest son of the Church blessed, with a trembling hand, but with a serene countenance, the brother once more summoned to a deathbed—the nephew, whom he called the son of his choice—the niece, twice an orphan, and the widow twice a mother.'

The nonsense of this is its principal recommendation; But, suppose the author should screw up his nerves to assert, that while Louis was ill, the people were eagerly reading the bulletins to descry some ray of hope,—that they were all dissolved in tears,—that they crowded near the palace, but spoke in whispers, lest they might disturb the patient,—that, in the excess of their sorrow, they had recourse to religion for consolation, and filled the churches to seek that assistance from above, without which they could not bear their load of grief—should we not then pronounce, that, of a truth, there is nothing so degrading, so debasing to human nature, as the spirit of pure monarchy, toryism, ultra-monarchy, call it what you will,—that spirit which bows to kings as such, regards them as the objects for whose benefit power is established, not the depositaries of authority in trust for the people, and venerates them as the end of political institution, instead of respecting them as the means? Incredible as it may seem, M. de Chateaubriand has actually brought himself to paint in these colours the state of the Parisians, at a time when it must have been almost physically impossible that any one tear should be shed for the dying King, or any heart beat, except through idle curiosity, to know whether the event had taken place which was to number with the dead an old man who had been dying for months. He has literally described the people, not merely as if they were suffering under

the momentary expectation of some great public calamity, but as if each individual were in a state of personal affliction; and his sketch of their state of mind would perhaps be reckoned somewhat extravagant, certainly fully adequate to the occasion if a sudden pestilence had broken out, and carried off the favourite member of each family in Paris.

'The people, however, displayed *unequivocal signs of their sorrow.* Essentially monarchical and Christian when they are left to themselves, they surrounded the palace *and filled the churches*; they gathered the least news with avidity, read and commented on the bulletins *seeking in them some rays of hope.* Nothing could be more affecting than that multitude who spoke in whispers about the Tuileries. *Fearing to disturb the august patient*, the dying king was watched over and guarded by his people. Often forgotten in prosperity, but *always invoked in adversity*, religion increased the respect and the tenderness, by its prayers and its solicitations. It chanted before the image of the living God that Canticle of Ezekiel which French genius has adopted from the inspiration of Holy Writ, that *Domine, salvum fac Regem*, which our love to our king has rendered so popular. *Tears ran down every face*, when the different bodies of magistrates passed on foot, going to Notre Dame, in order to implore Heaven for him from whom all justice in France emanates. It was remarked particularly, that at the head of the Chief Court was that illustrious old man, who, after having defended the life of Louis XVI. before the tribunal of man, was going now to ask the life of Louis XVIII. of a Judge who has never condemned the innocent. This Sovereign Judge, in calling to the place of repose our suffering King, *fatigued and satiated with life*, is preparing to pronounce on him a sentence of deliverance, and not of condemnation.'

Having, in the close of this inimitable passage, taken upon himself to disclose Louis's treatment after death, in a manner which would be reckoned impious in any but a friend of the 'throne and altar,' we are surprised to find the author revert to the very subordinate consideration of the funeral. 'Soon 'he will be placed in those subterraneous abodes, the solitude 'of which his piety has begun to repeople.' The reader is at first puzzled—nay, possibly he may feel alarmed—at so equivocal a panegyrick upon a deceased king, as that he was going where he had sent so many before him; but it turns out that this is only one of the feats performed by that extremely bad taste too prevalent among modern French writers, but of which M. Chateaubriand may be allowed to be the most eminent example, and which absolutely prohibits the saying any thing, however plain or insignificant, in a simple, intelligible manner. Without some explanation, the sense of the passage could

really not have been discovered by the common run of guessers of riddles. The author therefore adds a solution; it makes his meaning barely intelligible, but in a form of speech infinitely conceited and ridiculous. 'Soon he will be placed in those 'subterraneous abodes, the solitude of which his piety has be-'gun to repeople. When he arrived in France, he found the 'tomb of the Kings deserted, and their throne vacant; restorer 'of all our legitimacies, he has given, *by a brotherly division*, 'the former to Louis XVI., and he leaves the latter to Charles 'X.' Fired by the sound, &c. No sooner has he named this name, now become so very interesting, than he bursts forth into an unmeasured praise of the new King, the best comfort for the loss of the old one; and finding in him all imaginable good qualities (except those of a warrior, which, with a most discreet recollection of the history of the war, he wholly passes over), he calls upon his countrymen to 'bless a tutelary here-'ditary succession,' to which is owing the certainty of another king being always ready as soon as one dies, or, as this author is pleased to phrase it, 'Legitimacy brings forth her new king '*without pain.*' Really, on reading this, we are tempted to think that the Noble Viscount's memory is as tenacious, and his feelings about as acute, as those of a set of church-bells, which (like himself), upon royal demises, ring alternately a mournful and a merry peal; for he who now denies that there is, or can be any pain attendant upon a change of kings, had, only the moment before, been dissolved in such cruel woe as only the comforts of the Church could assuage, and they but very imperfectly.

The burthen of his song to Charles X. is an urgent exhortation that he would be crowned at Rheims, according to the ancient customs of the monarchy. To this operation, and every part of it, our author attaches the utmost importance. He dwells upon select portions of it with enthusiasm; and fondly runs over the names of the Royal Family who are to take part in it, lauding them all with equal devotion, down to the poor infant, the Duke of Bordeaux, whom he calls the '*Child of* '*Europe*'—'*the new Henry*'—that is, he has already discovered in him a second Henry IV. But there must positively be a coronation; all the kings of the third race have been crowned except Louis XVII. and Louis XVIII., and a certain John I. who died before he had time for the ceremony. Not only must there be a coronation, but it must be at Rheims; for there, says he, all these monarchs, except Henry IV., were crowned. With great submission to M. Chateaubriand, there was another exception, Louis the Fat (we do not mean the late King,

but Louis-le-Gros), who was anointed at Orleans. To encourage His Most Christian Majesty, the saying of a certain Archbishop Aldaberon, is cited to Hugh Capet, 'the founder of the race.' Our author does not add how he came to be its founder—because that would have shown that the third race came in upon what we should in England call revolution principles, the Carlovingians having been set aside by the peers and the people. He recites with much complacency the prayer and the promises made at the coronation, omitting one which he says was introduced in the thirteenth century, and is not in harmony with present customs. This promise, however, we must remind M. Chateaubriand, is nearly of the age of St Louis, the best times of Royalism; and what right he, on his principles, can have to discard it, we cannot comprehend. He will not even tell his readers what it is. We take the liberty therefore to subjoin it; nor shall we, as good believers in things established, which have the experience of six centuries in their favour, and especially which concern the union of the 'throne and altar,' be satisfied with its omission at Rheims. 'Also I will seriously endeavour to extirpate all Hereticks, so branded by the 'Church, out of my land, and the government subject to me.' It seems a part of the ancient ceremony is letting fly birds into the church. Our author exclaims upon this—'a simple 'symbol of the liberty of the French.' However, it is positively laid down in the ceremonial, that they are let fly from the lobby into the church. Our author can only make this a symbol of deliverance by an addition of his own—namely, that the church doors are at the same time thrown open. We rather wonder that he has left out the most singular part of the whole proceeding, and upon which his predecessors have dwelt with the greatest fondness,—we mean the touching for the King's evil. M. Menin, councillor to the Parliament of Metz, has written a learned work upon the subject of French coronations. As he published it during the Regency, he magnifies Louis XV. much, but the Duke of Orleans more. The former, being fully five years of age, is exceedingly praised for 'the religion, piety, 'love to the memory of the deceased King, and affection to his 'people, shown in his Lettre de Cachet to the Parliament of 'Paris, dictated by wisdom itself.' But the government of the Regent is pronounced to be 'a perfect one,' and the choice of him 'a certain presage of happiness to the publick;' although the work is written as late as 1722, when the regency had drawn to a close. M. Chateaubriand himself, could hardly go beyond this. We therefore marvel the more, that from the book of so congenial a spirit, he did not take the leaf respecting the evil;

he has indeed omitted the very highest attribute of Royalty. Hasten we, therefore, to supply the deficiency in the words of his learned predecessor. 'The third day after the coronation, 'our Kings, *whose piety does not in the least degenerate*, are ac- 'customed to go, according to an ancient usage, from Rheims 'to Cartigny, to visit the church of St Marcoul, and there to 'touch those that are afflicted with the King's evil, who always 'appear in that place in great numbers on such an occasion.' 'This miraculous power of the Kings of France,' adds the learned and enlightened Councillor of Metz, 'to cure by their touch 'a malady almost incurable by human remedies, is a gift of 'Heaven that has no cause but the will of the Almighty, ex- 'pressing thus, by sensible wonders, his extraordinary love for 'the eldest sons of his Church, and giving them the admira- 'tion and respect of all nations of the universe, above all the 'Kings of the world.' He then gives an account of the first cure by Clovis, who received the gift in return for his conversion to Christianity, and tried it with success on his favourite. But lest it should be thought that the gift is obsolete, and that therefore M. Chateaubriand was entitled to pass over it, we must add the Councillor's gratifying testimony to the supernatural powers of the Third Race. 'It is observed that these cures 'have been more frequent under the third race of our Kings, 'than under the two former, whether it be that the Kings of 'the third line excelled the rest in piety and righteousness, or 'that the distemper is now more universal.'

According to M. Chateaubriand, and indeed the whole school of '*Church and King*,' which allows of no improvement, nor values any thing excepting in proportion as it has antiquity on its side, 'our present constitution is only the renovated text of our old franchises.' We therefore presume, that it is by a mere oversight that he omits another part of the ancient coronation ceremony—the opening all the prison-doors of the sacred and kingly city of Rheims. 'This operates,' says M. Menin, 'as a general pardon to delinquents, whatever they be;' he terms it an 'act of clemency worthy of the majesty and power of our Kings;' and affirms it to be a 'custom of equal antiquity with the monarchy itself.' It is wonderful with what delight this learned and loyal person dwells upon the usage at Henry II.'s coronation; he says, 445 were released, 'among whom were murderers, robbers, coiners, and others,'—(no mention is made of any persons confined for sedition or heresy.) This privilege of the prisons at Rheims is of course well known; and M. Menin says, that 'for some days before the coronation, an infinite number of criminals never fail to get into them.' At

Louis XIV.'s coronation, about 10,000 were discharged by this royal road to freedom—this legitimate gaol delivery. At the next coronation, however, in 1722, there appears to have been a sad falling off in 'the power and clemency of the third race;' only 600 were set at liberty, and an inquiry seems to have been made into their cases. The origin of this truly rational and expedient practice, he traces to remote antiquity. Saul signalized his success over the King of the Ammonites, by pardoning, says he, all capital offenders. The fact is, that Saul's example is much more worthy of imitation; for the pardon he gave in honour of his victory, was to those who had taken part in the war against himself. (1 Sam. 11.) The precedent of the Roman Emperors is also cited; and no doubt legitimacy may derive much support from that quarter. * We cannot, however, help thinking that the flight of the birds, which M. Chateaubriand is so greatly comforted with, bears reference to the clearing of the gaols, though good Catholicks may possibly object to one part of the allegory. The prisoners, when let loose from their cage, took refuge in the church.

We have already noticed the risk which a writer upon the Liberal side would run, were he to make as free with sacred subjects as the Legitimates. M. Chateaubriand's conclusion is a further illustration of the remark, and must be allowed to be in his highest strain of exaggeration. He is never satisfied if he cannot deify the objects of his flattery, be they Bourbons or Buonapartes; and as the young Napoleon's birth was likened to the coming of the Messiah, the death of Louis XVI. must be compared, in plain terms, to the Crucifixion. †

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* The reader cannot have failed to remark the similarity of the language and topics of the Royalist school in all ages. M. Menin, only that he is more learned, and writes more plainly and far better, is in spirit the Chateaubriand of the pure and virtuous Regency—of which he chants the praises, without the candour of another of its panegyrists, (in the *Vie Prince de Louis XV.*), who says, that it must be admitted to have had two faults; and when we look attentively to them, they turn out to be total want of publick faith, and a gross private immorality.

† We fear it must be admitted, that our own High Church Divines furnished the example of these comparisons, so offensive to all who have any real feelings of a religious nature, or even any sense of common propriety, and so well suited to men whose only principle is base subserviency, and whose idols are the powers that be. The following passage is taken from a sermon preached before Charles II. by the Bishop of Down. 'The person now murdered (Charles I.) was not the Lord of Glory, but a glorious Lord,

'Charles X., after having received his power from the hands of religion, would appear still more august in quitting, consecrated by the holy unction, those fountains where Clovis was regenerated. It is of immense consequence for our country, under its present circumstances, that a King tranquilly dying in the midst of his subjects, transmits his heritage to his successor. The latest event of this kind was fifty years ago, for Louis XVI. cannot be included. The holo-

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'—Christ's own Vicar, his Lieutenant and Vicegerent here on 'earth, and therefore by all laws, divine and human, he was pri-'vileged from any punishment which could be inflicted by men. 'Albeit he was an inferior to Christ, as man is to God, yet was his '*privilege of inviolability far more clear than was Christ's;* for Christ 'was not a temporal prince; his kingdom was not of this world; 'and therefore, when he vouchsafed to come into this world and to 'become the son of man, he did subject himself to the law; but our 'gracious Sovereign was well known to be a temporal prince, a free 'monarch, and their undoubted sovereign, to whom they did all owe 'and had sworn allegiance. The Parliament is the great council, 'and hath acted all and more against their Lord and Sovereign than 'the other did against Christ: *the proceedings against our Sovereign 'were more illegal, and in many things more cruel.* The true religion 'delivered unto us in Scripture, and professed in the true ancient 'and Catholic church, doth teach us to honour and obey the king, 'as God's minister set over us; and that the *injuries of kings, though 'ever so great,* are to be endured by their subjects, who have no 'other remedy, and are to use no other arms against their king, than 'to pray unto God *for him,* who hath the hearts of kings in his hand, 'and may turn them when he thinks fit.' These impieties were extremely common in the pulpits of the High Church down to the end of Queen Anne's reign. Indeed they derived some countenance from the Liturgy of the Church of England, which denominates Charles, 'the Blessed'—and 'the Blessed Martyr' of God—compares his conduct to that of Christ; ascribes his preservation in the oak to a miracle. Nor was this tone of slavish loyalty, and we may say blasphemy, confined to the clergy. 'From the creation' (says General Wigley, in a letter to Ormond) 'to the accursed day of this 'damnable murther, nothing parallel to it was ever heard of. Even 'the crucifying our Blessed Saviour, if we consider him only in his 'human nature, *did nothing equal this,* his kingdom not being of 'this world; and he, though unjustly condemned, yet judged at a 'lawful tribunal.' No man can deny the consistency, at least, of these Tories or Ultras—the worshippers of pure Legitimacy. Had they lived in the time of Herod and Pontius Pilate, it is plain that they would have acquiesced most loyally in all the proceedings of the government; have prayed for the former when he massacred the innocents, and bowed to the sentence which put Jesus to death.

caust of the martyred King had no funeral pomp, and was followed by no coronation; the new reign did not begin at the foot of the altar, and there was then in France some part of that darkness which covered Jerusalem at the death of the just. May God grant to Louis XVIII. the immortal crown of Saint Louis! May God bless on the head of Charles X. the mortal crown of Saint Louis!—The King is dead. Long live the King!'

We have seen the grief of the French at its height, or rather the description given by the Royalist faction, of a grief which never existed among that enlightened people. An equally extravagant account is given of their unbounded joy the moment after, and with absurdities nearly equal, and inconsistencies somewhat greater. When Charles X. enters Paris after the funeral, he is met at the gate by the Prefect, who would fain reconcile the necessary contradictions of deep sorrow for the best of kings, who, according to the worthy magistrate and M. Chateaubriand, had left nothing to be done for his subjects, or wished by them; and ecstacies of delight at the succession of a king better than the best, who in a trice has changed the face of affairs, and by a kind of *plusquam-perfecting* operation, greatly improved upon perfection.

"Sire—The aspect of your Majesty comes to dissipate the funeral veil which covers these walls. *This immense population wept for their father*, to-day they recover their King—*and, as in times past, they have wholly surmounted their grief.* Beloved Sovereign, you will see them faithful and unanimous, manifesting their joy. You have reigned for *some days*, Sire, and the dignity of the Royal Family is *already extended.* The great thought of the State fortifies itself even in the centre; repeated acts of clemency and goodness signalize the happy commencement of your reign. Enjoy, Sire, your first benefits; enjoy the scene offered to your view. *Confidence has entered the heart;* credit is extending; *every thing takes a new life:* and opinions are united, mingled in one sentiment of hope and love, as on the ever memorable day when the Capital received you, Sire, and carried you to the Palace of your ancestors.'—'Our ancient *monuments seem to pride themselves* in adding another king to the ancient dynasty which founded them, to the long list of the kings your ancestors, all of whom were pleased to embellish and to promote the prosperity of their capital. Proud of being the cradle of the most noble and *most glorious family of the universe*,—proud of possessing its new King, Paris may aspire to the character of Queen of Cities, by its magnificence, as its people will be before all others in their fidelity, their devotedness, and their love. Accept, Sire, these keys, the marks of its submission and its respect; allow us to lay them at your Majesty's feet, as we there lay the homage of the *transports and of the unanimous sentiments* of this immense multitude, who have hastened forth to see their King. Vive le Roi!'

We will not say that the worthy magistrate is outdone, for that would require a miracle, but he is equalled, by the most reverend prelate, who 'takes up the wondrous tale' when the eldest Son of the Church arrives at Notre Dame. Like the Prefect, the Archbishop is somewhat troubled with the suddenness of the transition from unutterable woe to inexpressible rapture; but his Grace's theory seems (if we rightly follow it) to be, that the joy was there all the while, but only impeded in finding a vent, by the tears through which it had, as it were, to bubble up; in the course of which operation it was itself condensed, and formed a substance of which the vulgar name is tears of joy. We cannot help viewing this doctrine, however ingenious, as savouring more of the profane learning of the age, than becomes the 'first pastor of the Most Christian King,' —as a kind of tribute to modern improvements unworthy of a supporter of the venerable obscurity of Legitimacy,—a great pillar of darkness, like the high priest of the Gallican church. The doctrine with which his Grace is, or ought to be familiar, might have reminded him, that the transmutation of fluids is with his craft an every-day operation, and suggested, that one kind of tears could with ease be changed into another. There is nothing in the reverend prelate's address more remarkable than his ready assumption, that, up to the moment of its delivery, nothing whatever had been done for religion, even by Louis XVIII. 'the restorer of all legitimacies,' whose piety they had been just extolling, and whose immediate and certain salvation M. Chateaubriand had ten days before announced, with a further prayer for his accession to the immortal crown of Saint Louis.

'SIRE,—*All hearts* hasten before the King at his return to his capital; grief and respect *can no longer* restrain the joy and the transports of your people. Tears give place to other tears, and acclamations succeed to deepest silence. Sire, it is love which weeps, and it is love which now rejoices. Before mounting to the palace of your fathers—before there taking that repose which will also be ours—your Majesty *comes this day*, in the most splendid manner, *to raise religion, beaten down* by the same blow which struck his Most Christian Majesty. It is your will, Sire, that it should be the first to receive that consolation which you bring to all. May it bless you! Enter into its sanctuary—come and give it your Royal hand—and receive from *its faithful mouth* the promise of *its Divine gratitude*. For us, Sire, who are its ministers and your subjects, we beg of you, Sire, on the threshold of this temple, to receive with favour the respect and the vows which I, at this moment, am so happy and so honoured in offering to your Majesty, of your First Pastor.'

We suspect, that if his Most Christian Majesty does not make haste to heap favours on the Church, 'its Divine grati-

tude' will be withholden, and 'its faithful mouth' may prove clamorous. The Archbishop seems, warily enough, to make the promise of love somewhat conditional; he plainly expects more from him than had been bestowed by his brother; and adds, in a strain of fervour, pretty distinctly intimating the presence in his mind of 'that lively sense of favours to come,' in which peculiarly consists the gratitude of those who

> Adore their Maker, and respect their God;
> And wait, good men, all earthly things forgot,
> In humble hope of Enoch's happy lot.

—that they will not fail to remind him of his duties on another occasion, which, like M. Chateaubriand, they doubtless are longing for—part of the ceremony being a truly Royalist and Clerical lecture, administered to the Sovereign the moment before the enthronization, for the purpose of showing him that his title, which till then had been from pure hereditary right, is now something higher, coming from Divine authority, and conveyed through the bishops; and for the further purpose of reminding him what duty he owes them in return. 'Stand fast,' says the Archbishop, 'and keep from henceforth the station 'which thou hast preserved hitherto by paternal succession, 'as it has been conveyed down to thee by hereditary right, 'through the authority of Almighty God *and our present de-* '*livery of it*; namely, that of all the bishops and the other ser- 'vants of God; and by how much the nearer to the holy altars 'thou viewest the clergy, by so much the greater honour thou 'shouldst remember to confer upon them in the places that are 'suitable to them.' And, to do them justice, they were never very nice in France, but would *suit* themselves with any place, civil as well as ecclesiastical, however high or lucrative, including that of prime minister.

Thus far the constituted authorities. The Journals, as on the lugubrious, so on the festive occasion, bear their full share in the noise. The novelty of his Majesty being seen upon a horse, seems chiefly to have edified them, and, next to that, the astonishing fact, that he actually could ride in the rain. 'Arrived at Porte Maillot, his Majesty mounted his horse, notwithstanding the heavy rain.' The heavens indeed seemed propitious to the display of this qualification, for 'the rain began again when the King left Notre Dame.' This horsemanship forthwith turns out to be a very material part of the case; on it is grounded no less than a comparison of the King with Henry IV.'s statue, and from thence, if we rightly follow the argument, an identification of his Majesty with that famous monarch himself. 'On the return from Notre Dame, the procession

'passed before the statue of Henry IV. The King, *like the* 'representation of Henry, was on horseback, and returning to 'his capital. The cry of "*Vive Henry IV.!*" resounded in 'every direction, and was accompanied with that of "Vive 'Charles X.!" The raptures of the people (that is, of the writer and his servile employers) now wax greater and greater.

'The enthusiasm inspired by his presence it is impossible to describe. On every side nothing was heard but shouts of "Long live the King!"—"Long live Charles X.!"—"Long live the Dauphin!"—"Long live the Bourbons!" The Monarch evinced the pleasure he experienced by the affable manner in which he saluted his people. His Majesty deigned to receive, himself, with the most gracious condescension, more than four hundred petitions which were presented to him. The King often spoke to the Officers, and *even to the National Guard.* The *ecstacy* of the whole population was at its height. This was a holiday—a day of general happiness—*destined to be for ever memorable in our annals.*'

But wisely judging that, in order to touch the heart, you must come from generals to an individual case, an 'affecting anecdote' quickly succeeds these fervours, and gives a pathetic turn to the intoxication of joy into which the multitude had been thrown; so that just as it is approaching to a phrenzy, it is mercifully relieved by copious floods of tears. A young woman, it seems, approached with a petition, and appeared to be weeping. "Allow," exclaimed he, with an air 'of kindness *so common to the Bourbons*, "allow her to ap-"proach;" and the Monarch himself extended his hand to the 'young woman, who threw herself at his feet. His Majesty 'took her petition, thanking her at the same time as if she had 'done him a service. "I am much obliged to you, my child," '(*bien obligé, mon infant*), said the King. Never did a sove-'reign return thanks in a more impressive manner. The peo-'ple, affected even to tears by *this action*, no longer kept with-'in bounds; their enthusiasm was at its height; with the great-'est possible difficulty was the crowd prevented from pressing 'in upon his Majesty, who was then accompanied with univer-'sal acclamation to the Tuileries.'

It is hardly necessary to add, that, in the rear of the Journalists, but far outdoing them in the vehemence of his whining flattery, comes again M. de Chateaubriand with a second pamphlet, to salute the first act of the new reign; and one which deserved a much more respectable and manly eulogist, the wise edict removing the censorship. Almost before his last Tract had been forgotten, that is, within about a week from its appearance, and on the day, or day but one, after the event it celebrates, comes forth within a little month, the third of these truly ephe-

meral works—ephemeral in a double sense, for they are written one day and read another. There is one advantage in the removal of the censorship which seems chiefly to delight him; and, like all his fine things, it is distinguished by being extremely unnatural and far-fetched, and by being closely allied to mean and time-serving sentiments. 'We can now' (says he, with exultation) 'praise our Princes without any restric-'tion—we may declare our thoughts without its being said that 'this declaration is dictated by the Police.' He is only afraid, it seems, lest his extravagant flattery should be palliated by the excuse that the rigours of the police had extorted, or at least heightened it. He is under no apprehensions of the ignominy with which he must be covered if it should be supposed voluntary. But he assumes, gratuitously enough, that its sincerity follows as a matter of course, from its being uttered without compulsion; whereas the falsest tongues that wag are those of volunteer sycophants; and indeed it is to them only that insincerity can with justice be imputed. 'It is necessary,' says he, 'that 'Europe should know that everything is true in the sentiments 'of the French; that opinions are unanimous; that opposition 'meets at the foot of the throne to support and bless it.' All this goes on smoothly enough, till Louis XVIII., whom he had the week before exalted to the skies, comes across him; and as he is now engaged in magnifying Charles X. for beginning his reign by undoing the last act of Louis, the difficulty was really somewhat perplexing. 'Louis XVIII. extends 'his benefits beyond his life!'—'and his death, the object of 'such just regrets, has, however, consolidated the restoration, 'by'—we suppose enabling his successor to overturn the worst measure of his reign?—no such thing; but simply, 'by put-'ting one reign between the restoration and the accession of 'Charles X.'—which service, be it observed, the very weakest and worst prince that ever lived must just have rendered equally to the restoration. Nothing, surely, can be conceived more sickening than this mean style—this mixture of unceasing, slavish adoration with childish, clumsy conceits, which have no one merit, nor any thing to distinguish them, except not being obvious. However, the censorship being removed, and all flatterers being so willing at least, if not hearty, M. Chateaubriand is resolved to have his fill of it.

'Charles X. may boast of now being as powerful as Louis XIV. was; of being obeyed with as much zeal and as much activity *as the most absolute Monarch of Europe.* To know where we have arrived with the Monarchy, one must have seen the Monarch going to *Notre Dame.* The whole of this great people, in spite of the incle-

mency of the weather, saluting *their King on horseback*, who advanced before his poorest subjects to take their petitions, with *that air which belongs only to him*—(one of the others had said, it was 'the air so common to all the Bourbons,' see last extract)—one must have seen him at the Champ de Mars, in the middle of the National Guards, the Royal Guards, and 300,000 spectators.—Day of power and liberty which showed the Crown in all its force, and which gave to opinion its organs and its independence. A King is well placed in the middle of his soldiers, when he leaves to his people all which can contribute to the dignity of man. The sword is for him, it can destroy every thing, and he only uses it for the preservation of all. Thus the enthusiasm was not feigned; it was not of that species which dies on the lips of *the hired beggar*, charged under Tyrants to express the public joy, or rather the public misery, the cries came from the bottom of the heart, where it beats with force, when it is filled with love and gratitude.'

But here again, he is haunted by Louis XVIII.—not having apparently forgotten his last pamphlet so quickly as the publick had; and being forced to admit indirectly that his late Majesty had destroyed the constitution, because he is in the act of lauding his present Majesty for reviving it; he can think of no better way of making it up with the defunct and himself, than the following rhapsody, of which part is really incomprehensible, and part seems to imply that Louis, if he did destroy the charter, was only taking liberties with his own handiwork.

'If the blessings of a people, as we cannot doubt, call down the blessings of Heaven, they have descended on the head of our Sovereign and the Royal Family. Never was France happier, more glorious, or more free, than on this day. But at seeing this family in mourning in the midst of so much joy, the mind turns tenderly towards that other monarch, who is not yet descended to the tomb; the aspect of a multitude, free from every sort of slavery, and protected by generous institutions, recals the memory of the august author of the Charter. What a country is France! The cities bring their keys to the funeral beds of their Generals, and the people offer the homage of their liberty on the coffin of their Kings!'

It must be acknowledged, that servility like this presents no very attractive features; and is not calculated to make us enamoured of the Tory principles, which can thus degrade their advocates. But lest it should be thought that such persons as M. de Chateaubriand and his fellows, are not of sufficient account either for talents or respectability, to evince the debasing influence of the tenets in question, we shall add an example, from our own country, and in the person of a very celebrated man,—no less able, learned and honest a one than Lord Clarendon. His talents and accomplishments were undeniably of a high order; his integrity is al-

lowed now, to have been incorruptible; and was admitted in times much nearer his own, and by persons of parties the most adverse to his, as Bishop Burnet. (*History of his Own Times*, I. 94. II. 254.) Indeed he is, of all his party, the most liberal and the least an enemy of freedom. The only stain upon his character undoubtedly is, the slavish love of Royalty which had taken such deep root in his mind, as to make it sometimes callous both to honourable and to natural feelings. The instances we are going to give are of unquestionable authenticity; for he is himself the only witness by whom we shall prove them.

When it was discovered that his eldest and favourite daughter was with child by the King's brother, and presumptive heir, he relates, that he 'broke out into a very immoderate passion 'against her wickedness; and said with all imaginable earnest-'ness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of 'his house as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never 'see her again;' feelings and expressions exceedingly natural, and perfectly consistent with the rigid virtue, which, so much to his honour, withheld him constantly, and almost alone of the King's ministers, from ever visiting any of his mistresses. But no sooner was he informed that it was understood the Duke and his daughter were privately married, and that the plan was to have the marriage declared, than the Tory prevailed over the father and the man, and the circumstance was regarded as aggravating her offence tenfold, exasperating his own sufferings, and turning into bitterness what ought naturally to have been a healing balsam. 'He fell into new commotions,' (we cite his own words, Continuation, p. 29.), 'and said, if that were true, (viz. that his daughter was wholly blameless as far as regarded her chastity, being the Duke's wife), 'he was well prepared to advise what 'was to be done, that he had much rather his daughter should 'be the Duke's whore than his wife; in the former case, no-'body could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he 'was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest Prince alive; 'and the indignity to himself he would submit to as the pleasure 'of God. But if there were any reason to suspect the other,' (viz. that they were lawfully married), 'he was ready to give a 'positive judgment, in which he hoped their Lordships,' (Ormond and Southampton, 'his bosom friends) would concur 'with him, that the King should immediately cause the wo-'man to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, 'under so strict a guard, that no person living should be ad-'mitted to come to her; and then, that an act of Parliament 'should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to

'which he would not only give his consent, but would very wil-
'lingly be the first man that should propose it.'—'And who-
'ever knew the man' (adds the noble author speaking of him-
self) 'will believe that he said all this very heartily.'

We are accustomed to see the fanaticks of the same age much vituperated, and more laughed at for the excessive rigour of their principles, and their abhorrence of the fashionable immoralities. What should we not have heard of their unnatural callousness, and phrenzied enthusiasm, had one of their chiefs treated a daughter detected in the commission of a real enormity, whether regarded in a moral or religious point of view, as this flower of the Cavaliers treats his child, not for any immoral or irreligious conduct, but for being accessary to some injury or inconvenience brought upon the Crown, by marrying the King's brother? Nor was this merely the sudden resolution of the Chancellor, taken up in a moment of violence. When the King, 'looking upon him with a wonderful benignity,' desired him to advise calmly upon the subject, and broached the topic of the marriage, the answer he received was, 'Sir, I hope 'I need make no apology to you for myself and of my own in 'this matter, upon which I look with so much detestation, that 'though I could have wished that your brother had not thought 'it fit to have put this disgrace upon me, I had much rather 'submit and bear it with all humility, than that it should be 'repaired by making her his wife; the thought whereof I do so 'much abominate, that I had much rather see her dead, with 'all the infamy that is due to her presumption;' and then he repeated all the advice about sending her to the Tower, 'beseeching the King to pursue it,' as the most likely means of making others 'take heed how they impudently offended.' When he afterwards ascertained that the marriage had been validly solemnized, he even then still urged the putting his daughter to death by a Bill of Attainder, as the only way of remedying the mischief. (p. 31.)

The grateful return which Charles made for all this affectionate devotion is well known; nor was his father's treatment of Strafford more notable, though in him it has been more remarked, because his life contained fewer passages of this kind. When Clarendon was impeached, one of the grand charges was for advising the King to govern by an army without a Parliament: Being asked by the Duke whether it was true or anything like it, Charles answered, 'that he had never given him such 'counsel in his life, but, on the contrary, his fault was that he 'always insisted too much upon the law;' and the Duke adding, asked whether he might repeat this testimony to others,

the King said, 'with all his heart.' The Duke did so through Wren, his secretary; and the effect of such an authority was manifest in obstructing the proceedings against Clarendon. Charles was now informed by the opposite party, that Wren's communications were likely to save Clarendon from the charges of treason altogether;—'to which his Majesty answered, that 'Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never held any 'such discourse with his brother.' The King then complained to the Duke of Wren's discourses; but James avowed himself as the author, and asserted, that his brother had not only said every thing as reported, but had given leave to divulge it. The only answer his Majesty was pleased to make, was, that 'he 'should be hereafter more careful of what he said to him.' He then succeeded in making Clarendon leave the country, and gave his assent to the bill banishing him, and forbidding all persons to hold any communication with him.

That such treatment should never draw from the noble penman one harsh expression respecting Charles, is perhaps only an evidence of his extraordinary magnanimity. That it should not incline him to paint his character in its real colours, is nothing more than a proof, that his loyalty interfered with his duty as an historian. But that, in the midst of such injustice, cruelty, treachery, and black ingratitude, Clarendon should stoop to indite the letter which he has recorded against himself, can only be credited, because *he* is the witness,—and only explained by supposing that love of monarchy had destroyed, not indeed the love of virtue, but certainly the honest pride which forms its natural accompaniment. To what a pitch of servile adoration towards a fellow-creature, and one too of the most worthless of his species, must so powerful a mind as Clarendon's have been humbled, when he could bring himself thus to write! 'I am so broken under the daily insupportable in-'stances of your Majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not 'what to do, hardly what to wish.'—'God knows I am inno-'cent as I ought to be. But alas! your Majesty's declared 'anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support 'even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and 'fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; 'whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) 'your Majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope 'they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the 'same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when 'you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as 'great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should 'die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty

'would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) 'if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure.'— 'As I have hope in heaven, I have never willingly offended 'your Majesty in my life, and do upon my knees beg your 'pardon for any over-bold or saucy expressions I have ever 'used to you; which being a natural disease in old servants 'who have received too much countenance,' &c.—'I hope 'your Majesty believes that the sharp chastisement I have re-'ceived from the best natured and most bountiful master in 'the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these 'many years supportable, has both enough mortified me as to 'this world, and that I have not the presumption, or the madness 'to imagine, or desire, ever to be admitted to any employment 'or trust again:' and he concludes by imploring the King to be allowed 'to spend the small remainder of his life in some 'parts beyond the seas, never to return, where he may pray 'for the King, and never suffer the least diminution in his du-'ty or obedience.' (*Clarendon*, p. 453.) All this is recorded 'for the information of his children, who will find in it nothing 'that can make them ashamed of their father's memory.' (*Ib.* p. 2.)

The King's detestable conduct is ascribed by Bishop Burnet to the 'perpetual railing of the mistress and the whole 'bedchamber at him.'—'Princes,' he remarks, 'are so little 'sensible of merit or great services, that they sacrifice their 'best servants not only when their affairs seem to require it, 'but to gratify the humours of a mistress, or the passion of a 'rising favourite.' (I. 257.) Now, without any leaning towards Republican principles, and with a rational conviction that, upon a balance of good and evil, the preference should be given to a limited monarchy, at least in Europe, it may be reasonably doubted whether the annals of any commonwealth in modern times ever afforded so melancholy a proof of the power of political attachment to debase its victim as we have just been contemplating, in the case of a man remarkable in almost all the other passages of his life for a strong understanding and undeviating honesty.

If we were desirous of comparing the effects produced by the slavish principles of Toryism with those which flow from even the excessive devotion to the free institutions of a commonwealth, we might contrast the demeanour of Lord Clarendon with that of such men as Colonel Hutchinson, one of those 'who judged the King to die.' That he was warmly attached to the Independents, is unquestionable; he belonged to their sect; he was deeply sensible of the vast merits of their leaders, and

felt the utmost gratitude to Cromwell for the incalculable services which, in his better days, he rendered to the cause. Yet all his gratitude, his habits of hearty cooperation to attain a grand, and once a common object, his intimate knowledge of the man's extraordinary talents—all could not blind him to his dangerous designs, or reconcile him to bear, for an instant, with his desertion of his principles. He became his adversary, but an open and a manly one; and, abhorring as he did the course he had plunged into, himself still an enthusiast for liberty, he yet gave him indirectly such information of a plot which he accidentally became acquainted with, as proved the means of saving him from the conspirators.

If, again, a contrast were wanted to the servile spirit displayed by the French Royalists in the present day, we should look to the interesting spectacle, now exhibited by the American people, of honest and enlightened affection for their ancient benefactor and fellow-soldier in the cause of freedom. We will own, that, to us, there is something peculiarly touching in the enthusiasm which that great nation has shown upon the arrival of the truly venerable person who seeks, in their affections, a temporary refuge from the persecutions of his own government. No man can be named who has, through a long life, acted with more undeviating integrity, and who, with more strict consistency, has pursued his course of devotion to the sacred cause of liberty, and opposed all despotism, whether exercised by the genius of Napoleon, or by those successors to his throne whose powers form so mighty a contrast with their stations. La Fayette may have fallen into errors; in flying from one danger, he did not perceive that liberty might have a double hazard to encounter, both from oppression and from conquest; but faults he has never been charged with by any whose good opinion deserves his regard; and the honours which he has received in America are as entirely due to the inflexible virtue of his riper years, and his willing sacrifice of himself on all occasions to the cause of liberty in his own country, as they are peculiarly fit to hail his reappearance in a country which the generous devotion of his younger days had helped to make a powerful state of a few dependent colonies. He must be far gone in the servile feelings of French Royalism who can read, without a blush, the productions we have cited in this article; but no friend of liberal principles can feel any thing but sympathy and pride in following the progress of this great patriot through the United States, even where its details are recorded with the least reserve, and by the most ordinary chroniclers of the times.

Among the strange sights of the present day, connected with this subject, it is impossible to pass over the solemn mockery lately performed at Paris by the orders, it is said, though it seems hardly credible, of the English Government, in removing the remains of James II., and depositing them in a new church. There was something intelligible and consistent in the restored government of France ordering funeral rites to be celebrated for Louis XVI. and his unfortunate Queen. Nor could any one have greatly blamed Charles II. in this country, had he done something of the same kind upon his returning, instead of basely insulting the ashes of the great leaders of the Commonwealth. Some eleven or twelve years ago, the remains of Charles I. were discovered at Windsor; and it was not deemed necessary, perhaps not considered very expedient, to bestow any funereal honours upon the dust of him whom the Church of England, in her great loyalty and (we good Presbyterians are bound to add) idolatry, denominates the Blessed Martyr of Almighty God—a Saint who followed the steps of the Saviour, and the shedding of whose blood nothing but the blood of the Son of God can expiate. Whence comes it to pass, then, that such singular respect should have been paid to the remains of him whom the same Church stigmatizes as a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy of herself and the State, and for deliverance from whose Popish tyranny and arbitrary power, by the instrumentality of those that dethroned him, she periodically offers up unfeigned thanks? Those expressions, indeed, seem to have been wholly forgotten by the conductors of this strange solemnity. He who was driven from the throne into exile for his misgovernment, and deemed by his criminality to have forfeited the crown, is treated as a lawful sovereign, and one to whom nothing worse than bad fortune could be imputed. 'Reliquiæ Jacobi II. qui in secundo civitatis gradu clarus triumphis, *in primo infelicior*;' and the King, who owes his crown to the resistance which our ancestors made against this tyrant, is represented as ordering to be paid honours due to the Royal race,—'quo decet honore in stirpem regiam!' But his issue were as much entitled to Royal honours, because they were as much of the Royal stock as himself; and yet the Parliament, King and all, of this country, thought fit to set a price upon their heads. It really looks as if there were some foolish Tories about the court, who deemed the title of the Royal Family, under the Act of Settlement, less firm than it would be, if the descendants of the Dutchess of Orleans, Charles I.'s youngest daughter, were extinct, and those of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia, could claim by the exploded hereditary title which

the Revolution 1688 has for ever set aside. Yet, strange to tell, those very persons seem to have the greatest horror of every thing like Popery, and, from a senseless enmity to a mere name, are perpetuating the misgovernment and the misery of a third part of the King's dominions. The whole ceremonial upon the occasion we are alluding to, was of course purely Popish, accompanied with prayers for the soul of the deceased, and, as the accounts add, with 'all the solemnities, so powerful in their effect, which distinguish the Catholic Church service.' It is reasonable to conclude from this, that no prejudice against Popery having stood in the way of the King's servants honouring the memory of a dethroned tyrant, none will now prevent their adopting those measures necessary to the peace, prosperity, and indeed the safety, of the empire. *

It may afford a fit conclusion to these reflexions, if we appeal to the great established fountains of Tory doctrine for a statement of what it consists in, and of what our modern friends of High Church principles would bring us back to. The famous decree of the University of Oxford, in 1683, passed immediately after, and in support of, those judicial murders, as the Legislature afterwards termed them, which destroyed Russell and Sidney, speaks the deliberate sentiments of that learned and loyal body; and the Cambridge address upon the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, two years before, indicates an almost equal proficiency in the most slavish principles. The Oxonian doctors denounce, as the cause of the dangers to which 'the breath of their nostrils, the Anointed of the Lord,' is exposed; and 'decree, judge, and declare to be false, seditious, 'and impious, heretical and blasphemous,' all the doctrines in which the grounds of civil liberty are contained; not only the propositions, that civil authority is derived from the people; and that there is a virtual compact between the prince and the people; and that governors becoming tyrants forfeit their right to govern; but the propositions, that the Sovereignty in England is in the Three Estates; that self-preservation may become the overruling motive with the people; and that a title to the Crown, derived by descent, may be set aside by the consent of the realm. And they explicitely enjoin all persons having the care of youth, 'diligently to instruct them in that most neces-

* We shall now expect to be informed of the inscription substituted for that which was not allowed to be placed upon the remains of her late Majesty—one of the immediate branches of the '*Stirps Regia*,' by blood as well as marriage, and whose title had never been defeated by Parliament—like that of James II.

'sary doctrine, *which in a manner is the badge and character of the Church of England*, of submitting to every ordinance of 'man for the Lord's sake, whether it be unto the king as su-'preme, or unto governors sent by him; teaching that this 'submission and obedience is to be clear, *absolute*, and with-'out exception of any state or order of men.' They were likewise pleased to order the books containing these doctrines to be burnt publicly, and to forbid the perusal of them under severe penalties. 'The Cambridge doctors avow their 'belief 'that our kings derive not their power from the people, but 'from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it be-'longs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to ho-'nour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fun-'damental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, 'no law, no fault or forfeiture, can alter or diminish.'

The fate of those most dutiful and devoted bodies, is eminently instructive to all time-servers. Having pronounced unqualified obedience to be the duty of all subjects, the men of Oxford were in little more than a year commanded by the King to expel Locke; and after some time spent in shuffling and attempting to escape, they complied with this infamous requisition. In less than four years after their digest of servility had been completed and promulgated, its authors were again called upon to practise their odious doctrines, by choosing a man recommended by the Sovereign, but disqualified by their statutes. Having condemned all resistance whatever as impious and unchristian, they were the first who resisted the tyrant; and having announced, that whoever maintained the right to deprive a king for any reason whatever, of his Crown, or to exclude his heir, merited damnation, they themselves melted their plate to assist the Prince, who came to dethrone the reigning sovereign, and exclude his son from the succession! Their famous decree was afterwards, by the authority of Parliament, burnt by the hands of the common hangman; but this act of public justice did not prevent them from adhering strenuously to the proscribed doctrines in theory, and all the while opposing the monarch *de facto*, for no other reason but because he held his authority from the choice of the people, and was placed at the head of a free government. The like misfortune befel Cambridge. An order being issued by the King to confer a degree upon a monk, they who so lately had maintained, that 'to sub-'jects it belongs only to honour and obey their sovereign,' refused to comply, and were, in conformity with their own principles, punished for the contempt. After the Revolution, it must be admitted that they held opinions much more consonant

to the principles of free governments than the sister University. *

If we are asked, why we dwell at such length upon the reprobation due to doctrines which hardly any one, in this country at least, will in the present day openly avow; we answer, that, of late years, the number and station of those who do venture upon such avowal has sensibly increased; and that, at all events, they are secretly cherished by many, and systematically acted upon by still more, who never have stated them to their own minds in terms, but who nevertheless, by adhering to the spirit of them, have grievously injured, and still continue to injure, the best interests of the country. A blind, servile obedience to whatever the personal wishes of the reigning sovereign may be supposed to dictate, is a very natural corollary from the proposition, that kings have rights as individuals wholly independent of their relation to the state, as depositaries of a public trust; that the prince is the object of regard for his own sake; and holds his powers for his own advantage, not for that of his people. How fruitful in mischief has this corollary proved! The American war nearly in whole, the French war in great part, the misgovernment and wretchedness of Ireland

* Writers of the most opposite parties agree in their opinions of the Oxford decree. Mr Fox charges it with condemning 'every principle upon which the constitution of this or any other free country can maintain itself.' (p. 51.) And Hume (VIII. 199.) says, in nearly the same terms, that it 'condemns some doctrines which they denominated republican, but which indeed are, most of them, the only tenets on which liberty and a limited constitution can be founded.' He, however, is careful to keep very much in generals, and gives none of the preposterous assertions of the decree. The reader will find it at length in *Woodrow*, II. *App. No.* xci.; and part of the Cambridge Address is in *Neal's History of the Puritans*, II. p. 585. Mr Fox's remarks upon the Oxford decree are worthy of all acceptation; and Hume's joining in condemning it, affords one instance among many others, to show, that the doctrines of Toryism, in their naked deformity, will shock many a one who is prepared to embrace them, when clothed with some thin disguise; or that, presented to him all at once, he will reject them, though ready enough to take them piecemeal. 'Such' (says Mr Fox, in the honest indignation of his heart), 'such are the absurdities which men are not ashamed 'to utter, in order to cast odious imputations upon their adversaries; 'and such the manner in which churchmen will abuse, when it suits 'their policy, the holy name of that religion, whose first precept is 'to love one another, for the purpose of teaching us to hate our 'neighbours with more than ordinary rancour.'

almost altogether, have been its hateful progeny. The prejudices of the late King were for years avowedly the reason with many for opposing measures which they deemed essential to the safety of the state! Some had the hardihood even to say so openly in their places in Parliament—a pitch of contempt for the fundamental maxims of the constitution never reached, at least in so downright a fashion, by the Tories of Filmer's and Sacheverell's times. 'Deference to the monarch's feelings,' was the prevailing objection for a long while to our taking an active part in the South American question. It was said by the court sycophants, that 'his Majesty naturally must be averse 'to any interference with colonies, after what he had himself 'suffered in North America.' But besides that some such notions are abundantly familiar in certain quarters at the present moment, and influence in all probability the policy of the country, both towards Ireland and South America, from the impression that those who are near the Throne inherit the prejudices of its last occupant, we cannot doubt that the same principles of high Toryism are working in favour of the greatest danger this country's independence was ever exposed to,—the conspiracy of foreign despots against the liberties of mankind. We verily believe, that if all Great Britain were polled, not a hundred sincere voices would be raised in favour of that unprincipled league: But there are many persons whose hatred of it is kept within very moderate limits; and not a few who are ready to apologize for it, as far as they dare, by the knowledge that it is a favourite with persons of all but the highest station; and they will, at least, though indirectly and under various pretences, thwart every attempt to expose its machinations, and to prepare for resisting them! An affectation of courtly principles is becoming more prevalent than formerly, among certain politicians who used to be satisfied with supporting bad measures because they were in place, or dependants on placemen, without pretending that they did so upon the principles of the Tories, who a few years ago would have been treated as rebels. Much nonsense has been consequently promulgated in various forms—from plain statement of what is inconsistent with fact, to highflown affected romance; and it may prove a wholesome exercise to look now and then at the real nature of the principles in question, and the effects they produce on the conduct of those who act under their influence. Whoever has read the preceding pages will probably admit, that those persons do not display very great claims to respect; and will be apt to feel but little enthusiasm in behalf of a system, the fruits of which are so disgusting.

ART. II. 1. *Sketches of India.* Written by an OFFICER, for Fire-Side Travellers at Home. Second Edition, with Alterations. 8vo. pp. 358. London, 1824.

2. *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and in Italy.* By the Author of Sketches of India, and Recollections of the Peninsula. 8vo. pp. 452. London, 1824.

THESE are very amiable books:—and, besides the good sentiments they contain, they are very pleasing specimens of a sort of travel-writing, to which we have often regretted that so few of those who roam loose about the world will now condescend—we mean a brief and simple notice of what a person of ordinary information may see and feel in passing through a new country, which he visits without any learned preparation, and traverses without any particular object. There are individuals, no doubt, who travel to better purpose, and collect more weighty information—exploring, and recording as they go, according to their several habits and measures of learning, the mineralogy, antiquities, or statistics of the different regions they survey. But the greater part even of intelligent wanderers are neither so ambitious in their designs, nor so industrious in their execution;—and, as most of those who travel for pleasure, and find pleasure in travelling, are found to decline those tasks which might enrol them among the contributors to science, while they turned all their movements into occasions of laborious study, it seems reasonable to think, that a lively and succinct account of what actually delighted them, will be more generally agreeable than a digest of the information they might have acquired. We would by no means undervalue the researches of more learned and laborious persons, especially in countries rarely visited: But, for common readers, their discussions require too much previous knowledge, and too painful an effort of attention. They are not books of travels, in short, but works of science and philosophy; and as the principal delight of travelling consists in the impressions which we receive, almost passively, from the presentment of new objects, and the reflections to which they spontaneously give rise, so the most delightful books of travels should be those that give us back these impressions in their first freshness and simplicity, and excite us to follow out the train of feelings and reflection into which they lead us, by the direct and unpretending manner in which they are suggested. By aiming too ambitiously at instruction and research, this charm is lost; and we often close these copious dissertations and details, needlessly digested in

the form of a journal, without having the least idea how *we*, or any other ordinary person, would have felt as companions of the journey—thoroughly convinced, certainly, that we should *not* have occupied ourselves as the writers before us seem to have been occupied, and pretty well satisfied, after all, that they themselves were not so occupied during the most agreeable hours of their wanderings, and had omitted in their books what they would most frequently recall in their moments of enjoyment and leisure.

Nor are these records of superficial observation to be disdained as productive of entertainment only, or altogether barren of instruction. Very often the surface presents all that is really worth considering—or all that we are capable of understanding;—and our observer, we are taking it for granted, is, though no great philosopher, an intelligent and educated man—looking curiously at all that presents itself, and making such passing inquiries as may satisfy a reasonable curiosity, without greatly disturbing his indolence or delaying his progress. Many themes of reflection and topics of interest will be thus suggested, which more elaborate and exhausting discussions would have strangled in the birth—while, in the variety and brevity of the notices which such a scheme of writing implies, the mind of the reader is not only more agreeably excited, but is furnished, in the long-run, with more materials for thinking, and solicited to more lively reflections, than by any quantity of exact knowledge on plants, stones, ruins, manufactures, or history.

Such, at all events, is the merit and the charm of the volumes before us. They place us at once by the side of the author—and bring before our eyes and minds the scenes he has passed through, and the feelings they suggested. In this last particular, indeed, we are entirely at his mercy; and we are afraid he sometimes makes rather an unmerciful use of his power. It is one of the hazards of this way of writing, that it binds us up in the strictest intimacy and closest companionship with the author. Its attraction is in its direct personal sympathy—and its danger in the temptation it holds out to abuse it. It enables us to share the grand spectacles with which the traveller is delighted—but compels us in a manner to share also in the sentiments with which he is pleased to connect them. For the privilege of seeing with his eyes, we must generally renounce that of using our own judgment—and submit to adopt implicitly the tone of feeling which he has found most congenial with the scene.

On the present occasion, we must say, the reader, on the whole, has been fortunate. The author, though an officer in

the King's service, and not without professional predilections, is, generally speaking, a speculative, sentimental, saintly sort of person—with a taste for the picturesque, a poetical cast of diction, and a mind deeply imbued with principles of philanthropy and habits of affection:—And if there is something of *fadaise* now and then in his sentiments, and something of affectation in his style, it is no more than we can easily forgive, in consideration of his brevity, his amiableness, and variety.

The 'Sketches of India,' a loose printed octavo of 350 pages, is the least interesting perhaps of the two volumes now before us—though sufficiently marked with all that is characteristic of the author. It may be as well to let him begin at the beginning.

'On the afternoon of July the 10th, 1818, our vessel dropped anchor in Madras Roads, after a fine run of three months and ten days from the Motherbank.—How changed the scene! how great the contrast!—Ryde, and its little snug dwellings, with slated or thatched roofs, its neat gardens, its green and sloping shores.—Madras and its naked fort, noble-looking buildings, tall columns, lofty verandahs, and terraced roofs. The city, large and crowded, on a flat site; a low sandy beach, and a foaming surf. The roadstead *there*, alive with beautiful yachts, light wherries, and tight-built fishing barks. *Here*, black, shapeless Massoolah boats, with their naked crews singing the same wild (yet not unpleasing) air, to which, for ages, the dangerous surf they fearlessly ply over has been rudely responsive.

I shall never forget the sweet and strange sensations which, as I went peacefully forward, the new objects in nature excited in my bosom. The rich, broad-leaved plantain; the gracefully drooping bamboo; the cocoa nut, with that mat-like looking binding for every branch; the branches themselves waving with a feathery motion in the wind; the bare lofty trunk and fan-leaf of the tall palm; the slender and elegant stem of the areca; the large aloes; the prickly pear; the stately banian with drop-branches, here fibrous and pliant, there strong and columnar, supporting its giant arms, and forming around the parent stem a grove of beauty; and among these wonders, birds, all strange in plumage and in note, save the parroquet (at home, the lady's pet-bird in a gilded cage), here spreading his bright green wings in happy fearless flight, and giving his natural and untaught scream. It was late and dark when we reached Poonamallee; and during the latter part of our march we had heavy rain. We found no fellow-countryman to welcome us: But the mess-room was open and lighted, a table laid, and a crowd of smart, roguish-looking natives, seemed waiting our arrival to seek service.—Drenched to the skin, without changes of linen, or any bedding, we sat down to the repast provided; and it would have been difficult to have found in India, perhaps, at the moment, a more

cheerful party than ours.—Four or five clean-looking natives, in white dresses, with red or white turbans, earrings of gold, or with emerald drops, and large silver signet rings on their fingers, crowded round each chair, and watched our every glance, to anticipate our wishes. Curries, vegetables, and fruits, all new to us, were tasted and pronounced upon; and after a meal, of which every one seemed to partake with grateful good humour, we lay down for the night. One attendant brought a small carpet, another a mat, others again a sheet or counterpane, till all were provided with something; and thus closed our first evening in India.—The morning scene was very ludicrous. Here, a barber, uncalled for, was shaving a man as he still lay dozing; there, another was cracking the joints of a man half-dressed; here were two servants, one pouring water on, the other washing, a Saheb's hands. In spite of my efforts to prevent them, two well-dressed men were washing my feet; and near me was a lad dexterously putting on the clothes of a sleepy brother officer, as if he had been an infant under his care!—There was much in all this to amuse the mind, and a great deal, I confess, to pain the heart of a free-born Englishman.'—*Sketches of India*, pp. 3–10.

With all this profusion of attendance, the march of a British officer in India seems a matter rather of luxury than fatigue.

'Marching in this country is certainly pleasant, although perhaps you rise too early for comfort. An hour before daybreak you mount your horse; and, travelling at an easy pace, reach your ground before the sun has any power; and find a small tent pitched with breakfast ready on the table. Your large tent follows with couch and baggage, carried by bullocks and coolies; and before nine o'clock, you may be washed, dressed, and employed with your books, pen, or pencil. Mats, made of the fragrant roots of the Cuscus grass, are hung before the doors of your tent to windward; and being constantly wetted, admit, during the hottest winds, a cool refreshing air.

'While our forefathers were clad in wolf-skin, dwelt in caverns, and lived upon the produce of the chase, the Hindoo lived as now. As now, his princes were clothed in soft raiment, wore jewelled turbans, and dwelt in palaces.—As now, his haughty half-naked priests received his offerings in temples of hewn and sculptured granite, and summoned him to rites as absurd, but yet more splendid and debauching, than the present. His cottage, garments, household utensils, and implements of husbandry or labour, the same as now. Then, too, he watered the ground with his foot by means of a plank balanced transversely on a lofty pole, or drew from the deep bowerie by the labour of his oxen, in large bags of leather, supplies of water to flow through the little channels by which their fields and gardens are intersected. His children were then taught to shape letters in the sand, and to write, and keep accounts on the dried leaves of the palm by the village schoolmaster. His wife ground corn at the same mill, or pounded it in a rude mortar with her neighbour. He could make purchases in a regular bazaar, change money at a shroff's,

or borrow it at usury, for the expenses of a wedding or festival. In short, all the traveller sees around him of social or civilized life, of useful invention or luxurious refinement, is of yet higher antiquity than the days of Alexander the Great. So that, in fact, the eye of the British officer looks upon the same forms and dresses, the same buildings, manners and customs, on which the Macedonian troops gazed with the same astonishment.'—*Ibid.* pp. 23–26.

If the traveller proceeds in a palanquin, his comforts are not less amply provided for.

'You generally set off after dark; and, habited in loose drawers and a dressing gown, recline at full length and slumber away the night. If you are wakeful, you may draw back the sliding pannel of a lamp fixed behind, and read. Your clothes are packed in large neat baskets, covered with green oil-cloth, and carried by palanquin boys; two pairs will contain two dozen complete changes. Your palanquin is fitted up with pockets and drawers. You can carry in it, without trouble, a writing desk, and two or three books, a few canteen conveniences for your meals,—and thus, you may be comfortably provided for many hundred miles travelling. You stop for half an hour, morning and evening, under the shade of a tree, to wash and take refreshment: throughout the day read, think, or gaze round you. The relays of bearers lie ready every ten or twelve miles: and the average of your run is about four miles an hour.'—*Ibid.* pp. 218, 219.

We cannot make room for his descriptions, though excellent, of the villages, the tanks, the forests—and the dresses and deportment of the different classes of the people; but we must give this little sketch of the elephant.

'While breakfast was getting ready, I amused myself with looking at a baggage-elephant and a few camels, which some servants, returning with a general's tents from the Deccan, were in the act of loading. The intelligent obedience of the elephant is well known; but to look upon this huge and powerful monster kneeling down at the mere bidding of the human voice; and, when he has risen again, to see him protrude his trunk for the foot of his mahout or attendant, to help him into his seat; or, bending the joint of his hind leg, make a step for him to climb up behind; and then, if any loose cloths or cords fall off, with a dog-like docility pick them up with his proboscis and put them up again, will delight and surprise long after it ceases to be novel. When loaded, this creature broke off a large branch from the lofty tree near which he stood, and quietly fanned and fly-flapped himself, with all the nonchalance of an indolent woman of fashion, till the camels were ready. These animals also kneel to be laden. When in motion, they have a very awkward gait, and seem to travel at a much slower pace than they really do. Their tall out-stretched necks, long sinewy limbs, and broad spongy feet; their head furniture, neck-bells, and the rings in their nostrils,

with their lofty loads, and a driver generally on the top of the leading one, have a strange appearance.'—*Ibid.* pp. 46–48.

We must add the following very clear description of a Pagoda.

'A high, solid wall encloses a large area in the form of an oblong square; at one end is the gateway, above which is raised a large pyramidal tower; its breadth at the base and height, proportioned to the magnitude of the pagoda. This tower is ascended by steps in the inside, and divided into stories; the central spaces on each are open, and smaller as the tower rises. The light is seen directly through them, producing, at times, a very beautiful effect, as when a fine sky, or trees, form the back ground. The front, sides, and top of this gateway and tower, are crowded with sculpture; elaborate, but tastless. A few yards from the gate, on the outside, you often see a lofty octagonal stone pillar, or a square open building, supported by tall columns of stone, with the figure of a bull couchant, sculptured as large, or much larger than life, beneath it.

'Entering the gateway, you pass into a spacious paved court, in the centre of which stands the inner temple, raised about three feet from the ground, open, and supported by numerous stone pillars. An enclosed sanctuary at the far end of this central building, contains the idol. Round the whole court runs a large deep verandah, also supported by columns of stone, the front rows of which are often shaped by the sculptor into various sacred animals rampant, rode by their respective deities. All the other parts of the pagoda, walls, basements, entablatures, are covered with imagery and ornament of all sizes, in alto or demi-relievo. Here you may see faithfully represented in black granite, all the incarnations of Vishnu the preserver; here Siva the destroyer, riding on his bull with a snake twisted round his neck, and a crescent on his head; Krishen, their Apollo, with his flute; Kamadeva, their Cupid, riding on a parrot, with his bow of sugar-cane strung with flowers or bees,' &c. &c.

'Near every pagoda is kept a huge wooden car, or rather temple, on wheels. This, also, is curiously carved; but the scenes and figures represented are usually so indecent and unnatural as not to admit of description. At certain seasons, an idol, painted and adorned, is placed on it, and dragged by the united strength of hundreds in procession.

'Such, though but roughly, and, I fear, not very intelligibly sketched, is a pagoda. Here the worshippers daily resort, with their humble offerings of rice and plantains; and hither, on high festivals, they crowd with flowers, fruit, incense, and money, to gaze on groups of dancing girls,—beautiful in form, gaudy in attire, and voluptuous in every look and motion; or listen to the wild and obscene fictions, sung by religious mendicants to the sound of strange and discordant music.' *Ibid.* pp. 59—63.

The following description and reflections among the ruins of Bijanagur, the last capital of the last Hindu empire, and final-

ly overthrown in 1564, are characteristic of the author's most ambitious, perhaps most questionable, manner.

'You cross the garden, where imprisoned beauty once strayed. You look at the elephant-stable and the remaining gateway, with a mind busied in conjuring up some associations of luxury and magnificence.—Sorrowfully I passed on. Every stone beneath my feet bore the mark of chisel, or of human skill and labour. You tread continually on steps, pavement, pillar, capital, or cornice of rude relief, displaced, or fallen, and mingled in confusion. Here, large masses of such materials have formed bush-covered rocks,—there, pagodas are still standing entire. You may for miles trace the city-walls, and can often discover, by the fallen pillars of the long piazza, where it has been adorned by streets of uncommon width. One, indeed, yet remains nearly perfect; at one end of it a few poor ryots, who contrive to cultivate some patches of rice, cotton, or sugar-cane, in detached spots near the river, have formed mud-dwellings under the piazza.'

'While, with a mind thus occupied, you pass on through this wilderness, the desolating judgments on other renowned cities, so solemnly foretold, so dreadfully fulfilled, rise naturally to your recollection. Now, as you tread, the wild peacock, with a startling whirr, rises in your path; now, you disturb the basking snake; and here, as the rustling of a thicket attracts your eye, are reminded that these ruins are the haunts of the hyena and the panther; that the small and frequent patches of sugar-cane give shelter to the wild boar; and that wolves are common in the rocky hills above you.—I climbed the very loftiest rock at day-break, on the morrow of my first visit to the ruins, by rude and broken steps, winding between, and over immense and detached masses of stone; and seated myself near a small pagoda, at the very summit. From hence I commanded the whole extent of what was once a city, described by Cæsar Frederick as twenty-four miles in circumference. Not above eight or nine pagodas are standing, but there are choultries innumerable. Fallen columns, arches, piazzas, and fragments of all shapes on every side for miles. —Can there have been streets and roads in these choked-up valleys? Has the war-horse pranced, the palfrey ambled there? Have jewelled turbans once glittered where those dew-drops now sparkle on the thick-growing bamboos? Have the delicate small feet of female dancers practised their graceful steps where that rugged and thorn-covered ruin bars up the path? Have their soft voices, and the Indian guitar, and the gold bells on their ankles, ever made music in so lone and silent a spot? They have; but other sights, and other sounds, have been seen and heard among these ruins.—There, near that beautiful banyan-tree, whole families, at the will of a merciless prince, have been thrown to trampling elephants, kept for a work so savage that they learn it with reluctance, and must be taught by *man*. Where those cocoas wave, once stood a vast seraglio, filled at the expense of tears and crimes; there, within that retreat of vo-

luptuousness, have poison, or the creese, obeyed, often anticipated the sovereign's wish. By those green banks, near which the sacred waters of the Toombudra flow, many aged parents have been carried forth and exposed to perish by those whose infancy they fostered.

'Better, thought I, better the wilderness should lie fallow *a week of centuries*, than be fertile only in errors and in crimes; than bring forth nothing but the bitter fruits of man's apostasy!' *Ibid.* pp. 91–95.

There is an excellent picture of Calcutta;—but we can only make room for the concluding part of it—and that chiefly for the sake of the monitory, and somewhat alarming suggestions with which it is wound up.

'As the evening closes in, the crowds of carriages disperse; and, about half an hour after, you see the glare of torches in all directions, lighting the coaches and palanquins, hurrying along to the splendid entertainments, of which there is a constant succession among the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Calcutta. At twelve, you may see them returning home; and, if the oppressive heat drives you, as it often does, to the roof or balcony of your house for air, soon after, when all is dark and silent round you, the cry of jackalls, suddenly and wildly breaking forth, then ceasing, then again nearer or close to you, may be distinctly heard. You are then reminded that this city is the quick growth of a century; that, where they are, it is still half jungle; that, at Chowringhee, where you now stand in a spacious verandah, supported by lofty Grecian pillars, only sixty short years ago the defenceless villagers could scarce bar out the prowling tiger; and that, were this city to become suddenly depopulated, in sixty more, these perishable palaces of timber, brick and chunam, would totally disappear, and rank vegetation conceal the very ground they stand upon! Such a fate, however, is not to be apprehended for Calcutta. Long after our interest in it, as Englishmen, may have ceased by the entire loss of our Indian possessions as governors, it will continue a populous, powerful, and wealthy city. Although we do not admit of colonization in India, a class of natives connected with us by BLOOD, language, habits, education, and religion, is rapidly growing into consequence, in point of numbers, possessions, awakened desires, enlarged and enlightened views. They are already the small merchants, the shopkeepers, the citizens, in fact, of our Presidencies. They are shut out from the service of the Company; but that they are the subjects of the Company, must never be forgotten. The British blood and the native blood in their veins are alike hateful to them; for the Englishman and the Hindoo alike disclaim them: but as the light of knowledge beams upon them, they see and feel that "honour and shame from no condition rise." The revolution of a few short years will fearfully increase their numbers; and, if the moral and mental improvement of this class, now reckoning in it many men of talent, integrity, and piety, keeps pace with

that increase, we must not expect, nor ought we to wish, that they should look upon themselves as outcasts, without a country they dare call their own; without the common privileges of freeborn men; without eligibility to honour, wealth, or usefulness; or to to any share in the government of themselves.'—*Ibid.* pp. 114–116.

The following reflections are also equally just and important.

'Nothing, perhaps, so much damps the ardour of a traveller in India, as to find that he may wander league after league, visit city after city, village after village, and still only see the outside of Indian society. The house he cannot enter, the group he cannot join, the domestic circle he cannot gaze upon, the free unrestrained converse of the natives he can never listen to. He may talk with his moonshee or his pundit; ride a few miles with a Mahometan sirdar; receive and return visits of ceremony among petty nawabs and rajahs; or be presented at a native court; But behind the scenes in India he cannot advance one step. All the natives are, in comparative rank, a few far above; the many far below him: and the bars to intercourse with Mahometans as well as Hindoos, arising from our faith, are so many, that to live upon terms of intimacy or acquaintance with them is impossible. Nay, in this particular, when our establishments were young and small, our officers few, necessarily active, necessarily linguists, and unavoidably, as well as from policy, conforming more to native manners, it is probable that more was known about the natives from practical experience than is at present, or may be again.'—*Ibid.* pp. 213, 214.

The author first went up the country as far as Agra, visiting and musing over all the remarkable places in his way—and then returned through the heart of India—the country of Scindiah and the Deccan, to the Mysore. Though travelling only as a British regimental officer, and without public character of any kind, it is admirable to see with what uniform respect and attention he was treated, even by the lawless soldiery among whom he had frequently to pass. The indolent and mercenary Bramins seem the only class of persons from whom he experienced any sort of incivility. In an early part of his route he had the good luck to fall in with Scindiah himself; and the picture he has given of that turbulent leader is worth preserving.

'As we passed back round the fort, we were fortunate enough to meet Scindiah returning from the chase, surrounded by all his chiefs; and preceded or followed by about seven hundred horse. Discharges of cannon announced his approach; and a few light scattered parties of spearmen were marching before the main body. We stopped our elephants just on one side of a narrow part of the road, where the rajah and chiefs with his immediate escort must pass.

'First came loose light-armed horse, either in the road, or scrambling and leaping on the rude banks and ravines near; then some bet-

ter clad, with the quilted poshauk; and one in a complete suit of chain-armour; then a few elephants, among them the hunting elephant of Scindiah, from which he had dismounted. On one small elephant, guiding it himself, rode a fine boy, a foundling protegé of Scindiah, called the Jungle Rajah; then came, slowly prancing, a host of fierce, haughty, chieftains, on fine horses, showily caparisoned. They darted forward, and all took their proud stand behind and round us, planting their long lances on the earth, and reining up their eager steeds to see, I suppose, our salaam. Next, in a common native palkee, its canopy crimson, and not adorned, came Scindiah himself. He was plainly dressed, with a reddish turban, and a shawl over his vest, and lay reclined, smoking a small gilt or golden calean. We stood up in our howdah and bowed; he half rose in his palkee, and salaamed rather in a courteous manner. At this there was a loud cry of all his followers near, who sung out his titles, and the honour he had done us, &c. And all salaamed themselves profoundly.

'I looked down on the chiefs under us, and saw that they eyed us most haughtily, which very much increased the effect they would otherwise have produced. They were armed with lance, scymitar and shield, creese and pistol; wore, some shawls, some tissues, some plain muslin or cotton; were all much wrapped in clothing; and wore, almost all, a large fold of muslin, tied over the turban-top, which they fasten under the chin; and which, strange as it may sound to those who have never seen it, looks *warlike*, and is a very important defence to the sides of the neck.

'How is it that we can have a heart-stirring sort of pleasure in gazing on brave and armed men, though we know them to be fierce, lawless and cruel?—though we know stern ambition to be the chief feature of many warriors, who, from the cradle to the grave, seek only fame; and to which, in such as I write of, is added avarice the most pitiless? I cannot tell. But I recollect often before, in my life, being thus moved. Once, especially, I stood over a gateway in France, as a prisoner, and saw file in several squadrons of gens-d'armerie d'elite, returning from the fatal field of Leipsic. They were fine, noble-looking men, with warlike helmets of steel and brass, and drooping plumes of black horse-hair; belts handsome and broad; heavy swords; were many of them decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honour. Their trumpets flourished; and I felt my heart throb with an admiring delight, which found relief only in an involuntary tear. What an inconsistent riddle is the human heart!—*Ibid.* pp. 260–264.

In the interior of the country there are large tracts of waste lands, and a very scanty and unsettled population.

'On the route I took, there was only one inhabited village in fifty-five miles; the spots named for halting-places were in small valleys, green with young corn, and under cultivation, but neglected sadly. A few straw huts, blackened and beat down by rain, with

rude and broken implements of husbandry lying about, and a few of those round hardened thrashing-floors, tell the traveller that some wandering families, of a rude unsettled people, visit these vales at sowing time and harvest; and labour indolently at the necessary, but despised, task of the peaceful ryot.'—*Ibid.* p. 300.

'I enjoyed my march through these wilds greatly. Now you wound through narrow and deeply wooded glens; now ascended ghauts, or went down the mouths of passes; now skirted the foot of a mountain; now crossed a small plain covered with the tall jungled-grass, from which, roused by your horse tramp, the neelgae looked upon you; then flying with active bound, or pausing doubtful trot, joined the more distant herd. You continually cross clear sparkling rivulets, with rocky or pebbly beds; and you hear the voice of waters among all the woody hills around you. There was a sort of thrill too, at knowing these jungles were filled with all the ferocious beasts known in India, (except elephants, which are not found here), and at night, in hearing their wild roars and cries. I saw, one morning, on the side of a hill, about 500 yards from me, in an open glade near the summit, a lioness pass along, and my guide said there were many in these jungles.

'The ravages made by the tigers on the poor native travellers, such as hircarrahs or Dawk carriers, on these roads, are dreadful. At particular stations in the jungles, are small guard-houses, containing a few persons armed, whose principal duty is to fire and burn the grass and jungle for a few yards on each side of the road; and this duty they very greatly and shamefully neglect.'—*Ibid.* pp. 305, 306.

'In a particularly romantic pass, I met the entire population of a village returning to the valley of the Nerbuddah, from whence they had been driven during the late war; and carrying with them the oxen, the implements of husbandry, the few household utensils and valuables they had been able, when flying, to save from the spoiler. I felt my heart throb with pleasure as I looked on these groups of all ages, and both sexes; all with countenances lighted up with joy at the prospect of soon gaining the thrashing-floor and wells of their forefathers. They salaamed to me with an air that said, the protection and security of their lives and properties they were about cheerfully to confide to us.'—*Ibid.* pp. 313, 314.

We should like to have added his brilliant account of several native festivals, both Hindu and Mahometan, and his admirable descriptions of the superb monuments at Agra, and the fallen grandeur of Goa: But the extracts we have now given must suffice as specimens of the 'Sketches of India'—and the length of them indeed, we fear, will leave us less room than we could have wished for the 'Scenes and Impressions in Egypt and in Italy.'

This volume, which is rather larger than the other, contains more than the title promises; and embraces indeed the whole

history of the author's peregrinations, from his embarkation at Bombay to his landing at Dover. It is better written, we think, than the former. The descriptions are better finished, the reflections bolder, and the topics more varied. There is more of poetical feeling, too, about it; and a more constant vein of allusion to subjects of interest. He left India in December 1822, in an Arab vessel for the Red Sea—and is very happy, we think, in his first sketches of the ship and the voyage.

'Our vessel was one, rude and ancient in her construction as those which, in former and successive ages, carried the rich freights of India for the Ptolemies, the Roman prefects, and the Arabian caliphs of Egypt. She had, indeed, the wheel and the compass; and our nakhoda, with a beard as black and long, and a solemnity as great as that of a magician, daily performed the miracle of taking an observation! But although these "peeping contrivances" of the Giaours have been admitted, yet they build their craft with the same clumsy insecurity, and rig them in the same inconvenient manner as ever. Our vessel had a lofty broad stern, unmanageable in wearing; one enormous sail on a heavy yard of immense length, which was tardily hoisted by the efforts of some fifty men on a stout mast, placed a little before midships, and raking forwards; her head low, without any bowsprit; and, on the poop, a mizen uselessly small, with hardly canvass enough for a fishing-boat. Our lading was cotton, and the bales were piled up on her decks to a height at once awkward and unsafe. In short, she looked like part of a wharf, towering with bales, accidentally detached from its quay, and floating on the waters.'—*Scenes in Egypt*, pp. 3, 4.

He then gives a picturesque description of the crew, and the motley passengers—among whom there were some women, who were never seen or heard during the whole course of the voyage. So jealous, indeed, and complete was their seclusion, that though one of them *died* and was committed to the sea during the passage, the event was not known to the crew or passengers for several days after it had occurred. 'Not even 'a husband entered their apartment during the voyage—be-'cause the women were mixed: an eunuch who cooked for 'them, alone had access.'

'Abundantly, however,' he adds, 'was I amused in looking upon the scenes around me, and some there were not readily to be forgotten:—when, at the soft and still hour of sunset, while the full sail presses down the vessel's bows on the golden ocean-path, which swells to meet, and then sinks beneath them,—then, when these Arabs group for their evening sacrifice, bow down with their faces to the earth, and prostrate their bodies in the act of worship—when the broad āmēēn, deeply intoned from many assembled voices, strikes upon the listener's ear—the heart responds, and throbs with its own

silent prayer. There is a solemnity and a decency in their worship belonging, in its very forms, to the age and the country of the Patriarchs; and it is necessary to call to mind all that the Mohammedans are, and have been—all that their prophet taught, and that their Koran enjoins and promises, before we can look, without being strongly moved, on the Mussulman prostrate before his God.'—*Scenes in Egypt*, pp. 13, 14.

They land prosperously at Mocha, of which he gives rather a pleasing account, and again embark with the same fine weather for Djidda—anchoring every night under the rocky shore, and generally indulging the passengers with an hour's ramble among its solitudes. The following poetical sketch of the camel is the fruit of one of these excursions.

'The grazing camel, at that hour when the desert reddens with the setting sun, is a fine object to the eye which seeks and feeds on the picturesque—his tall, dark form—his indolently leisure walk—his ostrich neck, now lifted to its full height, now bent slowly, and far around, with a look of unalarmed inquiry. You cannot gaze upon him, without, by the readiest and most natural suggestions, reverting in thought to the world's infancy—to the times and possessions of the shepherd kings, their tents and raiment, their journeyings and settlings. The scene, too, in the distance, and the hour, eventide, and the uncommon majesty of that dark, lofty, and irregular range of rocky mountain, which ends in the black cape of Ras el Askar, formed an assemblage not to be forgotten.'—*Ibid.* p. 42.

At Djidda they had an audience of the Aga, which is well described in the following short passage.

'Rustan Aga himself was a fine-looking, haughty, martial man, with mustachios, but no beard: he wore a robe of scarlet cloth. Hussein Aga, who sat on his left, had a good profile, a long grizzled beard, with a black ribbon bound over one eye, to conceal its loss. He wore a robe of pale blue. The other person, Araby Jellauny, was an aged and a very plain man. The attendants, for the most part, wore large dark brown dresses, fashioned into the short Turkish vest or jacket, and the large, full, Turkish trowsers; their sashes were crimson, and the heavy ornamented buts of their pistols protruded from them; their crooked scimitars hung in silken cords before them; they had white turbans, large mustachios, but the cheek and chin cleanly shaven. Their complexions were in general very pale, as of men who pass their lives in confinement. They stood with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on us. I shall never forget them. There were a dozen or more. I saw nothing like this after, not even in Egypt, for Djidda is an excellent government, both on account of its port, and its vicinity to Mecca; and Rustan Aga had a large establishment, and was something of a magnifico. He has the power of life and death. A word, a sign from him, and these men, who stand before you in an attitude so respectful, with an aspect so calm, so pale, would smile—and slay you!—Here I first saw

the true scribe; well robed, and dressed in turban, trowsers, and soft slipper, like one of rank among the people; his inkstand with its pen-case has the look of some weapon, and is worn like a dagger in the folds of the sash; it is of silver or brass—this was of silver. When summoned to use it, he takes some paper out of his bosom, cuts it into shape with scissors, then writes his letter by dictation, presents it for approval; it is tossed back to him with a haughty and careless air, and the ring drawn off and passed or thrown to him, to affix the seal. He does every thing on his knees, which are tucked up to serve him as a desk.'—*Ibid.* pp. 47–49.

'What most gratified me was the sight of the Turkish soldiery; there was a large body in garrison here—a division of that army which had been sent from Egypt against the Hedjaz, two or three years before. Scattered in groups through the bazaar, and reclining or squatted on the benches of the coffee-houses, these men were everywhere to be seen; some in turbans and vests covered with tarnished embroidery; others only in waistcoats with the small red cap, the red stocking, the bare knee, the white kilt, the loose shirt sleeve, which, with many, was tucked up to the very shoulder, and showed a nervous, hairy arm; all had pistols in their red girdles. Their complexions and features various; but very many among them had eyes of the lightest colours, and the hair on their upper lips of a sun-scorched brown or of a dirty yellow. They have a look at once indolent and ferocious, such as the tiger would have basking in the sun, and they are not less savage. The Turkish soldier would sit, smoke, and sleep, for a year or years together; he hates exertion and scorns discipline, but has within him a capability of great efforts, and an undaunted spirit. He will rise from his long rest to give the "wild halloo," and rush fearless to the battle. These troops were originally sent to Egypt from Constantinople, and were alike familiar with the snows of Thrace and the sun of Arabia; men who had, perhaps, seen the Russian in his furs, or bivouacked near the dark-rolling Danube. Such are the men who shed the blood of the peaceful Greek families in the gardens of Scio; and such are the men (let it not be forgotten) who, a short century ago, encamped under the walls of Vienna.'—*Ibid.* pp. 52, 53.

They embark, a third time, for Kosseir, and then proceed on camels across the Desert to Thebes. The following account of their progress is excellent—at once precise, picturesque, and poetical.

'The road through the desert is most wonderful in its features: a finer cannot be imagined. It is wide, hard, firm, winding, for at least two-thirds of the way, from Kosseir to Thebes, between ranges of rocky hills, rising often perpendicularly on either side, as if they had been scarped by art; here, again, rather broken, and overhanging, as if they were the lofty banks of a mighty river, and you traversing its dry and naked bed. Now you are quite landlocked; now again you open on small valleys, and see, upon heights beyond, small

squafe towers. It was late in the evening when we came to our ground, a sort of dry bay; sand, burning sand, with rock and cliff, rising in jagged points, all around—a spot where the waters of ocean might sleep in stillness, or, with the soft voice of their gentlest ripple, lull the storm-worn mariner. The dew of the night before had been heavy; we therefore pitched our tent, and decided on starting, in future, at a very early hour in the morning, so as to accomplish our march before noon. It was dark when we moved off, and even cold. Your camel is impatient to rise ere you are well seated on him; gives a shake, too, to warm his blood, and half dislodges you; marches rather faster than by day, and gives, occasionally, a hard quick stamp with his broad callous foot. Our moon was far in her wane. She rose, however, about an hour after we started, all red, above the dark hills on our left; yet higher rose, and paler grew, till at last she hung a silvery crescent in the deep blue sky. I claim for the traveller a love of that bright planet far beyond what the fixed and settled resident can ever know;—the meditation of the lover, the open lattice, the guitar, the villagers' castanets, are all in sweet character with the moon, or on her increase, or full-orbed; but the traveller (*especially in the East*), he loves her in her wane; so does the soldier at his still picquet of the night; and the sailor, on his silent watch, when she comes and breaks in upon the darkness of the night to sooth and bless him.

'Who passes the desert and says all is barren, all lifeless? In the grey morning you may see the common pigeon, and the partridge, and the pigeon of the rock, alight before your very feet, and come upon the beaten camel-paths for food. They are tame, for they have not learned to fear, or to distrust the men who pass these solitudes. The camel-driver would not lift a stone to them; and the sportsman could hardly find it in his heart to kill these gentle tenants of the desert. The deer might tempt him; I saw but one; far, very far, he caught the distant camel tramp, and paused, and raised and threw back his head to listen, then away to the road instead of from it; but far ahead he crossed it, and then away up a long slope he fleetly stole, and off to some solitary spring which wells, perhaps, where no traveller, no human being has ever trod.' *Ibid.* pp. 71–74.

The emerging from this lonely route is given with equal spirit and freshness of colouring.

'It was soon after daybreak, on the morrow, just as the sun was beginning to give his rich colouring of golden yellow to the white pale sand, that as I was walking alone at some distance far ahead of my companions, my eyes bent on the ground, and lost in thought, their kind and directing shout made me stop, and raise my head, when lo! a green vale, looking through the soft mist of morning, rather a vision than a reality, lay stretched in its narrow length before me. *The Land of Egypt!* We hurried panting on, and gazed, and were silent. In an hour we reached the village of Hejazi, situated on the very edge of the Desert. We alighted at a cool, clean

serai, having its inner room, with a large and small bath for the Mussulman's ablutions, its kiblah in the wall, and a large brimming water-trough in front for the thirsting camel. We walked forth into the fields, saw luxuriant crops of green bearded wheat, waving with its lights and shadows; stood under the shade of trees, saw fluttering and chirping birds; went down to a well and a water-wheel, and stood, like children, listening to the sound of the abundant and bright-flashing water, as it fell from the circling pots; and marked all around, scattered individually or in small groups, many people in the fields, oxen and asses grazing, and camels too among them.' *Ibid.* pp. 80, 81.

All this, however, is inferior to his first eloquent account of the gigantic ruins of Luxore, and the emotions to which they gave rise. We know nothing indeed better, in its way, than most of the following passages.

'Before the grand entrance of this vast edifice, which consists of many separate structures, formerly united in one harmonious design, two lofty obelisks stand proudly pointing to the sky, fair as the daring sculptor left them. The sacred figures and hieroglyphic characters which adorn them, are cut beautifully into the hard granite, and have the sharp finish of yesterday. The very stone looks not discoloured. You see them, as Cambyses saw them, when he stayed his chariot wheels to gaze up at them, and the Persian war-cry ceased before these acknowledged symbols of the sacred element of fire.—Behind them are two colossal figures, in part concealed by the sand, as is the bottom of a choked-up gateway, the base of a massive propylon, and, indeed, their own.—Very noble are all these remains, and on the propylon is a war-scene, much spoken of; but my eyes were continually attracted to the aspiring obelisks, and again and again you turn to look at them, with increasing wonder and silent admiration.' *Ibid.* pp. 86, 87.

'With a quick-beating heart, and steps rapid as my thoughts, I strode away, took the path to the village of Karnac, skirted it, and passing over loose sand, and, among a few scattered date trees, I found myself in the grand alley of the sphinxes, and directly opposite that noble gateway, which has been called triumphal; certainly triumph never passed under one more lofty, or, to my eye, of a more imposing magnificence. On the bold curve of its beautifully projecting cornice, a globe coloured, as of fire, stretches forth long overshadowing wings of the very brightest azure.—This wondrous and giant portal stands well; alone, detached a little way from the mass of the great ruins, with no columns, walls, or propylæa immediately near. I walked slowly up to it, through the long lines of sphinxes which lay couchant on either side of the broad road (once paved), as they were marshalled by him who planned these princely structures, we know not when. They are of a stone less durable than granite: their general forms are fully preserved, but the detail of execution is, in most of them, worn away.—In those forms, in that

couched posture, in the decaying, shapeless heads, the huge worn paws, the little image between them, and the sacred *tau* grasped in its crossed hands, there is something which disturbs you with a sense of awe. In the locality you cannot err; you are on a highway to a heathen temple; one that the Roman came, as you come, to visit and admire, and the Greck before him. And you know that priest and king, lord and slave, the festival throng and the solitary worshipper, trod for centuries where you do: and you know that there has been the crowding flight of the vanquished towards their sanctuary and last hold, and the quick trampling of armed pursuers, and the neighing of the war-horse, and the voice of the trumpet, and the shout, as of a king, among them, all on this silent spot. And you see before you, and on all sides, ruins:—the stones which formed wells and square temple-towers thrown down in vast heaps; or still, in large masses, erect as the builder placed them, and where their material has been fine, their surfaces and corners smooth, sharp, and uninjured by time. They are neither grey or blackened; like the bones of man, they seem to whiten under the sun of the desert. Here is no lichen, no moss, no rank grass or mantling ivy, no wall-flower or wild fig-tree to robe them, and to conceal their deformities, and bloom above them. No;—all is the nakedness of desolation—the colossal skeleton of a giant fabric standing in the unwatered sand, in solitude and silence.

'There are no ruins like these ruins. In the first court you pass into, you find one large, lofty, solitary column, erect among heaped and scattered fragments, which had formed a colonnade of one-and-twenty like it. You pause awhile, and then move slowly on. You enter a wide portal, and find yourself surrounded by one hundred and fifty columns, * on which I defy any man, sage or savage, to look unmoved. Their vast proportions the better taste of after days rejected and disused; but the still astonishment, the serious gaze, the thickening breath of the awed traveller, are tributes of an admiration, not to be checked or frozen by the chilling *rules* of taste.

'We passed the entire day in these ruins, wandering about alone, as inclination led us. Detailed descriptions I cannot give; I have neither the skill or the patience to count and to measure. I ascended a wing of the great propylon on the west, and sat there long. I crept round the colossal statues; I seated myself on a fallen obelisk, and gazed up at the three, yet standing erect amid huge fragments of fallen granite. I sauntered slowly round every part, examining the paintings and hieroglyphics, and listening now and then, not without a smile, to our polite little *cicerone*, as with the air of a condescending *savant*, he pointed to many of the symbols, saying, 'this means water,' and 'that means land,' 'this stability,' 'that life,' and 'here is the name of Berenice.'—*Ibid.* pp. 88–92.

* The central row have the enormous diameter of eleven French feet, the others that of eight.

'From hence we bade our guide conduct us to some catacombs; he did so, in the naked hill just above. Some are passages, some pits; but, in general, passages in the side of the hill. Here and there you may find a bit of the rock or clay, smoothed and painted, or bearing the mark of a thin fallen coating of composition; but, for the most part, they are quite plain. Bones, rags, and the scattered limbs of skeletons, which have been torn from their coffins, stripped of their grave-clothes, and robbed of the sacred scrolls, placed with them in the tomb, lie in or around these "open sepulchres." We found nothing; but surely the *very rag* blown to your feet is a relic. May it not have been woven by some damsel under the shade of trees, with the song that lightens labour, twenty centuries ago? or may it not have been carried with a sigh to the tiring-men of the temple by one who bought it to swathe the cold and stiffened limbs of a being loved in life, and mourned and honoured in his death? Yes, it is a relic; and one musing on which a warm fancy might find wherewithal to beguile a long and solitary walk.'—*Ibid.* pp. 100, 101.

'We then returned across the plain to our boat, passing and pausing before those celebrated statues so often described. They are seated on thrones, looking to the east, and on the Nile; in this posture they are upwards of fifty feet in height; and their bodies, limbs and heads, are large, spreading and disproportioned. These are very awful monuments. They bear the form of man; and there is a something in their very posture which touches the soul: they sit erect, calm; they have seen generation upon generation swept away, and still their stony gaze is fixed on man toiling and perishing at their feet! 'Twas late and dark ere we reached our home. The day following we again crossed to the western bank, and rode through a narrow hot valley in the Desert, to the tombs of the kings. Your Arab catches at the head of your ass in a wild dreary-looking spot, about five miles from the river, and motions you to alight. On every side of you rise low, but steep hills, of the most barren appearance, covered with loose and crumbling stones, and you stand in a narrow bridle-path, which seems to be the bottom of a natural ravine; you would fancy that you had lost your way, but your guide leads you a few paces forward, and you discover in the side of the hill an opening like the shaft of a mine. At the entrance, you observe that the rock, which is a close-grained, but soft stone, has been cut smooth and painted. He lights your wax torch, and you pass into a long corridor. On either side are small apartments which you stoop down to enter, and the walls of which you find covered with paintings: scenes of life faithfully represented; of *every-day life*, its pleasures and labours; the instruments of its happiness, and of its crimes. You turn to each other with a delight, not however unmixed with sadness, to mark how much the days of man then passed, as they do to this very hour. You see the labours of agriculture—the sower, the basket, the plough; the steers; and the artist has playfully depicted a calf skipping among the furrows. You have the making of

bread, the cooking for a feast; you have a flower garden, and a scene of irrigation; you see couches, sofas, chairs, and arm-chairs, such as might, this day, adorn a drawing-room in London or Paris; you have vases of every form down to the *common jug*, (ay! such as the brown one of Toby Philpot); you have harps, with figures bending over them, and others seated and listening; you have barks, with large, curious, and many-coloured sails; lastly, you have weapons of war, the sword, the dagger, the bow, the arrow, the quiver, spears, helmets, and dresses of honour.—The other scenes on the walls represent processions and mysteries, and all the apartments are covered with them or hieroglyphics. There is a small chamber with the cow of Isis, and there is one large room in an *unfinished* state,—designs chalked off, that were to have been completed on that to-morrow, which never came.—*Ibid.* pp. 104–109.

But we must hurry on. We cannot afford to make an abstract of this book, and indeed can find room but for a few more specimens. He meets with a *Scotch* Mameluke at Cairo; and is taken by Mr Salt to the presence of Ali Pacha. He visits the pyramids of course, describes rapidly and well the whole process of the visit—and thus moralizes the conclusion.

'He who has stood on the summit of the most ancient, and yet the most mighty monument of his power and pride ever raised by man, and has looked out and round to the far horizon, where Lybia and Arabia lie silent, and hath seen, at his feet, *the land of Egypt* dividing their dark solitudes with a narrow vale, beautiful and green, the mere enamelled setting of one solitary shining river, must receive impressions which he can never convey, for he cannot define them to himself.

'They are the tombs of Cheops and Cephrenes, says the Grecian. They are the tombs of Seth and Enoch, says the wild and imaginative Arabian; an English traveller with a mind warmed, perhaps, and misled by his heart, tells you that the large pyramid *may* have contained the ashes of the patriarch Joseph. It is all this which constitutes the very charm of a visit to these ancient monuments. You smile, and your smile is followed and reproved by a sigh. One thing you *know*—that the chief, and the philosopher, and the poet of the times of old, men "who mark fields as they pass with their own mighty names," have certainly been here; that Alexander has spurred his war-horse to its base; and Pythagoras, with naked foot, has probably stood upon its summit.'—*Ibid.* pp. 158, 159.

Cairo is described in great detail, and frequently with great feeling and eloquence. He saw a *live* cameleopard there—very beautiful and gentle. One of his most characteristic sketches, however, is that of the female slave market.

'We stopped before the gate of a large building, and, turning, entered a court of no great size, with a range of apartments all

round; open doors showed that they were dark and wretched. At them, or before them, stood or sat small groups of female slaves; also from within these chambers, you might catch the moving eyes and white teeth of those who shunned the light. There was a gallery above with other rooms, and slave girls leaning on the rail—laughter, all laughter—their long hair in numerous falling curls, white with fat; their faces, arms, and bosoms shining with grease. Exposure in the market is the moment of their joy. Their cots, their country, the breast that gave them suck, the hand that led their tottering steps not forgotten, but resigned, given up, as things gone for ever, left in another world. The toils and terrors of the wide desert, the hard and scanty fare, the swollen foot, the whip, the scalding tear, the curse; all, all are behind: hope meets them here and paints some master kind; some mistress gentle; some babe or child to win the heart of;—as bond-women they may bear a son, and live and die the contented inmates of some quiet harem. You see they laugh, and some wear even a wanton look—they are quite *happy!* No,—look at that scowling, dark-browed Moor; he is their owner; it is to please, or to escape from him, they smile: you think otherwise of that one; well, perhaps it is nature prompts her; but the many, and those wild, shy groups within—could we sit, and hear, and understand the simple history of every smiler there, we should go home and shudder.'—*Ibid.* pp. 178, 179.

He does not think much of Ali's new Institute—though he was assured by one of the tutors that its pupils were to be taught 'everything!' We have learned, from unquestionable authority, that from this *everything*, all that relates to Politics, Religion and Philosophy, is expressly excluded; and that little is proposed to be taught but the elements of the useful arts. There is a scanty library of European books, almost all French—the most conspicuous backed, 'Victoires des Français;'—and beside these, 'Les Liaisons Dangereuses'—only *one* book in English, though not ill-chosen—'Malcolm's Persia.' He was detained at Alexandria in a time of plague—and, after all, was obliged to return, when four days at sea, to land two sick men, and perform a new quarantine of observation. The passage to Malta produced but few adventures; but, for the sake of the Greeks, we must make room for the following passage. One morning they saw two vessels in the offing.

'The schooner made sail, and stood towards us in pretty style; when nearly up with us, down came the topsail, and up ran the Greek independent flag; and she fired a gun and brought us to. Our captain, whose great fault in my eye had been a constant and indiscriminate abuse of the Greek, of whom he could know little, and praise of the Turk, of whom he knew nothing, was alarmed lest they should overhaul, seize him, or do worse, and immediately said, "Now you will see what these rascals will do." Nothing could be

more orderly or respectful than their bearing. The captain, a grave, dark, erect man, of about forty, stood at his gangway, and hailed us through his speaking trumpet; his costume, that of the Asiatic Greek, which is very similar to the Turk, but he wore a large broad straw hat overshadowing his face. As he stood, his person exposed at his gangway, he had a manly commanding look, and still more so as he stepped down into his boat, and again, when he stood up in it as it pulled under our stern, and rose, sunk, and swayed to the high and buoyant waves. He asked a few questions about the sailing of the Egyptian squadron, our landing, time out, &c. He saluted as he came alongside, and as he pulled off; and his boat shot handsomely athwart our bows and away. The boat's crew were handsome, bold-looking young men, turbaned; among them was a youth who pulled at the bow oar, of a very fair complexion, with a remarkably fine and fearless expression of countenance. On board the vessel, which was a fine seaboat, and well armed, everything was done smartly, well, and in seamanlike style,—you heard but the whistle, and she made sail and away.

'May the God of battles prosper them! say I. The open honest Turk, and the cunning deceitful Greek, as I have too often heard Englishmen designate them. Who makes the Grecian what he is? As noble thoughts find a place in his bosom, they will swell and expand, and force out all the weaker weeds, which would choke their growth. I know not how the Englishman, who *is free*, or the Christian, who has a Bible, can say his prayers, and wish the Turk success.—*Ibid.* pp. 218–220.

There is an admirable description of Valetta, and the whole island—and then of Syracuse and Catania; but we can give only the night ascent to Ætna—and that rather for the scene of the Sicilian cottage, than for the sketch of the mighty mountain.

'It was near ten o'clock when the youth who led the way stopped before a small dark cottage in a by-lane of Nicolosi, the guide's he said it was, and hailed them. The door was opened; a light struck; and the family was roused, and collected round me; a grey-headed old peasant and his wife; two hardy, plain, dark young men, brothers (one of whom was in his holiday gear, new breeches, and red garters, and flowered waistcoat, and clean shirt, and shining buttons); a girl of sixteen, handsome; a "mountain-girl beaten with winds," looking curious, yet fearless and "chaste as the hardened rock on which she dwelt;" and a boy of twelve, an unconscious figure in the group, fast slumbering in his clothes on the hard floor. Glad were they of the dollar-bringing stranger, but surprised at the excellenza's fancy for coming at that hour; cheerfully, however, the gay youth stripped off his holiday-garb, and put on a dirty shirt and thick brown clothes, and took his cloak and went to borrow a mule (for I found, by their consultation, that there was some trick, this not being

the regular privileged guide family. During his absence, the girl brought me a draught of wine, and all stood round with welcoming and flattering laughings, and speeches in Sicilian, which I did not understand, but which gave me pleasure, and made me look on their dirty and crowded cottage as one I had rather trust to, if I knocked at it even without a dollar, than the lordliest mansion of the richest noble in Sicily.

'For about four miles, your mule stumbles along safely over a bed of lava, lying in masses on the road; then you enter the woody region: the wood is open, of oaks, not large, yet good-sized trees, growing amid fern; and, lastly, you come out on a soft barren soil, and pursue the ascent till you find a glistering white crust of snow of no depth, cracking under your mule's tread; soon after, you arrive at a stone cottage, called Casa Inglese, of which my guide had not got the key; here you dismount, and we tied up our mules close by, and scrambling over huge blocks of lava, and up the toilsome and slippery ascent of the cone, I sat me down on ground all hot, and smoking with sulphureous vapour, which has for the first few minutes the effect of making your eyes smart, and water, of oppressing and taking away your breath. It yet wanted half an hour to the break of day, and I wrapped my cloak close round me to guard me from the keen air, which came up over the white cape of snow that lay spread at the foot of the smoking cone, where I was seated.

'The earliest dawn gave to my view the awful crater, with its two deep mouths, from one whereof there issued large volumes of thick white smoke, pressing up in closely crowding clouds; and all around, you saw the earth loose, and with crisped, yellow-mouthed small cracks, up which came little, light, thin wreathes of smoke that soon dissipated in the upper air, &c.—And when you turn to gaze downwards and see the golden sun come up in light and majesty to bless the waking millions of your fellows, and the dun vapours of the night roll off below, and capes, and hills, and towns, and the wide ocean are seen as through a thin unearthly veil; your eyes fill, and your heart swells; all the blessings you enjoy, all the innocent pleasures you find in your wanderings, that preservation, which in storm, and in battle, and mid the pestilence, was mercifully given to your half-breathed prayer, all rush in a moment on your soul.'—*Ibid.* pp. 253–257.

The following brief sketch of the rustic auberges of Sicily is worth preserving, as well as the sentiment with which it closes.

'The chambers of these rude inns would please, at first, any one. Three or four beds (mere planks upon iron trestles), with broad, yellow-striped, coarse mattresses, turned up on them; a table and chairs of wood, blackened by age, and of forms belonging to the past century; a daub or two of a picture, and two or three coloured prints of Madonnas and saints; a coarse table-cloth, and coarser napkin; a thin, blue-tinted drinking glass; dishes and plates of a striped, dirty-coloured, pimply ware; and a brass lamp with three

mouths, a shape common to Delhi, Cairo, and Madrid, and as ancient as the time of the Etruscans themselves.

'To me it had another charm; it brought Spain before me, the peasant and his cot, and my chance billets among that loved and injured people. Ah! I will not dwell on it; but this only I will venture to say, they err greatly, grossly, who fancy that the Spaniard, the most patiently brave and resolutely persevering man, as a man, on the continent of Europe, will wear long any yoke he feels galling and detestable.'—*Ibid.* pp. 268, 269.

The picture of Naples is striking, and reminds us in many places of Mad. de Staël's splendid sketches from the same subjects in Corrinne. But we must draw to a close now with our extracts; and shall add but one or two more, peculiarly characteristic of the gentle mind and English virtues of the author.

'I next went into the library, a noble room, and a vast collection. I should much like to have seen those things which are shown here, especially the handwriting of Tasso. I was led as far, and into the apartment where they are shown. I found priests reading, and men looking as if they were learned. I was confused at the creaking of my boots; I gave the hesitating look of a wish, but I ended by a blush, bowed, and retired. I passed again into the larger apartment, and I felt composed as I looked around. Why life, thought I, would be too short for any human being to read these folios; but yet, if safe from the pedant's frown, one could have a vast library to range in, there is little doubt that, with a love of truth, and a thirsting for knowledge, the man of middle age, who regretted his early closed lexicon, might open it again with delight and profit. While thus musing, in stamped two travellers,—my countrymen, my bold, brave countrymen—not intellectual, I could have sworn, or Lavater is a cheat—

" Pride in their port, defiance in their eye:"—

They strode across to confront the doctors, and demanded to see those sights to which the book directed and the grinning *domestique de place* led them. I envied them, and yet was angry with them; however, I soon bethought me, such are the men who are often sterling characters, true hearts. They will find no seduction in a southern sun, but back to the English girl they love best, to be liked by her softer nature the better for having seen Italy, and taught by her gentleness to speak about it pleasingly, and prize what they have seen:—Such are the men whom our poor men like,—who are generous masters and honest voters, faithful husbands and kind fathers; who, if they make us smiled at abroad in peace, make us feared in war, and any one of whom is worth to his country far more than a dozen mere sentimental wanderers.'—*Ibid.* pp. 296—298.

'Always on quitting the museum it is a relief to drive somewhere, that you may relieve the mind and refresh the sight with a view of earth and ocean. The view from the Belvedere, in the garden of

St Martino, close to the fortress of St Elmo, is said to be unequalled in the world. I was walking along the cloister to it, when I heard voices behind me, and saw an English family—father, mother, with daughter and son, of drawing-room and university ages. I turned aside that I might not intrude on them, and went to take my gaze when they came away from the little balcony. I saw no features; but the dress, the gentle talking, and the quietude of their whole manner, gave me great pleasure. A happy domestic English family! parents travelling to delight, improve, and *protect* their children; younger ones at home, perhaps, who will sit next summer on the shady lawn, and listen as Italy is talked over, and look at prints, and turn over a sister's sketch-book, and beg a brother's journal. Magically varied is the grandeur of the scene—the pleasant city; its broad bay; a little sea that knows no storms; its garden neighbourhood; its famed Vesuvius, not looking either vast, or dark, or dreadful—all bright and smiling, garmented with vineyards below, and its brow barren, yet not without a hue of that ashen or slaty blueness which improves a mountain's aspect; and far behind, stretched in their full bold forms, the shadowy Appenines. Gaze and go back, English; Naples, with all its beauties and its pleasures, its treasury of ruins, and recollections, and fair works of art; its soft music and balmy airs cannot make you happy; may gratify the gaze of taste, but never suit the habits of your mind. There are many homeless solitary Englishmen who might sojourn longer in such scenes, and be soothed by them; but to become dwellers, settled residents, would be, even for them, impossible.'—*Ibid.* pp. 301—303.

We must break off here—though there is much temptation to go on. But we have now shown enough of these volumes to enable our readers to judge safely of their character—and it would be unfair, perhaps, to steal more from their pages. We think we have extracted impartially; and are sensible, at all events, that we have given specimens of the faults as well as the beauties of the author's style. His taste in writing certainly is not unexceptionable. He is seldom quite simple or natural, and sometimes very *fade* and affected. He has little bits of inversions in his sentences, and small exclamations and ends of ordinary verse dangling about them, which we often wish away—and he talks rather too much of himself, and his ignorance and humility, while he is turning those fine sentences, and laying traps for our applause. But, in spite of all these things, the books are very interesting and instructive; and their merits greatly outweigh their defects. If the author has occasional failures, he has frequent felicities;—and, independent of the many beautiful and brilliant passages which he has furnished for our delight, has contrived to breathe over all his work a spirit of kindliness and contentment, which, if it does not minister (as it ought) to our improvement, must at least disarm our censure of all bitterness.

ART. III. *A Letter on the Present State and Future Prospects of Agriculture, addressed to the Agriculturists of Salop.* By W. W. WHITMORE, Esq. M. P. pp. 86. London, 1822.

THOUGH we have often endeavoured to demonstrate the impolicy of the existing Corn-laws, and the advantages that would result from their repeal, we make no apology for again reverting to a subject bearing so strongly on the best interests of the country. Perhaps, however, we should have deferred the remarks we have now to offer on these laws to a future opportunity, had we not learned that they are certainly to be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons during the ensuing session of Parliament. This circumstance has induced us to think that we might advantageously employ a few pages, not so much in discussing the general policy of restrictions on the corn-trade, as in showing the fallacy of those arguments *ad misericordiam* on which the agriculturists now principally rest their claims to protection. It is no longer contended, that monopolies and restrictions ought to be supported for their own sakes, or that they are intrinsically advantageous. The principles on which they are founded are now universally admitted to be unsound, even by those who attempt to justify them in their application to particular cases. None of the more intelligent advocates of the corn-laws now defend them on the ground of their being calculated to accelerate the progress of the country in wealth and civilization: On the contrary, they generally concede that this desirable result would be most effectually secured by allowing food to be purchased in the cheapest market: But they contend that, though the free admission of foreign corn might eventually lead to a greater increase of wealth, it would, in the first instance, be productive of ruin to the whole rural population of the country,—that their numbers would be diminished,—and that our agriculture, which they allege is the only sure foundation of national opulence, would be irreparably injured. Now, unquestionably, if it could be shown that these consequences would flow from the abolition of the restrictive system, it would be necessary to treat it with the greatest possible caution: And ministers might well be excused for doubting whether the prospective advantages to be derived from the freedom of the corn-trade, would be a sufficient compensation for the destruction of individual fortunes, the forced change of employments, and the wide-spread misery which it is affirmed would be occasioned by the transit from the restrictive

to a free system. We are satisfied, however, that the establishment of the perfect freedom of the corn-trade would be productive of no such results; and we think it will not be difficult to establish, beyond all question, that the fears and apprehensions of the agriculturists, whether real or pretended, are alike futile and visionary.

The erroneous opinions so industriously circulated respecting the price at which foreign corn might be obtained in our markets, are the cause of the false estimates that have been formed of the effect that would be produced by an entire freedom of trade. Some of the more zealous advocates of agricultural monopoly really seem to think that the serfs of Poland and Russia, and the untaxed democrats of North America, raise corn for nothing; and contend that, if there were no restrictions on the importation of their produce, it would be quite impossible to raise another bushel in England! And even those who are least apprehensive, state, that if the free importation of foreign corn were permitted, it would be sold at a lower price than would suffice to pay the cost of raising it on any but our *very best* soils; and that the unavoidable consequence of such importation would be, to throw *two-thirds*, or at least *a half*, of the land of England out of cultivation! In proof of this, we may mention, that, in March 1821, Mr Curwen stated, in his place in the House of Commons, on what he no doubt considered as unquestionable authority, that wheat might be grown in Poland at 8s. a quarter, and that 12s. or 13s. was considered a high remunerating price! To the same effect, Mr Ellman of Sussex, one of the leading agriculturists, stated to the Agricultural Committee of 1821, that he knew, from good authority, that the *best* Dantzic wheat might be delivered at Newhaven harbour, near Lewes, free of all charges, at 32s. or 33s. a quarter. And the other agricultural witnesses examined by the Committee concurred generally in opinion, that, in the event of the ports being opened, foreign wheat might, in ordinary years, be sold in London for 30s. or 35s.!

Such are the assertions of the agriculturists; and the only thing we have to regret is, that they should be utterly without foundation. We say *regret*, for whatever the agricultural doctors may say to the contrary, there can be no doubt that it would be of prodigious advantage to the public to be able to obtain sufficient supplies of wheat for 30s. or 35s. a quarter. Even such a fall of price would not be effectual to throw *one-fifth* of the land now in cultivation into pasture; at the same time that the reduction it would occasion in the rate of wages, would, by proportionally raising the rate

of profit, give an immense stimulus to industry in general, and would accelerate the progress of the country in a degree that could hardly be conceived possible. But, unfortunately, the perfect freedom of the corn-trade would procure us no such boon. It would indeed be a great and signal benefit, because it would secure us perpetual plenty, and present an insuperable obstacle to any very oppressive rise of prices in future; *but it would not at all depress them.* They have, for upwards of a twelvemonth, been nearly coincident with what would be their lowest *average limit* were the ports thrown open; and, however extraordinary it may appear to those who have been accustomed implicitly to subscribe to the dogmas of the late Mr Webb Hall and his Committee, we are prepared to show, *that every acre of land which it is possible to cultivate with profit at this moment,* * *might be so cultivated, were every restriction and prohibition abolished, and our artisans allowed full liberty to purchase their corn in the cheapest markets.*

To establish the perfect accuracy of this position, we shall subjoin a short review of the prices of corn at the principal foreign markets, beginning with that of Dantzic. Now, instead of 12s. or 13s. being, as Mr Curwen stated, considered by the Polish cultivators as a *high* remunerating price, Mr Oddy, who visited Dantzic, states, in his work on 'European Commerce,' published in 1805, that 32s. 6d. a quarter is *the lowest* price for which any considerable supply of wheat could be purchased at Dantzic. (p. 250.) In like manner, Mr Solly, an extensive corn-merchant, who was formerly in business at Dantzic, stated to the Committee of the House of Commons, that when there was *no direct foreign demand*, a quarter of wheat might be put on board ship at Dantzic for about 35s.; that the freight to London would be about 4s. 6d. or 5s. more; and that the expense attending its unloading and warehousing there, would be an additional 3s.; making its price to the importer about 43s. a quarter. (*Report, p.* 316.) Mr Solly farther stated, that when the foreign demand was considerable, the price was much higher; and according to the *data* given in his evidence, it is plain that *fine* Dantzic wheat could not be imported into London, in ordinary years, in the event of our ports being opened, at less than from 55s. to 60s. a quarter. To the same effect, Mr Grade of Dantzic states, in a letter printed in the Appendix to the Report (p. 364), that 'From a calculation made out by an eminent practical land 'proprietor in the adjoining province, it appears, that *if land*

* Average prices are now, the 25th of September, wheat 55s. 2d., rye 31s. 8d., barley 33s. 1d., oats 21s. 5d.

'*could be had for nothing, and reckoning upon no casualties, such* '*as a failure of the crop, extraordinary taxes, requisitions, quar-*'*tering of troops, &c. the mere producing prices of grain would be*

'300 f. Prussian currency per last of Wheat, or 31s. 9d. per quarter.
'150 f. —————— per do. of Rye, or 15s. 10d. per do.
'120 f. —————— per do. of Barley, or 12s. 8d. per do.
' 90 f. —————— per do. of Oats, or 9s. 6d. per do.

'To these must be added, according to the distance and de-'scription of grain, from 4s. to 6s. a quarter for bringing the 'produce to market, and incidental expenses on the same.' Mr Grade's statement corresponds to a fraction with that given by Mr Jacob in his evidence. (*Report, p.* 374.)

In farther corroboration of what we have just stated, we shall now lay before our readers a Table furnished to the Committee by Mr Grade, of the average prices of corn at Dantzic, free on board, in decennial periods from 1770 to 1820.

Average Price, from ten to ten years, of the different species of Corn, free on board, *per quarter, in Sterling money, at Dantzic.*

	Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
From 1770 to 1779, inclusive - -	33	9	21	8	16	1	11	1
1780 to 1789 -	33	10	22	1	17	11	12	4
1790 to 1799 -	43	8	26	3	19	3	12	6
1800 to 1809 -	60	0	34	10	25	1	13	1
1810 to 1819 -	55	4	31	1	26	0	20	4
Aggregate average price of the 49 years -	45	4	27	2	20	10	13	10

This authentic account agrees in every part with the statements in Mr Solly's evidence; and shows, that the average price of wheat at Dantzic is at least three or four times the amount mentioned by Mr Curwen. 7s. or 8s. a quarter is to be added for the expenses of freighting, warehousing, &c. in England.

It appears, indeed, from the Report of the English Consul (Parliamentary Papers, No. 289, Session 1823–4), * that the *average* price of wheat at Dantzic in 1823 was as low as 23s. a quarter; to which, if we add 3s. for putting it on board, and 8s. as freight, insurance, and port charges in London, its price to the importer would be 34s. a quarter, exclusive of all compensation on account of damage during the voyage, and

* The returns by the Consuls, given in this paper, only include the years 1822 and 1823.

other contingencies. But then it is to be observed, that although the average quality of the Dantzic wheat *exported for England*—and it is the price of such only that is given in the previous Table—is equal to the average quality of English wheat, there is a considerable supply of very inferior red wheat disposed of in the Dantzic market, partly for *home* consumption, and partly for exportation to Holland; and as the price of this inferior sort enters into the average given in the Consul's return, it must have the effect to depress it a good deal below what it would otherwise be. It should also be recollected that the Continental crops were unusually abundant last year, and that there was, in consequence, a comparatively limited exportation of wheat from Dantzic; and at all events it would be worse than absurd to draw any general conclusions from the price of a single year, more especially when there is *unquestionable evidence* to show that it is very considerably below what the Polish cultivators estimate as their lowest growing price, and when, therefore, it is certain the depression can only be of very temporary duration. *

The total quantity of wheat exported from Dantzic to foreign countries in 1801 and 1802, the years of greatest exportation, and when the price free on board was as high as 64s. 6d., amounted, according to Mr Oddy (European Commerce, p. 252), to 90,019 lasts, or 945,199 quarters; of which 638,148 quarters were exported to England, being at the rate of 319,074 quarters a year. Mr Solly is of opinion, that if the price of wheat in England was 80s., the ports on the Baltic and the north of Europe might furnish us with about a million of quarters; but that, if the price were only 60s., not more than 700,000 quarters could be drawn from thence. There can be little doubt, however, that in the event of the freedom of the corn trade being established, foreigners would regularly calculate on the demand of Britain, and that an increased quantity of corn would, in consequence, be raised for the supply of our markets. But, on the supposition that we imported 1,400,000 quarters from Northern Europe, or *double* the quantity which Mr Solly thinks we should be able to procure when our prices were at 60s., it would certainly fall short of a *twentieth* part of the total consumption of Great Britain. And as our greatest supplies must always be derived from these very countries, it is immediately seen how ridiculous it is to suppose that the perfect freedom of the corn trade could ever have the effect of rendering us in any considerable degree dependent on foreign supplies.

* In proof of what is stated in the text, we may mention, that *fine* Dantzic wheat, in *bond*, was selling in London in the first week of October at 48s. a quarter.

Amsterdam is, next to Dantzic, the greatest corn market of the Continent. Now, according to the statements in the Amsterdam Table of Prices, in the Report of the Committee of 1821, it appears, that the average price of *mixed* and *white* wheat was 62s. a quarter in 1819, and 42s. in 1820, when the price was considered unusually low. The Consul's return indeed gives only about 27s. as the *general* average price of wheat in Amsterdam in 1823. It must, however, be observed, that this average necessarily embraces a large supply of wheat from the Russian ports, including Archangel and Petersburgh, the produce of which is full 13s. a quarter inferior to that of England, and that it also embraces inferior samples raised at home: For these reasons, we are inclined to think that the prices of mixed and white wheats, the superior sorts, were not a great deal lower in Amsterdam last year than in 1820; though, had that been the case, yet as no corn of the growth of Holland is exported from Amsterdam, we could not have obtained any considerable supply without occasioning an instant and considerable rise of price. *

The Committee of the House of Commons did not collect any very full or particular accounts of the price of wheat in France. Luckily, however, it is not difficult to supply this deficiency. The last edition of the Marquis Garnier's excellent translation of the 'Wealth of Nations' (tom. 5. p. 178), contains the following Table of the price of wheat at Paris, from 1801 to 1819, both inclusive.

Price of the Hectolitre of Wheat at the Market of Paris.

Years.	Lowest Price.	Highest Price.	Average Price.
1801, -	19 fr. 19 cent.	22 fr. 99 cent.	21 fr. 09 cent.
1802, -	23 - 55 —	28 - 75 —	26 - 15 —
1803, -	18 - 06 —	20 - 70 —	19 - 38 —
1804, -	13 - 09 —	15 - 63 —	14 - 36 —
1805, -	17 - 60 —	19 - 80 —	18 - 70 —
1806, -	15 - 91 —	18 - 97 —	17 - 44 —
1807, -	16 - 77 —	20 - 27 —	18 - 52 —
1808, -	13 - 80 —	16 - 94 —	15 - 37 —

* At the same time that the Consul's return makes the average price of wheat in Amsterdam, in 1823, about 27s. a quarter, it makes its average price in Rotterdam exceed 35s.—a difference which can only be accounted for by the greater quantity of inferior wheat in the former market. The Consuls ought to be instructed to specify the average prices of the *different sorts of wheat*. When the qualities in the market differ so widely as at Amsterdam, no sound conclusion can be deduced from general averages.

Years.	Lowest Price.	Highest Price.	Average Price.
1809, -	11 fr. 36 cent.	13 fr. 42 cent.	12 fr. 39 cent.
1810, -	15 - 44 —	17 - 50 —	16 - 47 —
1811, -	18 - 86 —	20 - 70 —	19 - 78 —
1812, -	30 - 88 —	33 - 52 —	32 - 20 —
1813, -	21 - 33 —	24 - 88 —	23 - 10 —
1814, -	15 - 46 —	18 - 10 —	16 - 78 —
1815, -	14 - 22 —	16 - 18 —	15 - 20 —
1816, -	26 - 24 —	28 - 22 —	27 - 23 —
1817, -	31 - 08 —	37 - 50 —	34 - 29 —
1818, -	22 - 98 —	24 - 60 —	23 - 79 —
1819, -	16 - 85 —	18 - 81 —	17 - 83 —

The general average price of the nineteen years is 20 fr. 53 cent. the hectolitre, or 30 fr. 80 cent. the septier, which, taking the exchange at 25 fr., is equal to 45s. 6d. the quarter. We may add, that Count Chaptal, in his valuable work *De l'Industrie Françoise* (Tom. I. p. 226), published in 1819, estimates the average price of wheat throughout France at 18 fr. the hectolitre, or 42s. 10d. the quarter; an estimate which corresponds very closely with the English Consul's report of the price of wheat at Havre in 1823. The expense of importing a quarter of French wheat into London amounts, we understand, to about 7s., which would give 50s. for its necessary price in this country. But France has very little surplus produce to dispose of; so that it would be plainly impossible for us to import any considerable supply of French corn without occasioning an advance of price. The best informed merchants we have conversed with are of opinion, that, in the event of our restrictions being abolished, the price of French wheat in the London market, in ordinary years, would fluctuate from 55s. to 65s. a quarter.

The prices of wheat at the market of Odessa, on the Black Sea—the only port in Southern Europe from which any considerable supplies of wheat can be obtained—are extremely fluctuating and various. In 1821, the price of wheat at Odessa amounted, according to Mr Tooke, to about 30s. a quarter; and we are informed, by the same excellent authority, that the charges necessarily attending the importation of wheat from Odessa to London would not fall short of 22s. 6d. a quarter. (Report, p. 226.) It must be further kept in view, that if the average price of English wheat was 60s., Odessa wheat would not, on account of its inferior quality, be worth above 48s., or at most 50s.; so that it would be impossible to bring Odessa wheat into competition with English wheat worth 60s., unless its prime cost was rather below 27s., which is very rarely, if

ever, the case, with such qualities as are fit for exportation.—So much for the Continent of Europe. Let us next see what chance there is of the Americans deluging us with supplies of low priced corn.

And first as to Canada. Mr Auldjo and Mr Hart Logan, two American merchants, state, that the average price of wheat in Lower Canada, when there is a demand for the English market, is 40s. a quarter; that the expenses of its importation would be 14s., making together 54s.; but that, being spring wheat, it is not so valuable, by 6s. a quarter, as English wheat.

With regard to the United States, Mr Pitkin informs us, * that the prices by which the value of the wheat exported has been calculated at the Treasury Department in the undermentioned years, have been as follows:

Years.	Wheat per Bushel in Dollars.	Wheat per Quarter in Sterling, Ex. at 4s. 3d.
1811, -	1 dollar 75 cents.	58s. 0d.
1812, -	1 — 94 —	64s. 8d.
1813, -	1 — 75 —	58s. 0d.
1814, -	0 — 00 —	0s. 0d.
1815, -	1 — 25 —	42s. 8d.
1816, -	1 — 75 —	58s. 0d.

There is, for some reason or other not stated, no return from the English Consul of the prices of corn at New York, either in 1822 or 1823: But it appears, from the return of the Consul at Philadelphia, that the price of wheat in that city, in 1823, was very near 5s. 8d. a bushel, or 45s. a quarter. The various charges attending the importation of a quarter of wheat from New York or Philadelphia into London, amount to from 12s. to 14s. †

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* Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, 2d ed., p. 112.

† We have been obligingly favoured by Mr Hodgson, of the great commercial house of Cropper, Benson, & Co. of Liverpool, with the following statement, showing what would be the average price of the principal descriptions of foreign wheat in this country, if English sold from 52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d. a quarter.

English, supposed to weigh	59 to 00 lbs. per Win.,	52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d.	per quarter.
Dantzic, . .	58 to 00 —	49s. 9d. to 56s. 6d.	—
Netherlands, .	59 to 00 —	52s. 3d. to 55s. 7d.	—
Petersburgh and Archangel,	56 to 57 —	39s. 1d. to 42s. 4d.	—
Odessa, . .	56 to 57 —	41s. 7d. to 45s. 7d.	—
United States of America,	58 to 00 —	53s. 0d. to 54s. 8d.	—
Canada, - -	57 to 00 —	48s. 0d. to 00s. 0d.	—
Irish, - -	56 to 57 —	41s. 7d. to 45s. 7d.	—

Mr Whitmore says he had been assured, by a merchant of the highest respectability, that the United States could not easily furnish more than 100,000 quarters annually, and about 500,000 barrels of flour, equal to about 312,500 quarters; and this estimate is strongly corroborated by the official returns given in Mr Pitkin's work. (p. 111.)

Thus, then, it appears, from evidence which it is impossible either to dispute or controvert, that *in ordinary years, no foreign wheat could be imported into this country for less than from 55s. to 60s. a quarter.* It is plainly, therefore a miserable error to suppose, that the repeal of the existing corn-laws would have the effect to deluge the country with foreign corn, and to throw a large proportion of our cultivated lands into pasture. Our prices are at this moment *below* what would be their common and ordinary level, were the ports open to unfettered importation. Were the restrictive system abolished, we should most probably become a regularly importing nation; and our prices would, in consequence, depend on the price at which foreigners could afford to supply us. But we have sufficiently proved, that this price could not be less than from 55s. to 60s. a quarter; and this therefore would, in ordinary years, be the *lowest* limit to which the home price could fall. It is true that there is at present a temporary glut at Dantzic, and some of the other Baltic ports, owing to the unusual productiveness of the two last harvests, and the consequent decline of exportation to Southern Europe; but it is abundantly certain that this glut must speedily disappear, and that we could not reckon on obtaining any considerable supply from Dantzic in common years, were our prices below 60s.

When, therefore, the misrepresentations and delusions so industriously propagated by the friends of monopoly have been cleared away, it is seen that the repeal of the existing Corn-laws would not occasion the least reduction of price, and could not, therefore, be productive of injury to the farmers. Neither could it, even in its immediate effects, be in any considerable degree injurious to the landlords. It will be remembered that the average price of wheat in England and Wales in 1802, 1803 and 1804, years of considerable improvement, was just 61s., being very near the future probable average at which it would stand under a system of perfectly free trade; while the greater cheapness of labour, and the improvements that have since taken place in agriculture, would enable corn to be raised from the same soils at a less expense at this moment than in 1802 or 1804. It cannot even be said that last year was by any means an unfavourable one to the farmers, and yet the average price of wheat was then only 51s. 6d. There is not, therefore, the

shadow of a reason for supposing that any land which it was possible to cultivate with a profit in 1802, 1803, and 1804, or in 1823 and 1824, might not be profitably cultivated under a system of freedom; and if so, the abolition of the existing restrictions could not occasion any decline in the present amount of rent. Its only effect would be to cause the abandonment of most of the poor lands taken into cultivation during the high farming mania from 1809 to 1814, or, to speak more correctly, to put an end to all hopes of its ever being again possible to cultivate them with advantage. But the final abandonment of these lands must assuredly take place, whether we abolish the restrictions on the corn trade or not. The friends of monopoly need not flatter themselves with the vain and delusive idea that any system that can be adopted will enable them to continue the cultivation of all the inferior soils that were advantageously cultivated in 1813 and 1814. To effect this, prices would require to be forced up to 100*s.* or 120*s.* a quarter; and, long before they had attained this level, either famine or rebellion, or both, would be raging throughout the country. It is certain, therefore, that the cultivation of these poor soils must, under any system, be indefinitely abandoned; but it is the extreme of ignorant or intentional misrepresentation to affirm, that a *half* or a *third* of the land of England would be thrown into pasture, by reverting to the sound principles of a free trade. The unbounded freedom of the corn trade would not render it necessary to abandon any but the most worthless soils, and which ought never to have been broken up.

But if the abolition of the Corn-laws would not be injurious to the farmers or landlords, by causing a farther reduction of price, it would, in other respects, be singularly advantageous to them. Were the freedom of the corn trade established, it is plain that our prices would be governed by the *average* price of Europe, which, inasmuch as the weather that is unfavourable to one country is generally favourable to another, is comparatively steady. As illustrative of this principle, we may observe, that Holland, during the days of her greatest prosperity, was chiefly fed on imported corn; and it is an undoubted fact that prices in Amsterdam were always comparatively moderate, and that they varied less than in any other market of Europe. It is freedom, and freedom only, that can put an effectual stop to those sudden and excessive fluctuations in the price of corn, which are so extremely ruinous to all classes of the community, but most of all to the farmer. When a comparatively rich and highly populous country like England, excludes foreign produce from her markets, she is compelled to resort to very infe-

rior soils to obtain supplies of food. In consequence, her average prices are raised far above the common level of surrounding countries; and therefore, when an unusually luxuriant crop occurs, no relief being obtained from exportation, the whole surplus produce is thrown on her own markets, and a ruinous depression of price necessarily and unavoidably follows. The avowed object of the Corn law of 1815,* which prevented all importation of foreign wheat for home consumption until the home price rose to 80s., was to keep the price steadily up to that level. But the slightest acquaintance with the most obvious principles, would have taught the framers of this act that it would be quite ineffectual to its object. By preventing importation, except in years when the home crops are deficient, we necessarily prevent the establishment of any regular and systematic intercourse with foreign countries. Since 1815, no Polish or American cultivator has ever been able to calculate on a demand from England: In consequence, no corn has been raised for our markets; and when our crops have been deficient, the inadequacy of the foreign supplies has allowed our prices to rise to an exorbitant height. Had the corn trade been free, the calamitous harvest of 1816, for example, would have been met by abundant importations, the average price in April that year being 65s. 5d.; but it was not ascertained that the ports would open at 80s. till the 15th of November, when the season was too far advanced to admit of importation from the great corn ports of Europe; and in consequence, before the spring shipments could arrive, the average price of wheat had risen to 103s. 11d., being little short of double its price only twelve months before! Owing partly to the unprecedented destruction of agricultural capital that had taken place during the low prices of 1814, 1815 and 1816, partly to deficient harvests,

* The Corn law of 1822 is a second, though certainly not an improved, edition of that of 1815. It allows the importation of foreign wheat when the home price is 70s.; but if the home price be under 80s., a duty of 17s. is imposed during the first three months, and of 12s. afterwards. This is really very near the same thing as absolute exclusion up to 80s. This law has not hitherto come into operation, except in the case of oats, which were admitted for importation, on payment of a duty of 6s., on the 14th of August last. Notwithstanding the outcry that was raised on this occasion, very few oats—not more, we are informed, than a supply for *one* day's consumption—have been imported. The price of oats has only fallen 5s. a quarter, a reduction which, it is next to certain, would have taken place at any rate, owing to the abundant harvest.

and, more than all, to the restraints on importation, the prices of 1817, 1818 and 1819, were oppressively high. But mark the effects of this increase of price. It led the farmers to suppose that the corn law was at length beginning to have the effects its supporters had anticipated from it; their drooping spirits were in consequence revived; fresh capital was applied to the land; and this increase of tillage conspiring with favourable seasons, again sunk prices to such a degree, that they fell in October 1822 so low as 38s. 1d., the average of that year being only 43s. 3d.!

It is thus that the restrictive system is productive of double mischief. By preventing importation, it aggravates all the evils of scarcity when the home crops are deficient; while, by forcing the cultivation of poor soils, and raising average prices, it prevents exportation in a year of unusual plenty, and renders the bounty of Providence a curse to the farmer! So long as we support the existing corn laws, we shall have the same incessant alternation of ruinously low and oppressively high prices which we have experienced since 1815. At one time our ears will be stunned with the complaints of the agriculturists; and when these have subsided, they will be assailed with the louder and more piercing and menacing cries of the manufacturing population—with the noise of radical rebellions, and fresh suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act! The low prices of the restrictive system cannot be otherwise than ephemeral; for these low prices, by destroying agricultural capital, and driving bad land out of cultivation, necessarily diminish the supply, and occasion an unmeasured increase of price on the occurrence of the first unfavourable harvest. But it is material to observe, that while this increase of price is fatal to the great mass of the consumers, it is of no real advantage to the agriculturists; for, by attracting additional capital to the soil, and extending cultivation, the supply is again increased; and, instead of their extravagant expectations being realized, the first luxuriant harvest again plunges them into the abyss of poverty and misery! Such is the practical and real operation of this monstrous system. Alternately productive of famine and excess, it is equally ruinous to the agricultural and the manufacturing and commercial classes; and, if not put down, it will certainly end by destroying the capital of both, and by sinking all classes, high as well as low, below the level of what was originally lowest.

It is much worse than absurd to suppose that fluctuation of price can be avoided so long as the restrictive system is maintained. But suppose it could—suppose that, by excluding foreign corn when the home price is below a certain

limit, and burning the surplus produce in plentiful years—for it would require some such expedient—it were possible to maintain the home prices steadily at about 80s., still it is easy to see that it would be infinitely better for the farmers were they to be allowed to settle at the fair and natural level of 55s. or 60s. If prices become stationary at the lower limit of 55s. or 60s., the rent, wages of labour, and other outgoings of the farmer, will all be proportionally adjusted: If they are raised to the higher limit of 80s., rent, wages, &c. will sustain a corresponding increase. It is impossible, however, as we have repeatedly demonstrated, to raise wages without *reducing profits*; so that it is unquestionably true, that instead of high prices being really advantageous to the farmer, they are distinctly and completely the reverse. The object of the farmer, as of all other producers, must always be to derive the greatest possible profit from his capital; and it is absolutely certain that profits invariably fall as prices rise, and rise as prices fall. The price of wheat in Illinois and Indiana does not amount to one-third of its price in England; and yet an Illinois or Indiana farmer, with a capital of 1000*l.*, would derive as much profit from it as an English farmer would derive from a capital of 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* It appears, therefore, that the real and permanent interests of the farmers and consumers are precisely the same; and that a permanently high price of produce, supposing it could be maintained, would not be less injurious to the one class than the other.

It is just as idle to suppose that the monopoly system can be of any real advantage to the landlords. There can be no doubt that it would be much better for them to be secured in the regular payment of somewhat lower rents, than to be perpetually exposed, as they must be during the continuance of the restrictive system, to the non-payment of the higher rents that may be promised them in high-priced years. It is, moreover, the extreme of folly to suppose, that a system, which is so deeply injurious to the other classes of the community, can be really beneficial to the landlords. Whatever immediate advantage they may derive from it, can only be fleeting and illusory, inasmuch as it must be purchased at the expense of those with whom their own interests are inseparably and indissolubly connected. If prices were steady, the landlord's rents would also be steady. Instead of being deluded by expectations of augmented revenue, which will never be realized, he would be able to form a precise notion of the extent of his income and his resources, and would be able to proportion his expenditure to his means.

There is a passage in Sir Matthew Decker's 'Essay on the

Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade,' which the landlords would do well to consider before they come to the conclusion, that they would be injured by the abolition of the restrictive system. 'Every home commodity,' says Sir Matthew, 'will, in a free trade, find its natural level; for, though that 'fluctuates, as of necessity it must, according to the plenti-'fulness and scarcity of the seasons; yet, for home consump-'tion, every home commodity must have great advantage over 'the foreign, as being upon the spot, and free from freight, 'insurance, commission, and charges, which, on the produce 'of lands, being all bulky commodities, must in general be 'about 15 per cent.; and a greater advantage cannot be given 'without prejudice; for 15 per cent. makes a great difference 'in the price of necessaries, between the nation selling and 'the nation buying, and is a great difficulty on the latter; but 'arising from the natural course of things, cannot be helped; 'though it is a *sufficient security to the landholders, that foreign-'ers can never import more necessaries than are absolutely requir-'ed;* and I presume they have in such cases more charity than 'to starve the people merely for the sake of an imaginary profit, 'which yet would prove their ruin in the end; *for it is a fallacy 'and an absurdity to think to keep up the value of lands, by op-'pressions on the people that cramp their trade;* for if trade de-'clines, the common people must either come upon the parish, 'or fly for business to our neighbours,—in the first case, be-'coming a heavy tax on the rich, and instead of buying the 'produce of their lands, having it given to them; and, in the se-'cond case, when the consumers are gone, what price will the 'produce of land bear?' p. 56.

But it is a mistake to suppose that the abolition of the restrictions on importation would be merely innoxious to the landlords. The truth is, that it would be greatly and signally beneficial to them. Not only would the landlords gain by the general improvement that would infallibly result from the freedom of the corn trade, but they would also be relieved from a burden, which, at this moment, presses heavily on their estates, and threatens, at no distant period, to absorb the whole of their rents. It is almost unncessary to say, that we allude to the poor-rates. Were it not for the extreme variations in the price of corn, the payments to able-bodied labourers, which constitute full three-fourths of the total assessment, might be entirely dispensed with. But so long as we continue to act on a system, which necessarily occasions the most tremendous fluctuations of price, it is, we are afraid, rather visionary to think of getting rid of this burden. Wages, though they are ultimately regu-

lated by the price of necessaries, do not vary directly and immediately with their variations. Prices, and consequently wages, are reduced by a *succession* of abundant harvests; but wages do not, and cannot rise the moment the harvest becomes deficient, and prices attain the famine level. And if, in such circumstances, the labourers of a densely peopled country like England, where their condition can never be very prosperous, were not partly provided for by extrinsic assistance, the probability, or rather, we should say, the certainty, is, that rebellion and intestine commotion would ensue, and that the security of property would be completely subverted. Those, therefore, who are really desirous of freeing the country from the great and constantly increasing burden of poor-rates, ought above all to direct their efforts to procure the abolition of those restrictions which, by causing excessive fluctuations in the price of necessaries, expose the poor to misery and famine, and disable them for providing for themselves. Abolish the Corn-laws, and the abolition of all rates levied on account of the able-bodied poor will be a measure that may be carried with equal facility and security. But if the landlords will not consent to the establishment of a system of freedom, let them not deceive themselves by supposing that the pressure of the poor-rates will ever be effectually diminished. If they will have monopoly, they must take all its consequences along with it; and they must neither murmur nor repine, should every shilling of their rents be ultimately required for the support of workhouses and beggars.

We have thus, we think, incontrovertibly shown, that the abolition of the corn-laws would be extremely advantageous both to farmers and landlords. But, supposing we are wrong in this conclusion, and that these classes would really suffer considerable injury from their abolition, still we should not on that account consider it a measure the less imperiously demanded by every consideration of sound policy. If the corn-laws be really beneficial to the producers, they must, for the same reason, be really injurious to the consumers. If they enrich the agriculturists, by securing them higher prices than they would obtain under a free system, they must, to the same extent, impoverish the manufacturing and commercial classes, who are compelled to pay these artificially enhanced prices; while, by raising the rate of wages, they must lower the profits of stock, and operate to force capital out of the country. Nothing, indeed, but the extreme importance of the subject could induce us to stop for a single moment to argue with those who suppose that high prices can, under any circumstances, be advantageous to a nation. To facilitate production, and to make commodities cheaper and

more easily obtained, are the grand motives which stimulate the inventive powers of genius, and which lead to the discovery and improvement of machines, and processes for saving labour and diminishing cost; and it is plain that no system of commercial legislation deserves to be supported, which does not conspire to promote the same objects. But instead of promoting, the corn-laws violently counteract them. By preventing the importation of food from the cheapest markets, they raise its price, and force a large proportion of the capital and industry of the country to engage in a comparatively disadvantageous employment. Such a system cannot be maintained without leading to ultimate ruin. High prices are never advantageous, but the reverse. The lower the price for which any commodity can be obtained, so much the better. When the labour required to produce, or the money required to purchase, a sufficient supply of corn is diminished, it is as clear as the sun at noon day, that more labour or money must remain to produce or purchase the other necessaries and conveniences of human life, and that the amount of national wealth and comforts must be proportionally augmented. Those who suppose that a real rise of prices can ever be a means of improving the general condition of the country, might, with equal reason, suppose that it would be improved by throwing its best soils out of cultivation, and destroying its most powerful machines! The opinions of such persons are not only opposed to the plainest and most obvious principles of economical science, but they are opposed to the obvious suggestions of common sense, and the universal experience of mankind.

But there are other considerations which serve to show still more strongly the expediency of abolishing the corn-laws. It appears from the census of 1821, that the agriculturists do not amount to a third of the whole population of Great Britain; and it is unnecessary to dwell on the disastrous consequences that would infallibly result in so densely peopled a country, from any considerable falling off in the foreign demand for the products of the other classes. But how can we expect to sell if we will not buy? How can we expect to supply all the world with manufactured commodities, if we will not take their raw produce in payment? What has lately occurred in America ought, if any thing can, to make us pause in the course we are now pursuing. The grand and only popular argument of the supporters of the new Tariff, was entirely bottomed on the corn-laws of England. 'It is vain,' said they in answer to the opposers of the measure, 'that you dwell on the advantage of that freedom of trade which 'you cannot enjoy. England is now deluging the Union with

'manufactured goods, but will she take our raw produce in ex-'change? Is there any reciprocity in her proceedings? Has 'she admitted a single bushel of foreign corn, the staple pro-'duct of our country, into her markets during the last three 'years? Is it not absurd, then, to expect to continue your com-'merce with a nation acting on such exclusive principles? 'Ought we not rather to profit by her example; and, as she 'excludes our corn, does not sound policy dictate the pro-'priety of excluding her manufactures, and of raising up an 'internal manufacturing population in the Union, sufficient to 'take off the surplus produce of our agriculturists?' It would be extremely easy to show the fallacy of these arguments; but they were specious, popular, and effectual to their object. The new tariff bill has received the sanction of the President; and the commerce of England with the United States must in future be carried on with infinitely less advantage to both parties. Nor is this a solitary example. The same retaliatory spirit—the same desire to avenge prohibitions by prohibitions—has been strongly manifested in the North of Europe; and if we do not resort to sounder principles, there is but too much reason to fear that the consequences will be fatally injurious to the manufacturing prosperity, and consequently to the power and glory, of the empire.

In order to simplify the consideration of this great question, we have argued thus far on the supposition, that the public burdens with which the agriculturists of Britain are affected, would not prevent their maintaining a successful competition with foreigners. This, however, has been stoutly denied; and as much stress has been laid on this point in the recent discussions, both in and out of Parliament, we shall now briefly advert to it.

Had the effect of tithes, and the other burdens exclusively affecting agriculture, merely been, as Dr Smith supposed, to make an equal deduction from the rent of the landlord, they could have had no influence whatever on prices, and there would have been an end of this question. But as it has been established that tithes do not fall on rent, but on the consumers, in consequence of their making an equivalent addition to the price of raw produce, it is contended, that, in the event of the ports being opened for the free importation of foreign corn, justice to the home growers would require that it should be burdened with a duty equal to the tithe. It must be remembered, however, that all foreign corn imported *must be paid for, either directly or indirectly, by the exportation of some species of manufactured goods*; and it is therefore clear, that the home producers of corn have not even the vestige of a claim to a pro-

tecting duty on the importation of foreign corn, unless they can show that the tithes, and other taxes falling on raw produce, exceed those which fall on manufactured goods. However oppressive we suppose taxation to be—though it added a hundred or a thousand per cent. to the price of commodities—still, if it affected them all equally, it would leave their relative values exactly where it found them; and if it did this, it is clear to demonstration that it could not possibly render any particular class less able than the others to withstand the unfettered competition of foreigners, and could not, therefore, entitle them to a protecting duty. But if higher duties be laid on a particular class of commodities, the case is different. If, for example, while the duty on commodities in general is only 10 per cent., a duty of 20 per cent. were laid on a particular class, their price must rise 10 per cent. higher than the price of the rest, in order to maintain their producers in the same relative situation as before. It is plain, however, that in the event of the ports being opened to the importation of every description of foreign goods free of duty, the producers of the heavily-taxed commodities will be deprived of the means of limiting their supply, and consequently of raising their price, so as to indemnify them for the excess of the tax. The 10 per cent. excess of duty would then really operate as a bounty on the importation of the class of commodities on which it is charged; and if it were not defeated by a protecting duty of 10 per cent., the home producers of that class would be placed in a relatively disadvantageous situation, and would abandon their business.

Still, however, this principle only holds in the case of duties affecting *manufactured* products. If a direct tax of 10 per cent. were laid exclusively on the hats produced in England, and on no other commodity, the hatters would most likely be ruined were foreigners permitted to import hats duty free. All manufactured goods are produced under the same, or, at all events, under *very similar* circumstances; so much so, that foreign competition must either be injurious to all the manufacturers of a particular description of goods, or to none. But in agriculture the case is otherwise. Corn is produced under *very different* circumstances, or from soils of very different degrees of fertility; and though the cultivators of the worst lands in tillage at any particular period might be injuriously affected by the unrestricted admission of foreign corn, the other cultivators, instead of being injured, would be really benefited by the rise of profit which must always follow every *permanent reduction* in the price of raw produce. Thus, suppose no duties are imposed on manufactured commodities, and that the ports are thrown open to

the importation of foreign corn, without any protecting duty to balance the tithe—the whole effect of such a measure would be, to cause such a small additional quantity of bad land to be thrown out of tillage as would enable the cultivators to obtain *eleven* quarters for the same outlay that had previously been required to produce *ten* quarters. As soon as this contraction of tillage had been effected, the farmers would have nothing to fear from foreign competition. They would still obtain the same rate of profit that was obtained by the undertakers of other businesses; and the consumers would be able to purchase their corn for *ten per cent.* less than if a protecting duty had been imposed.

But though it is thus most certainly true, that the cultivators are always in a condition to relieve themselves of such taxes as affect them to a greater extent than they affect the other classes of society; yet, as they can only do this by contracting tillage, and withdrawing capital from the cultivation of inferior soils, the effect of admitting foreign corn without a protecting duty equivalent to the *excess* of taxation affecting the home-growers, would be to cause a diminution of rent. Rent consists of the difference between the produce obtained from the best and worst lands under cultivation; and if, by admitting foreign corn duty free, bad land should be thrown out of cultivation, the rent of the landlords would be reduced, and their relative situation lowered. Although, therefore, it is not necessary for the protection of *the cultivators* that any countervailing duty should be laid on raw produce imported from abroad; still, if it be really true that higher duties are laid on the raw produce raised at home than on manufactured goods, justice to *the landlords* requires that a duty should be laid on all foreign raw produce equivalent to the *excess of duty affecting home produce.* Such a duty, by fitting all classes equally to withstand foreign competition, will preserve them in the same relative situation after the opening of the ports as previously, and will treat all parties, as they ever ought to be treated, with the same equal and impartial justice.

It has been doubted whether, putting the question on this ground, the only tenable one on which it can be put, whether manufactured goods be not really as heavily taxed as raw produce; and whether, therefore, any duty should be laid on foreign corn. But we would rather err on the side of too much protection as of too little; and, to put to rest all cavilling on the subject, we should not object, in the event of the ports being thrown open, to an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. being laid on all foreign corn when imported for home consumption. The

freedom of the corn trade would, as we have already shown, relieve the landlords of the greater part of the Poor-rates, and the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty would be a much greater protection than they are entitled to on account of the tithe, which is never fully exacted.

We have already seen, that the average price at which foreign wheat might be imported into England in ordinary years, would be from 55s. to 60s. a quarter; and we would therefore propose, in order to get rid of the trickery and fraud inseparable from the average system, that the *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. should be converted into a fixed duty of 6s. a quarter on wheat, and other grain in proportion. So high a duty would undoubtedly be very favourable to the landlords, by securing them against all risk of foreign corn ever being disposed off for less than 60s. But the vast advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn trade, and the total abolition of all restrictions and fetters on importation, should induce the public to waive all objections to its imposition. Its magnitude, too, would take from the landlords every pretence for affirming that they had been harshly treated, or that their interests had been sacrificed to those of others. If they should object to such a measure, their motives would be obvious to the whole world. It would immediately be seen, that they had resolved to place and maintain *their interests in direct opposition to those of the community in general*;—that they had determined to purchase a hollow and imaginary advantage, by supporting a system of domestic policy which must at no distant period involve them in that ruin it will assuredly entail on the country.

The imposition of a duty of 6s. on foreign wheat, would require that an equivalent bounty should be granted on English wheat when exported. This bounty would only have to be paid in years when the home crops were unusually productive; for, under a free system, we should generally be an importing nation.

We have already stated enough to show the futility of the real or affected apprehensions of the country being deluged with foreign corn, in the event of the restrictive system being abolished. But supposing we imported infinitely more foreign corn than we should certainly do, still, as the benefits of commerce are always reciprocal, as the whole markets of the world would be open to us, and as those from whom we purchased corn would be equally interested with ourselves in the continuance of the traffic, we could run no possible risk of being deprived of our accustomed supplies. This point, and the general advantages that would result from the freedom of the corn

trade in establishing a more intimate union among nations, in perpetuating and securing the blessings of peace, and in mitigating the horrors of war, have been most ably illustrated by Mr Whitmore in the admirable pamphlet, the title of which is prefixed to this article.

'Another objection,' says Mr Whitmore, 'frequently taken to the adopting of a more natural system with respect to our trade in corn, is, that to depend on foreign countries for any portion of so important an article as corn, is full of danger: that, owing to caprice or hostile feeling on the part of any of the countries from whence our supplies are drawn, an obstacle might be interposed to our obtaining the quantity required; and this happening in a moment of dearth, might be attended with very serious consequences. In the first place, I have endeavoured to show, that the monopoly system would have a direct and inevitable tendency to produce this effect; and, therefore, if danger were to be apprehended from our habitual dependence on other countries, it would be necessary for the Legislator to balance and weigh the evils of which both might be productive; and I am quite confident, that even admitting the force of this objection, the preponderance of evil would be on the side of our present system. But is the objection valid? I think not; for, let us see what its consequences would be. It will be allowed that the benefit of all trade is reciprocal, and that the nation exporting a commodity has at least an equal interest in the continuance of that branch of its trade, as the one importing it. Indeed, formerly, under the old notion of a balance of trade, export was the sole good, and import of any thing but the precious metals, the evil of trade. But, without alluding to those exploded notions, every one will admit, that it must be beneficial for a country to export its surplus produce. If, however, there be one species of export more than another, in which an agricultural country is directly interested, it is obviously that of corn. It is necessarily the staple commodity, in the growth of which the bulk of its population must be employed. Other raw articles may be raised, and may be of great importance; but they are commonly confined to particular situations and particular soils; whereas corn is the produce of all soils, the growth of every situation. That it should, therefore, bear such a price as will remunerate the grower for the expenses to which he has been subject in producing it, is there a matter of almost universal concern. Is it then probable that the government of such a country would stop the export of that article, in the sale of which all are interested? The effect of which must be to produce a glut of corn in its own markets: an effect, as we well know, sufficiently embarassing in a country, whose attention is directed to a thousand other objects and a thousand other interests, but which would there be a dreadful visitation to nearly the whole population. Would it do so at any time? but, above all, would it do so at a moment

when a war either had begun, or was impending; when it would be particularly desirable to conciliate rather than alienate the minds of the people; and when an increase and not a diminution of the revenue was equally to be wished for?

'If the government of a country was mad enough to take such a step, would the people submit to it? I believe not. I believe no government on earth, were it ever so despotic, could long continue a system so fraught with ruin; and the rapid and almost miraculous downfall of the colossal power of Buonaparte, arising as it did in a great measure from the feeling excited on account of this very attempt to fetter trade, is an awful and most useful lesson to all governments.

'Upon this subject, however, we may proceed upon proof and experience, and need not, therefore, trust to general reasoning. It is well known that this country constantly imports nearly all the hemp it uses; it is equally clear, that, if deprived of it, the consequences to us, a maritime and commercial people, would be to the last degree injurious. If there be one article more than another, of which an hostile country would wish to deprive us, it would be this very article of hemp, which may be fairly considered the sinews of naval warfare. But were we ever deprived of it? was there ever any serious obstruction, either to our naval armaments or to our commercial speculations, arising from a deficiency of this important article? If not, it is chimerical to imagine that we should ever be deprived of the corn we are in the habit of importing. But if no dangers are to be apprehended from this trade, are there no advantages accruing from it? Without reference to the question of profit, which is all in favour of it, let us consider it in a moral point of view. Alliances, it will be admitted, with foreign nations, are in the present state of society essentially necessary, both with a view to the continuance of peace, and as a support in war. These we often purchase by immense subsidies, and too commonly find that the friendship we thus endeavour to secure is hollow and unsubstantial: it rests upon no firm basis, it is the growth of no settled principle, and, if preserved during the moment of paying the subsidy, which is not always the case, it leaves nothing behind it, no sense of gratitude remains, no amicable feeling is created, nothing to counteract those envious jealousies, and heart-burnings which the collision of interests and rivalry of power ever produce among nations. It is far otherwise when trade upon liberal principles is established: benefiting one country, it ever advances the interest of the other. In fixing by laws as immutable as those by which the level of the ocean is preserved, that nations in different climates and in different stages of society shall each possess a something which the others want, the Almighty Ruler of the universe has established a principle of harmony, of union, and of concord, to counteract the brutal ferocity and savage enmity of man. It mitigates the horrors of war, it heightens the blessings, and prolongs the duration of peace. It is the balm

poured into the bitter cup of dissension, and anger, and jealousy, by which one nation is separated from another: it is the tie disregarded often by the careless observer or mere politician, but of adamantine strength, by which man is linked to his fellow man.

'Let us, then, seriously reflect what may be the consequences with respect to our foreign relations, if we attempt to counteract this beautiful and harmonious dispensation in so important an article as the corn trade. It will separate us still more widely from the nations of Europe; it will turn still more decidedly the channel of trade from our own portion of the globe to those more distant regions, with which, however beneficial the trade may be, it cannot be otherwise than of a more precarious and uncertain nature; it will shut us up in jealous exclusion from the more civilized and more powerful parts of the world; it will raise us up a host of enemies throughout the whole Continent of Europe; it will weaken our influence in peace, and increase our danger in war: it will, by forcibly diverting the application of capital from manufactures to agriculture, raise up powerful competitors to dispute with us the possession of the more distant markets of the world.

'All are now jealous of our power; all look with envy at our maritime and commercial superiority; all hate that right of search so essential to its preservation. Let us beware how, to these sources of irritation and hostility, we add the positive injury our corn laws inflict upon the interests of the nations around us—injuries which our ancestors never dreamt of inflicting, and which are equally opposed to the intelligence of the age as to our own true interests. But the monopoly system neither can nor will last. Nature is too powerful an antagonist for man to oppose. By some of her throes and convulsions, she will at length overturn all the feeble obstructions he endeavours to place in her course. But we cannot be subdued, nor can she be vindicated, without causing immense misery; and we shall be the sufferers. Killed with kindness, oppressed and suffocated with protection, the agriculturist will at length perceive that he is pursuing an *ignis fatuus*, which will lead him on to his destruction. Let him take warning by the sufferings of the present period! Let him read aright the signs of the times, and trace the evil to its true source! It is in his power to avert a recurrence of distress; and, proceeding upon the sober, solid ground of good sense and liberal feeling, he may again see his fields smiling around him, and ensure to himself and to his posterity all that substantial comfort and real happiness, which, until the present disastrous moment, ever attended the country gentleman and the farmer of England. But until the agriculturists generally do alter their feelings upon this subject—until they will look at it calmly, and not under the influence of irritation and passion, the Legislature cannot act. All interests ought to be effectually represented; and most especially do I wish to see the landed interest preserve their weight and influence in the House of Commons. That they do possess it, was clearly manifested in the

discussions of the last Session. The question then rests as it ought to do with them; and if they choose to continue the present system, it must continue.

'But again I would implore them to weigh calmly the whole of the arguments upon this subject, and, above all, to watch narrowly the consequences which will ensue. And let them not imagine, that when high prices again return, as with a small deficiency they must, let them not imagine that their difficulties are then over. Great and ruinous fluctuation of price, it cannot be too often repeated, is the necessary and inevitable consequence of the present system; and they may be assured, that, in proportion to the vibration of the pendulum on one side, will be its oscillation on the other.' pp. 76–84.

Had agriculture been at this moment in a very prosperous state; had prices been as high as 70s. or 80s. the quarter, and had improvement been making a rapid progress, the opening of the ports might have been objected to on the ground that it would give a violent shock to agricultural industry, and be the means of destroying a considerable quantity of agricultural capital. But such is *not* our situation. Our prices are now as low as the common level of the Continent. All that revulsion and derangement which must always be occasioned by the transition from one system of policy to another, has already taken place. Rents and wages have been reduced; a good deal of bad land has been thrown out of cultivation; and industry is now accommodated to a new order of things. This, then, is of all others the most favourable moment for striking a decisive blow at the restrictive system. Circumstances, beyond the reach of control, have paved the way for its immediate abolition. Ministers are most justly entitled to the public thanks for the measures they have already introduced for freeing industry and commerce from the shackles imposed in a less enlightened age; and we trust they will not throw away the opportunity now afforded of completing the system they have so happily begun; but that they will earn for themselves a new and more powerful claim on the gratitude of the country, by ridding it at once and forever, of the monstrous and intolerable nuisance of Corn Laws.

ART. IV. *A Tour in Germany, and some of the Southern Provinces of the Austrian Empire, in the Years* 1820, 1821, 1822. In two volumes 12mo. pp. 816. Edinburgh, 1824.

THERE is a sensible improvement, we think, of late years, in the quality of our books of travels. The merited failure of so many dull tourists has put our authors, we suppose, on

their mettle, and our publishers on their guard:—and since travelling has become so extremely common, an ambitious man is not so much tempted to make the public the confidant of his summer excursions, or to believe that all which was new to him must be instructive to intelligent readers. *This*, at any rate, we can safely say, is a very agreeable and respectable work—and, though it leads us through some of the most accessible and best known parts of Europe, will be found to convey to most readers a great deal of new information, in a very pleasing form.

The author, though he has modestly withheld his name, is evidently a person of education and general intelligence—independent in his sentiments, and calm in his judgments—who has taken pains to see things with his own eyes, and to estimate them by his own reason—a little too rigid, perhaps, as to morals—and a little too much a latitudinarian as to politics—speaking of the fine arts rather sensibly, than with science or feeling—rather caricaturing manners and institutions, and yet delineating characters and estimating literature with something of timidity and reserve—writing clearly and with spirit, though often both inelegantly and inaccurately—sometimes exaggerating unconsciously, and sometimes indulging wilfully in paradoxes, from the love of effect—not very graceful in his pleasantries, and not very picturesque in his descriptions.

His book, in short, is not without its faults; but yet we must say, that we do not recollect to have met with a more reasonable traveller,—or indeed with many authors of any description, who have more successfully united amusement with solid information, or entered on so great a variety of subjects, with so little hazard of being represented as either tedious or superficial.

He conducts us from Strasburgh along the Rhine, by Manheim, Heidelberg and Frankfort, to Weimar and Jena;—and then by Leipsic to Dresden, Cassel and Gottingen—thence to Hanover and Berlin, and through Silesia, and by Cracow and Moravia to Vienna—closing by a sweep through Styria to Carniola, and the shores of the Adriatic. In this long route, he has not only given us a clear description and intelligent account of all the remarkable places he visited—but has also contrived to include in his two neat little duodecimos by far the best account of the extraordinary condition of the German universities, the modern literature of the country—the finances and recent political changes of Prussia—the *plica polonica*—and a variety of other curious things that is anywhere to be found in our language. As we mean rather to recommend his

book to our readers, than to make a theme of it for ourselves, we shall give but a few specimens of his manner, and leave them to be judged of by themselves.

The most curious part of the book, perhaps, is the account of the Universities, which are all nearly on the same footing, though the details are given chiefly in reference to that of Jena, which was the first which happened to come under the author's observation. There is generally a vast establishment of lecturing professors,—at Jena no less than twenty-eight regularly on the foundation, besides a score of extraordinary teachers. The regular men have salaries of less than 80*l.* and exact a fee of about 15s. for their lectures, though that is often beat down by a sturdy higgler to a still smaller sum. The whole annual expense of a student is usually under 75*l.*, and yet the total number at Jena has not averaged of late more than 400. They live about in the town, as at our Scottish colleges, and have no connection with their teachers but at the hour of lecture. The effect of this want of discipline and controul, however, we are sorry to say, has been much more pernicious in the case of these disorderly Teutonic youths, than in that of our sober countrymen; and it is chiefly in reference to the gross disorders in which they systematically indulge, that we have spoken of the extraordinary condition of these seminaries of learning. Almost the whole of the young men, or *Burschen*, as they term themselves, are united in a sort of secret society, for the purpose chiefly, as it would seem, of what, in their slang language, they term *renowning* and *scandalizing*, that is, doing things to annoy and astonish the sober citizens, or fighting duels with each other. The following is a part of our author's very picturesque account of these votaries of the Muses.

'Once outside of the class-room, the Burschen show themselves a much less orderly race. If they submit to be ruled one hour daily by a professor, they rule him, and every other person, during all the rest of the four-and-twenty. The duels of the day are generally fought out early in the morning; the spare hours of the forenoon and afternoon are spent in fencing, in *renowning*—that is, in doing things which make people stare at them, and in providing duels for the morrow. In the evening, the various clans assemble in their commerz-houses, to besot themselves with beer and tobacco; and it is long after midnight before the last strains of the last songs die away upon the streets. Wine is not the staple beverage, for Jena is not in a wine country, and the students have learned to place a sort of pride in drinking beer. Yet, with a very natural contradiction, over their pots of beer they vociferate songs in praise of the grape, and swing their jugs with as much glee as a Bursche of Heidelberg brandishes his *römer* of Rhenish.

'A band of these young men, thus assembled in an alehouse in the evening, presents as strange a contrast as can well be imagined to all correct ideas, not only of studious academical tranquillity, but even of respectable conduct; yet, in refraining from the nightly observances, they would think themselves guilty of a less pardonable dereliction of their academic character, and a more direct treason against the independence of Germany, than if they subscribed to the Austrian Observer, or never attended for a single hour the lectures for which they paid. Step into the public room of that inn, on the opposite side of the market-place, for it is the most respectable in the town. On opening the door, you must use your ears, not your eyes, for nothing is yet visible except a dense mass of smoke, occupying space, concealing every thing in it and beyond it, illuminated with a dusky light, you know not how, and sending forth from its bowels all the varied sounds of mirth and revelry. As the eye gradually accustoms itself to the atmosphere, human visages are seen dimly dawning through the lurid cloud; then pewter jugs begin to glimmer faintly in their neighbourhood; and, as the smoke from the phial gradually shaped itself into the friendly Asmodeus, the man and his jug slowly assume a defined and corporeal form. You can now totter along between the two long tables which have sprung up, as if by enchantment; by the time you have reached the huge stove at the farther end, you have before you the paradise of German Burschen,—destitute only of its Houris. Every man with his bonnet on his head, a pot of beer in his hand, a pipe or segar in his mouth, and a song upon his lips, never doubting but that he and his companions are training themselves to be the regenerators of Europe,—that they are the true representatives of the manliness and independence of the German character, and the only models of a free, generous, and high-minded youth. They lay their hands upon their jugs, and vow the liberation of Germany; they stop a second pipe, or light a second segar, and swear that the Holy Alliance is an unclean thing!' I. 156–160.

'The students who have not thought proper to join any of these associations are few in number, and, in point of estimation, form a class still more despised and insulted than the *Philistines* themselves. Every Bursche thinks it dishonourable to have communication with them; they are admitted to no carousal; they are debarred from all balls and public festivals, by which the youth contrive to make themselves notorious and ridiculous. Such privations would not be severely felt, but they are farther exposed to every species of contempt and insult; to abuse them is an acceptable service to Germany; in the class-room, and on the street, they must be taught that they are "cowardly slaves;" and all this, because they will not throw themselves into the fetters of a self-created fraternity. However they may be outraged, they are entitled neither to redress nor protection. Should any of them resent the maltreatment heaped upon him, he brings down on himself the vengeance of the whole

mass of initiated; for, to draw every man within the circle is a common object of all the clans: he who will join none, is the enemy of all. Blows, which the Burschen have proscribed among themselves, as unworthy of gentlemen, are allowed against the "Wild Ones," for such is the appellation given to these quiet sufferers, from the caution with which they must steal along, trembling at the presence of a Comment Bursche, and exiled, as they are, from the refined intercourse of Commerz-houses to the wilds and deserts of civilized society. Others, unable to hold out against the insolence and contempt of the young men among whom they are compelled to live, in an evil hour seek refuge beneath the wing of a Landsmannschaft. These are named *Renoncen*, or Renouncers. Having renounced the state of nature, they stand, in academical civilization, a degree above the obstinate "Wild Ones," but yet they do not acquire, by their tardy and compelled submission, a full claim to all Burschen rights. They are merely entitled to the protection of the fraternity which they have joined, and every member of it will run every man through the body who dares to insult them in word or deed, otherwise than is prescribed by the Burschen code. By abject submission to the will of their imperious protectors, they purchase the right of being abused and stabbed only according to rule, instead of being kicked and knocked down contrary to all rule.'—I. pp. 170–172.

'The individual Bursche, in his academical character, is animated by the same paltry, arrogant, quarrelsome, domineering disposition. When fairly imbued with the spirit of his sect, no rank can command respect from him, for he knows no superior to himself and his comrades. A few years ago, the Empress of Russia, when she was at Weimar, visited the University Museum of Jena. Among the students who had assembled to see her, one was observed to keep his bonnet on his head, and his pipe in his mouth, as her Imperial Majesty passed. The Prorector called the young man before him, and remonstrated with him on his rudeness. The defence was in the genuine spirit of Burschenism: "I am a free man; what is an Empress to me?" Full of lofty unintelligible notions of his own importance and high vocation; misled by ludicrously erroneous ideas of honour; and hurried on by the example of all around him; the true Bursche swaggers and renowns, choleric, raw, and overbearing. He measures his own honour, because his companions measure it, by the number of *scandals* he has fought, but neither he nor they ever waste a thought on what they have been fought for. To have fought unsuccessfully is bad; but, if he wishes to become a respected and influential personage, not to have fought at all is infinitely worse. He, therefore, does not fight to resent insolence, but he insults, or takes offence, that he may have a pretext for fighting.'—I. pp. 175–177.

'It is amusing to listen to the pompousness with which these young men speak of this *Akademische Freyheit*, when it is known that it means precisely nothing. To judge from the lofty periods in which they declaim about the blessings it has showered on the country,

and the sacred obligations by which they are bound to maintain it, we would conclude that it invests them with no ordinary franchises; while, in truth, it gives them nothing that any other man would wish to have. To be dressed, and to look like no other person; to let his beard grow, where every good Christian shaves; to let his tangled locks crawl down upon his shoulders, where every well-bred man wears his hair short; to clatter along the streets in monstrous jack-books, loaded with spurs, which, from their weight and size, have acquired the descriptive appellation of pound-spurs; to rub the elbow of his coat against the wall till he has made a hole in it, where ordinary people think it more respectable to wear a coat without holes; to stroll through the streets singing, when all decent citizens are in bed; to join his pot-companions nightly in the alehouse, and besot himself with beer and tobacco: these, and things like these, are the ingredients in the boasted academical freedom of a German student. In every thing connected with the university, he has neither voice nor influence.'—I. 190, 191.

In those lawless proceedings they affect, however, to be regulated by a very rigid law of honour, which is embodied in a formal treatise, which passes by the name of 'The Comment.'

'This *Comment* is the Burschen Pandects, the general code to which all the Landsmannschaften are subject. However numerous the latter may be in a university, there is but one comment, and this venerable body of law descends from generation to generation, in the special keeping of the senior convent. The comment is, in reality, a code, arranging the manner in which Burschen shall quarrel with each other, and how the quarrel, once begun, shall be terminated. It fixes, with the most pedantic solicitude, a graduated scale of offensive words, and the style and degree of satisfaction that may be demanded for each. The scale rises, or is supposed to rise, in enormity, till it reaches the atrocious expression, *Dummer Junge*, (stupid youth), which contains within itself every possible idea of insult, and can be atoned for only with blood. The particular degrees of the scale may vary in different universities; but the principle of its construction is the same in all, and in all "stupid youth" is the boiling point. If you are assailed with any epithet which stands below *stupid youth* in the scale of contumely, you are not bound immediately to challenge; you may "set yourself in advantage;" that is, you may retort on the offender with an epithet which stands higher than the one he has applied to you. Then your opponent may retort, if you have left him room, in the same way, by rising a degree above you; and thus the courteous terms of the comment may be bandied between you, till one or the other finds only the highest step of the ladder unoccupied, and is compelled to pronounce the "stupid youth," to which there is no reply but a challenge. I do not say that this is the ordinary practice; in general, it comes to a challenge at once; but such is the theory of the Comment.

'In the conduct of the duel itself, the comment descends to the minutest particulars. The dress, the weapons, the distance, the value of different kinds of thrusts, the length to which the arm shall be bare, and a thousand other minutiæ, are all fixed, and have, at least, the merit of preventing every unfair advantage. In some universities the sabre, in others the rapier, is the academical weapon; pistols nowhere. The weapon used at Jena is what they call a *Schläger*. It is a straight blade, about three feet and a half long, and three-cornered like a bayonet. The hand is protected by a circular plate of tin, eight or ten inches in diameter, which some burlesque poets, who have had the audacity to laugh at Burschenism, have profaned with the appellation of "The Soup Plate of Honour." The handle can be separated from the blade, and the soup plate from both,—all this for purposes of concealment. The handle is put in the pocket; the plate is buttoned under the coat; the blade is sheathed in a walking-stick; and thus the parties proceed unsuspected to the place of combat, as if they were going out for a morning stroll. The tapering triangular blade, necessarily becomes roundish towards the point; therefore, no thrust counts, unless it be so deep that the orifice of the wound is three-cornered; for, as the Comment has it, "no affair is to be decided in a trifling and childish way merely *pro forma*." Besides the seconds, an umpire and a surgeon must be present; but the last is always a medical student, that he may be under the comment-obligation to secrecy. All parties present are bound not to reveal what passes, without distinction of consequences, if it has been fairly done; the same promise is exacted from those who may come accidentally to know any thing of the matter. To give information or evidence against a Bursche, in regard to any thing not contrary to the Comment, is an inexpiable offence. Thus life may easily be lost without the possibility of discovery; for authority is deprived, as far as possible, of every means by which it might get at the truth. It is perfectly true, that mortal combats are not frequent; partly from the average equality of skill, every man being in the daily practice of his weapon, partly because there is often no small portion of gasconade in the warlike propensities of these young persons; yet neither are they so rare as many people imagine. It does not often happen, indeed, that either of the parties is killed on the spot; but the wounds often superinduce other mortal ailments, and still more frequently, lay the foundation of diseases which cling to the body through life. A professor, who perhaps has had better opportunities of learning the working of the system than any of his colleagues, assured me, that instances are by no means rare, of young men carrying home consumption with them, in consequence of slight injuries received in the lungs.' I. 177—182.

We cannot help suspecting that there is some exaggeration in all this; but, even after every allowance on this score, enough will remain to stamp on the social system of these institutions the most merited ridicule and most just reproach. It

were infinitely better that seminaries of education, thus grossly and systematically polluted, should at once be suppressed, than that they should continue to corrupt the morals and debase the manners of those they profess to instruct. But we really have no idea that the task of reformation would be arduous. Four hundred raw lads, with little money in their pockets, and with previous habits of decency, might surely be kept in order without any very wasteful exertion of public authority—in spite of their soup plates of honour,—and their spits to boot. A few steady acts of expulsion, by purging the society of the most incorrigible, would probably do the business at once;—and an active police, vigilantly maintained for a year or two, and aided by the spectacle of a few of the heroes in the house of correction, would soon eradicate these disgraceful habits, and lead to the introduction of more polished manners, and more correct notions of honour. In the mean time, we are happy to find that the author holds in just contempt the dread which the members of the Holy Alliance have lately affected to feel, lest the coarse profligacy and boyish swaggering of these ill conditioned youths should infect the rising generation with principles of political insubordination. This, we have no doubt, is merely a pretext to cover their own base attempts to convert those seminaries into schools of servility. That the stability of governments should be endangered by the pothouse rhodomontade of these poor boys, is a supposition even more ridiculous than their rant about academical freedom.

'It is,' as our author justly remarks, 'in itself no slight peculiarity, that all these peculiarities do not last longer than three years. When the student has finished his *curriculum*, and leaves the University, he is himself numbered among the Philistines; the prejudices, the fooleries, and the hot-headed forwardness of the Bursche depart from him, as if he were waking from a dream; he returns to the ordinary modes of thinking and acting in the world; he probably never wields a rapier again, or quarrels with a mortal, till his dying day; he falls into his own place in the bustling competition of society, and leads a peaceful industrious life, as his fathers did before him. His political chimeras, too, like all the rest of his oddities, are much less connected with principle than his turbulence would seem to imply; they are modes of speech, which, like the shapeless coats, and daily fencing matches, it has become the fashion of the place to adopt, rather than any steady feeling or solid conviction. The Burschen peculiarities are taken up because they belong to the sort of life to which the person is, for a time, consigned; but they do not adhere to the man, or become abiding parts of his character: once beyond the walls of the town, and they fall from him with the long hair.—There does not seem, in short, to be much more reason to fear that a swagger-

ing and unruly German Bursche will become a quarrelsome and riotous German citizen, than there would be to apprehend that a boy of Eton would grow up to be a radical leader in Parliament, because at school he had borne a share in a barring out.'—I. 192–194.

The whole account of Weimar is excellent; but we can afford to give little more than the following sketch of Göthe.

'Of the Weimar sages and poets Göthe alone survives. One after another, he has sung the dirge over Herder, and Wieland, and Schiller: "his tuneful brethren all are fled;" but, lonely as he now is in the world of genius, it could be less justly said of him than of any other man, that he,

neglected and oppressed,
Wished to be with them and at rest;

for no living author, at least of Germany, can boast of so long and brilliant a career. At once a man of genius and a man of the world, Göthe has made his way as an accomplished courtier no less than as a great poet. He has spent in Weimar more than one half of his prolific life, the object of enthusiastic admiration to his countrymen; honoured by sovereigns, to whom his muse has never been deficient in respect; the friend of his prince, who esteems him the first man on earth; and caressed by all the ladies of Germany, to whose reasonable service he has devoted himself from his youth upwards. It is only necessary to know what Göthe still is in his easy and friendly moments, to conceive how justly the universal voice describes him as having been in person, manners, and talent, a captivating man. He is now seventy-four years old, yet his tall imposing form is but little bent by years; the lofty open brow retains all its dignity, and even the eye has not lost much of its fire. The effects of age are chiefly perceptible in an occasional indistinctness of articulation. Much has been said of the jealousy with which he guards his literary reputation and the haughty reserve with which this jealousy is alleged to surround his intercourse. Those who felt it so must either have been persons whose own reputation rendered him cautious in their presence, or whose doubtful intentions laid him under still more unpleasing restraints; for he sometimes shuts his door, and often his mouth, from the dread of being improperly put into books. His conversation is unaffected, gentlemanly, and entertaining: in the neatness and point of his expressions, no less than in his works, the first German classic, in regard of language, is easily recognised. He has said somewhere, that he considered himself to have acquired only one talent, that of writing German. He manifests no love of display, and least of all in his favourite studies. It is not uncommon, indeed, to hear people say, that they did not find in Göthe's conversation any striking proof of the genius which animates his writings; but this is as it should be. There are few more intolerable personages than those who, having once acquired a reputation for cleverness, think themselves bound never to open their mouths without saying something which they take to be smart or uncommon.

'The approach of age, and certain untoward circumstances which wounded his vanity, have, at length, driven Göthe into retirement. He spends the winter in Weimar, but no man is less seen. Buried among his books and engravings, making himself master of everything worth reading in German, English, French, and Italian, he has said adieu to worldly pleasures and gaieties, and even to much of the usual intercourse of society. Not long ago, he attended a concert, given at court, in honour of a birth-day. He was late: but when he entered the room the music instantly ceased; all forgot court and princes to gather round Göthe, and the Grand Duke himself advanced to lead up his old friend.

'For nearly five years he has deserted the theatre, which used to be the scene of his greatest glory. By the weight of his reputation and directorship, he had established such a despotism, that the spectators would have deemed it treason to applaud before Göthe had given, from his box, the signal of approbation. Yet a dog and a woman could drive him from the theatre, and the world. Most people know the French melodrame, The Forest of Bondy, or the Dog of St Aubry. The piece became a temporary favourite in Germany, as well as in France, for it was something new to see a mastiff play the part of a tragic hero. An attempt was made to have it represented in Weimar. Göthe, who, after the death of Schiller, reigned absolute monarch of the theatre, resisted the design with vehemence; he esteemed it a profanation of the stage which he and his brethren had raised to the rank of the purest in Germany, that it should be polluted by dumb men, noisy *spectacle*, and the barkings of a mastiff, taught to pull a bell by tying a sausage to the bell-rope. But his opposition was in vain; the principal actress insisted that the piece should be performed; and this lady has long possessed peculiar sources of influence over the Grand Duke. The dog made his debut, and Göthe his exit!

'Göthe stands pre-eminent above all his countrymen in versatility and universality of genius. There are few departments which he has not attempted, and in many he has gained the first honours. There is no mode of the lyre through which he has not run,—song, epigram, ode, elegy, ballad, opera, comedy, tragedy, the lofty epic, and that anomalous production of the German Parnassus, the civil epic, *(Bürgerliche Epos)* which, forsaking the deeds of heroes and the fates of nations, sings in sounding hexameters the simple lives and loves of citizens and farmers. Yet the muses have been far from monopolizing the talents of this indefatigable man; as they were the first love, so they are still the favourites of his genius; but he has coquetted with numberless rivals, and mineralogy, criticism on the fine arts, biography and topography, sentimental and philosophical novels, optics and comparative anatomy, have all employed his pen. His lucubrations in the sciences have not commanded much either of notice or admiration. To write well on every thing, it is not enough to take an interest in every thing. It is in the fine arts, in poetry as an

artist, in painting and sculpture as a critic, that Göthe justifies the fame which he has been accumulating for nearly fifty years; for his productions in this department contain an assemblage of dissimilar excellences which none of his countrymen can produce, though individually they might be equalled or surpassed. Faust alone, a poem, which only a German can thoroughly feel or understand, is manifestly the production of a genius, quite at home in every thing with which poetry deals, and master of all the styles which poetry can adopt.—From his youth, he has been the favourite of fortune and fame; he has reached the brink of the grave, hailed by the voice of his country as the foremost of her great, the patriarch of her literature, and the model of her genius. In his old age, wrapped up in the seclusion of Weimar, so becoming his years and so congenial to his habits, he hears no sounds but those of eulogy and affection. Like an eastern potentate, or a jealous deity, he looks abroad from his retirement on the intellectual world which he has formed by his precept or his example; he pronounces the oracular doom, or sends forth a revelation, and men wait on him to venerate and obey. Princes are proud to be his companions; less elevated men approach him with awe, as a higher spirit; and when Göthe shall follow the kindred minds whom he has seen pass away before him, Weimar will have lost the last pillar of her fame, and in the literature of Germany there will be a vacant throne.'—I. 81–91.

'It is almost a consequence of the literary character of Weimar, that nowhere on the Continent is English more studiously cultivated. Byron and Scott are as much read, as well understood, and as fairly judged of by the Germans as among ourselves. They have not merely one, but several translations of the best of the Scottish Novels. The Grand Duke himself reads a great deal of English. Besides his own private collection, the well-stored public library, which is thrown open for the use of every body, contains all our celebrated writers. What a change in the course of half a century! The library of Frederick still stands in Sans Souci, as he left it at his death, and does not contain a volume but what is French.—Göthe, too, is fond of English reading, and whatever Göthe is fond of must be fashionable in Weimar. He is an idolater of Byron, though he holds that his Lordship has stolen various good things from him.'—I. 103, 104.

Our author is delighted with the pure morals of Weimar; which he ascribes, in a great degree, to the splendid example and commanding character of the Arch-Dutchess, of whom he has recorded several interesting anecdotes. The ladies he admits to be a little blue; and both they and their sisters of Saxony, he thinks, are too much addicted to needle-work and knitting. Their drawing-rooms, he observes, might be mistaken for schools of industry; and at Dresden, a lady at the play will lay down her work to wipe away her tears, and take it up again when she has dried her eyes!

The Grand Duke, besides being the great protector of letters in Germany, has the distinguished honour of being the only one of its sovereigns who has kept the promise, which they all made so solemnly at the close of the war, in their Congress of Vienna, to grant free constitutions to their subjects. There are few things more disgraceful in the history of the world, than the undisguised perfidy with which all the rest have violated this most just engagement,—or more humiliating than the pretexts by which they have generally sought to evade it. Some, like the King of Prussia, allowing the force of the obligation, have condescended to argue, that there is *no time* 'nominated in the bond' within which they are bound to fulfil it, and that they will consequently do all that can fairly be required of them, if they put some limits on their arbitrary power at the distance of 500 or 1000 years! The doctrine of Vienna, however, is less quibbling, and more audacious; and volumes have actually been published, under the auspices of that court, to show that the article in the acts of the Congress should be understood only as binding the sovereigns to each other, but not at all to their subjects! The Grand Duke of Weimar disdained such subterfuges; and at once established a Representative Legislature, one-third part of which is elected by the Nobility, and the rest by a system of nearly universal suffrage. Our author, who is plainly somewhat sceptical as to the value of popular institutions, intimates, that these new legislators have given some tokens of awkwardness in the exercise of their functions; and assures us that the blue ladies, and the polite society of the place, care very little about them. But he admits that they have done their business honestly and well; and that the establishment has produced neither obstruction to the Government, nor disaffection among the people. He observes also, that the indifference with which this great change has been viewed, is not only a proof of its safety, but is characteristic of the German race. 'They get on in all things slowly, but surely; 'and in political education, more than in any other, precocity 'is the bane of soundness or depth.'

How long this nuisance of a free government will be allowed to subsist in the neighbourhood of the Holy Allies, it is not easy to conjecture. But they have already interfered to check the liberty of its press; and to put down, by menaces, privileges which they had themselves very recently recognised. The following passage is a new and edifying example of the spirit of this interference.

'There is a Censorship; but its existence is no stain on the government of Weimar, for it is a child of foreign birth which it has

been *compelled* to adopt. The constitution established the freedom of the press, restricted only by the necessary responsibility in a court of law, and the constitution itself was guaranteed *by the Diet*. Greater powers, however, not only held it imprudent to concede the same right to their own subjects, but considered it dangerous that it should be exercised by any people speaking the same language. The resolutions of the Congress of Carlsbad were easily converted into ordinances of the Diet, and Weimar was forced, by the will of this supreme authority, to receive a Censorship. Nay, she has occasionally been compelled to yield to external influence, which did not even use the formality of acting through the medium of the Diet. Dr Reuder was the editor of a Weimar newspaper called the "Opposition Paper" (*Das Oppositions-Blatt*), a journal of decidedly liberal principles, and extensive circulation. When it was understood that the three Powers intended to crush the Neopolitan revolution by force, there appeared in this paper one or two articles directed against the justice of this armed interference. They passed over unnoticed; but, in a couple of months, the *Congress of Troppau* assembled, and forthwith appeared an edict of the Grand Duke suppressing the paper. No one laid the blame on the government. Every body in Weimar said, "*An order has come down from Troppau.*"

'In fact, from the moment the liberty of the press was established, Weimar was regarded with an evil eye by the potentates who preponderate at the Diet. In less than three years there were six journals published in Weimar and Jena, devoted wholly, or in part, to political discussion, and three of them edited by professors of distinguished name in German learning. Their politics were all in the same strain; earnest pleadings for representative constitutions; and very provoking, though very sound disquisitions on the inefficacy of the new form of confederative government to which Germany has been subjected. At Weimar no fault was found with all this. More than one of these journals were printed in the *Industrie-Comptoir*, an establishment under the peculiar protection of the Grand Duke. But a different party, and particularly the *government press of some other courts*, took the alarm, and raised an outcry against Weimar, as if all the radicals of Europe had crowded into this little territory, to hatch rebellion for the whole Continent. Every occurrence was made use of to throw odium on the liberal forms of her government, or torment its administrators with remonstrances and complaints. The Grand Duke really had some reason to say, that Jena had cost him more uneasiness than Napoleon had ever done. By displacing some, suspending others, and frightening all; by establishing a Censorship, and occasionally administering a suppression, the press of Weimar has been reduced to silence or indifference.'—I. pp. 122–125.

We might perhaps finish our extracts here;—but, after having held him up in the last as friendly, on the whole, to the exercise of popular rights, the author might perhaps think himself unfairly dealt with, if we did not give him an opportuni-

ty of showing under what limitations he is inclined to side with the Liberals of the day. This is to be found chiefly in his defence of the present Government of Prussia; on which, in spite of its undeniable breach of faith to its subjects, and its open adherence to the abominations of the Holy Alliance, he is pleased to lavish the most unqualified praise. He does not fail, indeed, to reprobate the principles of that atrocious conspiracy, and even acknowledges the value and ultimate necessity of political liberty; but he imputes the accession of Prussia to the overwhelming weight of foreign influence, and condescends to employ the old apology for not doing what is right—that it may very well be put off to a more convenient season. We are willing to believe, that, in his partiality for Prussian despotism, his judgment has been partly suborned by his moral sympathies. Amidst the general corruption of the Continental Courts, he has evidently been much struck by the domestic virtues of the present King, and by the depth and purity of that conjugal affection which united him to his late most amiable and unfortunate consort. As these sentiments do great credit to the author, and are indeed combined by him into a very interesting picture, we shall give a short specimen of them in the following extract.

'The memory of Louisa may safely disregard the foul calumnies of French babblers, who lied and invented to gratify their unmanly master. If the character of a woman and a queen is to be gathered from her husband, her children, and her subjects, few of her rank will fill a more honourable place. She said herself, shortly before her death, "Posterity will not set down my name among those of celebrated women; but whoever knows the calamities of these times, will say of me, she suffered much, and she suffered with constancy. May he be able to add, she gave birth to children who deserved better days, who struggled to bring them round, and at length succeeded." She was not distinguished for talent, but she was loved and revered for her virtues; she had all the qualifications of an amiable woman, of a queen she had only the feelings. Every Prussian regarded her, and still speaks of her with a love approaching to adoration. It was not merely her beauty or female graces, richly as she was endowed with them, that captivated her husband's people; it was her pure, mild, simple, and affectionate character. They had sighed beneath the extravagant government of mistresses and favourites, which disgraced the closing years of the reign of the preceding monarch; and they turned with fondness to the novel spectacle of domestic happiness and propriety which adorned the throne of Prussia, when his present majesty mounted it, with the fairest princess of Europe by his side, and both surrounded by a family, in which alone they continued to seek their pure pleasures and simple amusements. Courtly extravagance and dissoluteness were banished,

for empty pomp and noisy gaiety did not suit their domestic attachments; while they supported the dignity of the crown, they never made themselves the slaves of court etiquette.

'From the moment that Prussia awoke, too late, on the brink of the precipice to which an unstable and short-sighted policy had conducted her, the life of this young and beautiful woman was uninterrupted bodily decay, the effect of mental suffering. Her hopes had been high, that the exertions of 1806 might still save the monarchy; she accompanied the king to the army, but retired to a place of safety immediately before the battle of Jena. She and the king parted in tears, and never met again in happiness; the battle was lost, and Prussia was virtually effaced from the number of the nations.

'From this moment the queen visibly sunk; her high spirit could not brook the downfall of her house; and her keen feelings only preyed the more rapidly on her health from the effort with which she concealed them. The unassuming piety and natural dignity of her character allowed neither repining nor complaint. She lived just long enough to witness the utter degradation of the monarchy, and to exhort her sons to remember that they had but one duty to perform, to avenge its wrongs, and retrieve its disgraces,—and they have done it. "My sons," said she to them, when she felt what all were yet unwilling to believe, that the seal of death was upon her, "when your mother is gone, you will weep over her memory, as she herself now weeps over the memory of our Prussia. But you must act. Free your people from the degradation in which they lie; show yourselves worthy to be the descendants of Frederick. God bless you, my dear boys! this is my legacy,—save your country, or die like men."

'This salvation was in reserve for Prussia; and the memory of the queen had no small share in producing that burst of national devotedness by which it was wrought out. While sinking beneath the heart-breaking pressure of the present, she never desponded concerning the future; a firm belief that the debasing yoke could not endure, clung to her to the last; and her letters, especially those to her father, express it repeatedly. In one she says, "The power of France cannot stand, for it is founded only on what is bad in man, his vanity and selfishness." Her firm assurance was shared by the whole nation; after her death, they still looked forward with confidence to the fulfilment of her hopes. It seemed as if the superstition which Tacitus has recorded of the ancient Germans had revived among their posterity, and the spirit of a woman was held to possess prophetic power. When the hour of fulfilment did come, Louisa was a sort of watchword to the arming Prussians; not one of them ever forgave the insults, or forgot the misfortunes of his queen. Even amid the triumphs and exultation of the contest which hurled France beyond the Rhine, and her unquiet despot from his throne, accents of regret were ever and anon bursting forth, "She has not

lived to see it;" and, long after she was gone, the females of Berlin were wont to repair, in an affectionate pilgrimage, on the monthly anniversary of her death, to her tomb at Charlottenburg, and deck her grave with fresh flowers.' II. pp. 55–62.

Neither will we withhold from our readers the greater part of the passage in which our author defends and eulogizes this arbitrary government. It contains concessions enough in favour of liberty, to enable any thinking reader to see the hollowness of the apology at which it labours.

'The government is in its forms a Despotic one. It wields a censorship; it is armed with a strict and stern police; and, in one sense, the property of the subject is at its disposal, in so far as the portion of his goods which he shall contribute to the public service depends only on the pleasure of the government. But let not our just hatred of despotic forms make us blind to substantial good. Under these forms, the government, not more from policy than inclination, has been guilty of no oppressions which might place it in dangerous opposition to public feeling or opinion; while it has crowded its administration with a rapid succession of ameliorations, which gave new life to all the weightiest interests of the state, and brought all classes of society into a more natural array, and which only ignorance or prejudice can deny to have been equally beneficial to the people, and honourable to the executive. I greatly doubt, whether there be any example of a popular government doing so much real good in so short a time, and with so much continued effect. When a minister roots out abuses which impede individual prosperity, gives free course to the arts and industry of the country, throws open to the degraded the paths of comfort and respectability, and brings down the artificial privileges of the high to that elevation which nature demands in every stable form of political society; while he thus prepares a people for a popular government, and, at the same time, by this very preparation, creates the safest and most unfailing means of obtaining it, he stands much higher, as a statesman and philosopher, than the minister who rests satisfied with the easy praise, and the more than doubtful experiment, of giving popular forms to a people which knows neither how to value nor exercise them. The statesmen of this age, more than of any other, ought to have learned the folly of casting the political pearl before swine.

'This is no defence of despotism; it is a statement of the good which the Prussian government has done, and an elucidation of the general spirit of improvement in which it has acted. But it furnishes no reason for retaining the despotic forms under which this good has been wrought out, so soon as the public wishes require, and the public mind is, in some measure, capable of using more liberal and manly instruments.—The despotism of Prussia stands as far above that of Naples, or Austria, or Spain, as our own constitution stands above the mutilated charter of France. The people are personally attached to their king; and in regard to his government, they feel and re-

cognise the real good which has been done infinitely more strongly than the want of the unknown good which is yet to be attained, and which alone can secure the continuance of all the rest. They have not enjoyed the political experience and education which would teach them the value of this security; and even the better informed classes tremble at the thought of exacting it by popular clamour, because they see it must speedily come of itself.

'In judging of the political feelings of a country, a Briton is apt to be deceived by his own political habits still more than by partial observation. The political exercises and education which we enjoy, are riches which we may well wish to see in the possession of others; but they lead us into a thousand fallacies, when they make us conclude, from what our own feelings would be under any given institutions, that another people, whose very prejudices go with its government, must be just as ready to present a claim of right, bring the king to trial, or declare the throne to be vacant. Prussia is by no means the only country of Germany where the people know nothing of that love of political thinking and information which pervades ourselves. But Prussia is in the true course to arrive at it; the most useful classes of her society are gradually rising in wealth, respectability, and importance; and, ere long, her government, in the natural course of things, must admit popular elements. If *foreign influence*, and, above all, that of *Russia*, whose leaden weight is said to hang too heavily already on the cabinet of Berlin, do not interfere, I shall be deceived if the change be either demanded with outrageous clamour from below, or refused with unwise and selfish obstinacy from above. No people of the continent better deserves political liberty than the Germans; for none will wait for it more patiently, receive it more thankfully, or use it with greater moderation.'—II. pp. 138–139.

Taking them as general propositions, we are far from quarelling with the greater part of the doctrines contained in this passage; but to its practical application we have the greatest possible objection. The benefits, nay, the necessity of a free constitution, as the only security for good government, are here admitted as amply as we could desire;—and what is the substance of the apology that is made for its being withheld, by a Sovereign solemnly pledged to concede it? Why, 1*st*, That it is really needless to grant any constitution, because the King does of himself all the good that could result from it; 2*d*, That the people, being sensible of this, are not clamorous or impatient for it; and, 3*d*, That, by wanting it for some time longer, and being still more used to good treatment under an arbitrary King, they will be better prepared to enjoy and administer it when it comes. The last of these propositions involves so violent a paradox, that it may be safely left to its own refutation. But are the others, in reality, less shallow and sophisti-

cal? If the reigning Sovereign is disposed, of himself, to abstain from an oppressive use of his power, he can have no intelligible motive for refusing to let the power of oppression be disjoined from his office for ever; and it is worse than absurd to say, that the reign of such a monarch is not the fit season for introducing limitations on the Crown, when it is manifest that it is in fact the *only* season in which they *can* be introduced without perilous violence. With regard, again, to the temper of the people, we confess that it is new to us to be told, that the time for making a wise and permanent arrangement between sovereign and subject, is when they are exasperated by mutual dread and contention,—when the bitter waters of discord are abroad in the land, and the people are *clamouring* for rights which cannot then be conceded without appearing to be extorted, and must grow up, if sown in such a season, into new harvests, at least for a time, of distrust and animosity. The patience and alleged indifference with which the people are said to look forward to the grant, and to endure the delay of their promised constitution, should be the strongest of all reasons, in the eyes of their rulers, for its immediate concession,—as affording the best pledge that their new rights and powers will be used with sobriety and temperance, and that those who are not clamorous when what is due is withheld from them, will not be likely to seek more than is due, or to be turbulent in adjusting any thing that may be debateable as to its extent. Is it any thing less, too, than ridiculous, to talk of the enlightened, industrious, literary people of Prussia, as unfit to exercise the functions, or supply the materials of a representative legislature, which was beneficially established in England when its population was comparatively barbarous, and which is known to have, in all places, the effect of gradually creating the virtues and talents which it puts in requisition? We can understand how it might be unsafe to intrust the task of self-government, all at once, to the emancipated serfs of Russia or Egypt; but that the reading and manufacturing inhabitants of Prussia should require another century's training under beneficent despots, before they could guess what laws would contribute to their security and happiness, does seem a strain of extravagance beyond what we should have expected even from the advocates of legitimacy.

But the true question is, Whether there is the least reason to suppose that the reformed constitution is really withheld upon any such considerations,—whether, in point of fact, it is not *delayed* in order that it may be ultimately *refused*, and whether, therefore, we may not reckon upon everything being

done by the Government, not to train and prepare the people for the exercise of popular rights, but to wean them from the wish, and frighten them from the attempt to attain them? Who, that looks with any moderate degree of candour on the pitiful shifts by which Prussia has sought to evade the performance of her engagements to her subjects, and on the prompt and decided part she has taken in the proceedings of the Holy Alliance, can doubt for a moment how these questions are to be answered? The policy which she is pursuing, we are indeed persuaded, is a short-sighted and ruinous one, and will, we trust, lead speedily to its own confusion; but that it is, in principle and design, an illiberal and truly tyrannical policy, we cannot allow to be doubted,—nor withhold this expression of our wonder at the doubts of the intelligent writer before us.

Though we do not think him altogether sound in his politics, however, we have no suspicion of his candour in the statement of facts, or the liberality of his general views; and indeed could desire no other materials for the refutation of his practical and particular errors, than the facts he has furnished, and the principles he has avowed. The greater part of his book, however, has nothing to do with politics; and though we refrain from any farther extracts, we can safely assure the great body of our *idle* readers, that they will find the bulk of it much more amusing than the specimens we have last exhibted.

ART. V. *Hints to Philanthropists; or a Collective View of Practical Means of Improving the Condition of the Poor and Labouring Classes of Society.* By WILLIAM DAVIS.

THE subject of Popular Education has frequently engaged our attention since the commencement of this Journal; but we have hitherto confined ourselves to the great fundamental branch of the question,—the provisions for elementary instruction, by schools in which the poor may be taught reading and writing, and thus furnished with the means of acquiring knowledge. We are desirous now of pursuing this inquiry into its other branch—the application of those means—the use of those instruments—the manner in which the working classes of the community may be most effectually and safely assisted in improving their minds by scientific acquirements.

But, *first*, we would guard against the supposition that we are assuming sufficient provision to have been made for elementary education, when we direct the reader's attention to its

higher departments. There is no reason whatever for postponing the consideration of the latter until the former shall be completed. On the contrary, the deficiency now existing in the proportion of schools to the population of the country, would in all probability be much diminished, if useful knowledge were diffused among all those who have already learnt to read. The greater use they make of this acquirement, the more widely will the desire of having it be spread; the better informed a large portion of the people becomes, the more difficult will it be for narrow-minded men to keep any part of their countrymen in ignorance. Nay, the direct operation of knowledge will tend to eradicate ignorance. A father of a family who can barely read, and has turned this talent to little account in improving his mind, may leave his children uneducated, unless the means of instruction are afforded him by the State, or by some other charity; but one who has made some progress in science, or in acquiring general information, will rather sacrifice any personal comfort than suffer his children to be uneducated; and will take care that, in some way or other, they obtain that instruction to which his own improvement is owing. It is very far, therefore, from being true, that we should wait till schools are provided for all, and till all can read, before we consider how those who can read may best turn that faculty to account. A superficial view of the subject can alone make any one believe that the latter inquiry is premature, if it precedes the universal establishment of elementary education. The planting of schools for the young, and assisting those more advanced in their studies, are works that may well go on together, and must aid each other.

The fundamental principle which chiefly merits attention in discussing this subject, is, that the interference of the Government may be not only safe but advantageous, and even necessary, in providing the means of elementary education for children; but that no such interference can be tolerated, to the smallest extent, with the subsequent instruction of the people. If a child be only taught to read and write, it is extremely immaterial by whom, or on what terms he is put in possession of the instruments by which knowledge may be acquired. It would, no doubt, be a gross act of oppression, if the Government were to spend part of the money raised from the people at large, in forming schools from which, by the regulations, certain classes of the community should be excluded. But if those schools are only so constructed that all may enter, no dangerous influence can result to the government, and no undue bias be communicated to the minds of the children, by having them

taught the art of reading in seminaries connected with the establishment in Church and State. It is far otherwise with the use that may afterwards be made of the tools thus acquired. Once suffer the least interference with that, and the government has made a step towards absolute power, and may, with a little address, and in a short time, if unresisted, reach its journey's end. Such a jealousy as we are here inculcating, is the more essentially necessary in a country where the existence of an established church, with its appendages of universities and publick schools, has already thrown religious instruction into the hands of a particular class, and given the government great influence over the education, generally, of the higher classes. In such a community, any interference with the diffusion of knowledge among the great body of the people would be pregnant with the most fatal consequences both to civil and religious liberty.

It is manifest, that the people themselves must be the great agents in accomplishing the work of their own education. Unless they are thoroughly impressed with a sense of its usefulness, and resolved to make some sacrifices for the acquisition of it, there can be no reasonable prospect of this grand object being attained. But it is equally clear, that to wait until the whole people with one accord take the determination to labour in this good work, would be endless. A portion of the community may be sensible of its advantages, and willing at any fair price to seek them, long before the same laudable feeling becomes universal; and their successful efforts to better their intellectual condition cannot fail to spread more widely the love of knowledge, and the contempt for vulgar and sensual gratifications.

But although the people must be the source and the instruments of their own improvement, they may be essentially aided in their efforts to instruct themselves. Difficulties which might be sufficient to damp or wholly to obstruct their progress, may be removed; and efforts which, unassisted, would perhaps prove a transient, or only a partial enthusiasm for the attainment of knowledge, may, with judicious encouragement, be made both a lasting and an universal habit. A little attention to the difficulties that principally beset the poor in their search after information, will at once lead us to the knowledge of those wants in which their more affluent neighbours can lend them most valuable assistance.

Their difficulties may all be classed under one or other of two heads—want of money and want of time. To the first belongs the difficulty of obtaining those books and instructors which persons in easy circumstances can command; and to the

second, it is owing that the same books and instructors are not adapted to them, which suffice to teach persons who have leisure to go through the whole course of any given branch of science. It is also owing to their habitual occupation, that in some lines of employment, there is hardly a possibility of finding any time for acquiring knowledge. This is particularly the case with those whose labour is severe, or, though less severe, yet in the open air, for here the tendency to sleep immediately after it ceases, and the greater portion of sleep required, oppose very serious obstacles to instruction.

The first method, then, that suggests itself for promoting knowledge among the poor, is the encouragement of cheap publications; and in no country is this more wanted than in Great Britain, where, with all our boasted expertness in manufactures, we have never succeeded in printing books at so little as double the price required by our neighbours on the Continent. A gown, which any where else would cost a guinea, may be made in this country for half a crown; but a volume, fully as well or better printed, and on paper which, if not as fine, is quite fine enough, and far more agreeable to the eyes, than could be bought in London for half a guinea, costs only six francs, or less than five shillings at Paris. The high price of labour in a trade where so little can be done, or at least is done by machinery, is one of the causes of this difference. But the direct tax upon paper is another; and the determination to print upon paper of a certain price is a third; and the aversion to crowd the page is a fourth. Now all of these, except the first, may be got over. The duty on paper is threepence a pound, which must increase the price of an octavo volume eightpence or ninepence; and this upon paper of every kind, and printing of every kind; so that if by whatever means the price of a book were reduced to the lowest, say to three or four shillings, about a fourth or a fifth must be added for the tax; and this book, brought as low as possible to accommodate the poor man, with the coarsest paper and most ordinary type, must pay exactly as much to government as the finest hot-pressed work of the same size. This tax ought, therefore, by all means, to be given up; but though, from its being the same upon all paper used in printing, no part of it can be saved by using coarse paper, much of it may be saved by crowding the letter-press, and having a very narrow margin. This experiment has been tried of late in London, upon a considerable scale; but it may easily be carried a great deal further. Thus, Hume's History has been begun; and one volume, containing about two and a half of the former editions, has been published. It

is sold for six shillings and sixpence; but it contains a great number of cuts neatly executed; the paper is much better than is necessary, and the printing is perfectly well done. Were the cuts omitted, and the most ordinary paper and type used, the price might be reduced to 4s. or 4s. 6d.; and a book might thus be sold for 12s. or 14s., which now costs perhaps two or three pounds.

The method of publishing in numbers is admirably suited to the circumstances of the poor. Twopence is easily saved in a week by almost any labourer; and by a mechanic sixpence in a week may without difficulty be laid by. Those who have not attended to these matters, ('the simple annals of the poor,') would be astonished to find how substantial a meal of information may be had by twopenny-worths. Seven numbers, for fourteen pence, comprise Franklin's Life and Essays; and thirty for a crown, the whole of the Arabian Nights. But in looking over the list of those cheap publications, we certainly do not find many that are of a very instructive cast; and here it is that something may be done by way of encouragement. That the demand for books, cheap as well as dear, must tend to produce them, no one doubts; but then it is equally certain, that the publication of cheap books increases the number of readers among the poor; and we can hardly conceive a greater benefit being rendered to them than those would confer, who should make a judicious selection from our best authors upon ethics, politics and history, and promote cheap editions of them in numbers, without waiting until the demand was such as to make the sale a matter of perfect certainty. Lord John Russell, in his excellent and instructive speech upon Parliamentary Reform, delivered in 1822, stated, that 'an establishment was 'commenced a few years ago, by a number of individuals, with 'a capital of not less than a million, for the purpose of printing 'standard works at a cheap rate;' and he added, that it had been 'very much checked in its operation by one of those acts 'for the suppression of knowledge which were passed in the 'year 1819, although one of its rules was not to allow the ven-'ders of its works to sell any book on the political controver-'sies of the day.' The only part of this plan which we can see the least objection to, is the restriction upon politicks. Why should not political, as well as all other works, be published in a cheap form, and in numbers? That history, the nature of the constitution, the doctrines of political economy, may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man now-a-days will be hardy enough to deny. Some points connected with those subjects are matter of pretty warm contention in the present times, and yet these may be freely handled, it seems, with safety;

indeed, unless they are so handled, the subjects they belong to cannot be discussed at all. Why then may not every topic of politicks, party as well as general, be treated of in these cheap publications? It is highly useful to the community that the true principles of the constitution should be understood by every man who lives under it. The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge. The abuses which through time have crept into the practice of it, and the errors committed in its administration, may most fitly be expounded in the same manner. And if any man, or set of men, denies the existence of such abuses, and sees no error in the conduct of those who administer the government, he may propagate *his* doctrines through the like channels. Cheap works being furnished, the choice of them may be left to the readers. Assuredly, a country which tolerates every form, even the most violent, of daily and weekly discussion in the newspapers, can have nothing to dread from the diffusion of political doctrines somewhat less desultory, and in a form more likely to make them be both well weighed at the time, and preserved for repeated perusal. It cannot be denied, that the habit of cursory reading, engendered by finding all subjects discussed in publications which, how great soever their merits may be, no one ever thinks of looking at a second time, is unfavourable to the acquisition of solid and permanent information.

Although the providing cheap publications furnishes the most effectual means of bringing knowledge within the reach of a poor man's income, there are other modes deserving our attention, whereby a similar assistance may be rendered, and his resources economized. Circulating libraries may in some circumstances be of use; but, generally speaking, they are little adapted to those who have only an hour or two every day, or every other day, to bestow upon reading. Book clubs, or reading societies, are *far* more suited to the labouring classes, may be established by very small numbers of contributors, and require an inconsiderable fund. If the associates live near one another, arrangements may be easily made for circulating the books, so that they may be in use every moment that any one can spare from his work. Here, too, the rich have an easy method presented to them of promoting instruction; the gift of a few books, as a beginning, will generally prove a sufficient encouragement to carry on the plan by weekly or monthly contributions; and with the gift a scheme may be communicated, to assist the contributors in arranging the plan of their association.

It is however, as we have remarked, not only necessary that the money of the poor, but their time also, should be economized; and this consideration leads to various suggestions.

In the *first* place, there are many occupations in which a number of persons work in the same room; and unless there be something noisy in the work, one may always read while the others are employed. If there are twenty-four men together, this arrangement would only require each man to work one extra day in four weeks, supposing the reading to go on the whole day, which it would not; but a boy or a girl might be engaged to perform the task, for a sum so trifling as not to be felt. This expedient, too, it may be observed, would save money as well as time; one copy of a book, and that borrowed for the purpose, or obtained from a reading society or circulating library, would suffice for a number of persons. We may add, that great help would be given by the better informed and more apt learners, to such as are slower of apprehension and more ignorant; and discussion (under proper regulations) would be of singular use to all, even the most forward proficients; which leads us to observe,

Secondly, That societies for the express purpose of promoting conversation are a most useful adjunct to any private or other education received by the working classes. Those who do not work together in numbers, or whose occupation is of a noisy kind, may thus, one or two evenings in the week, meet and obtain all the advantages of mutual instruction and discussion. An association of this kind will naturally combine with its plan the advantages of a book club. The members will most probably be such as are engaged in similar pursuits, and whose train of reading and thinking may be nearly the same. The only considerable evils which they will have to avoid, are, being too numerous, and falling too much into debate. From twenty to thirty seems a convenient number; and nearer the former than the latter. The tone ought to be given from the beginning, in ridicule of speech-making, both as to length and wordiness. A subject of discussion may be given out at one meeting for the next; or the chairman may read a portion of some work, allowing each member to stop him at any moment, for the purpose of controverting, supporting, or illustrating by his remarks the passage just read. To societies of this kind master workmen have the power of affording great facilities. They may allow an hour on the days when the meetings are holden; or if that is too much, they may allow the men to begin an hour earlier on those days; or if even that cannot be managed, they may let them have an hour and a half, on condition of working half an

hour extra on three other days. But a more essential help will be the giving them a place to meet. There are hardly twenty or thirty workmen in any branch of business, some of whose masters have not a room, workshop, warehouse, or other place sufficient to accommodate such a society; and it is perfectly necessary that the place of rendezvous should on no account be the alehouse. Whoever lent his premises for this purpose, might satisfy himself that no improper persons should be admitted, by taking the names of the whole club from two or three steady men, who could be answerable for the demeanour of the rest.

Any interference beyond this would be unwise; unless in so far as the men might voluntarily consult their masters from time to time; and their disposition to do so must depend wholly upon the relations of kindness and mutual confidence subsisting between the parties. If any difficulty should be found in obtaining the use of a room from their masters, there seems to be no good reason why they should not have the use of any schoolroom that may be in their neighbourhood; and one room of this kind may accommodate several societies; three, if the meetings are twice a week; and six, if they only meet once.

In the *third* place, it is evident that the want of time preventing the classes of whom we are treating from pursuing a systematick course of education in all its details, a more summary and compendious method of instruction must be pursued by them. The great majority must be content with never going beyond a certain point, and with reaching that point by the most expeditious route. A few, thus initiated in the truths of science, will no doubt push their attainments much farther; and for these the works in common use will suffice; but for the multitude it will be most essential that works should be prepared adapted to their circumstances. Thus, in teaching them geometry, it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system, by which the most general and remote truths are connected with the few simple definitions and axioms; enough will be accomplished, if they are made to perceive the nature of mathematical investigation, and learn the leading properties of figure. In like manner, they may be taught the doctrines of mechanics with a much more slender previous knowledge of geometry and algebra, than the common elementary works on dynamicks presuppose in the reader. Hence, a most essential service will be rendered to the cause of knowledge by him who shall devote his time to the composition of elementary treatises on the mathematicks, sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to

impart an accurate knowledge of the most fundamental and useful propositions, with their application to practical purposes, and treatises upon natural philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics, and their practical application, to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Nor let it be supposed, that the time thus bestowed is given merely to instruct the poor in the rudiments of philosophy, though this would of itself be an object sufficiently brilliant to allure men of the noblest ambition; for what higher achievement did the most sublime philosophy ever propose to itself, than to elevate the views and refine the character of the great mass of mankind? But if extending the bounds of science itself be the grand aim of philosophers, they indirectly, but surely, accomplish this object, who enable thousands to speculate and experiment for one to whom the path of investigation is now open. It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any considerable proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself a desire and an aptitude to proceed further, will do so,—and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and in science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation, are most likely to be made by men, whose lives being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation.

Fourthly, The preparation of elementary works is not the only, nor, at first, is it the most valuable service that can be rendered towards economizing the time of the labouring classes. The institution of Lectures is, of all the helps that can be given, the most valuable, where circumstances permit; that is, in towns of a certain size. Much may thus be taught, even without any other instruction; but, combined with reading, and subservient to it, the effects of public lectures are great indeed, especially in the present deficiency of proper elementary works. The students are enabled to read with advantage; things are explained to them which no books sufficiently illustrate; access is afforded to teachers, who can remove the difficulties which occur perpetually in the reading of uneducated persons; a word may often suffice to get rid of some obstacle which would have impeded the unassisted student's progress for days; and then, whatever requires the performance of experiments to become intelligible, can only be learnt by the bulk of mankind at a lecture, inasmuch as the wealthiest alone can have such lessons in private,

and none but the most highly gifted can hope to master those branches of science without seeing the experimental illustrations.

The branches of knowledge to which these observations chiefly apply, are Mechanical Philosophy and Chemistry, both as being more intimately connected with the arts, and as requiring more explanation and illustration by experiment. But the Mathematics, Astronomy, and Geology, the two former especially, are well fitted for being taught publicly, and are of great practical use. Nor is there any reason why Moral and Political Philosophy should not be explained in public lectures, though they may be learnt by reading far more easily than the physical sciences.

In all plans of this description, it is absolutely necessary that the expenses should mainly be defrayed by those for whose benefit they are contrived. It is the province of the rich to lay the foundation, by making certain advances which are required in the first instance, and enabling the poor to come forward, both as learners and contributors. But no such scheme can either take a deep root, or spread over the country so as to produce the good for which it is calculated, unless its support is derived from those who are chiefly to reap its benefits. Those benefits are, as far as regards instruction in the principles upon which the arts depend, of a nature eminently fitted to improve the condition of the learners, and to repay, in actual profit, far more than the cost required. But, even for instruction in other branches of learning of a more general description, and only tending to improve the moral and intellectual character, a fund is provided, by the substitution of refined and cheap and harmless gratifications, in the stead of luxuries, which are both grosser and more expensive, hurtful to the health, and wasteful of time. The yearly cost of a lecture in the larger cities, where enlightened and public-spirited men may be found willing to give instruction for nothing, is indeed considerably less than in smaller places, where a compensation must be made for the lecturer's time and work. But it seems to us advisable, that, even where gratuitous assistance could be obtained, something like an adequate remuneration should be afforded, both to preserve the principle of independence among the working classes, and to secure the more accurate and regular discharge of the duty. We shall therefore suppose, that the lectures, as well as the current expenses of the room, and where there are experiments, of the apparatus, are paid for; and still it appears by no means an undertaking beyond the reach of those classes. The most expensive courses of teaching will be those requiring apparatus; but then those are likewise the most directly profitable to the

scholars. Contributions may be reckoned upon to begin the plan, including the original purchase of apparatus; and then we may estimate the yearly cost, which alone will fall upon the members of the Association. The hire of a room may be reckoned at thirty pounds; the salary of a lecturer, forty; wear and tear of apparatus, twenty; assistant and servant, ten; clerk or collector, ten; fire and lamps, five; printing and advertising, fifteen; making in all 130*l.* But if two, or three courses are delivered in the same room, the expenses of each will be reduced in proportion. Suppose three, the room may probably be had for fifty pounds, the printing for twenty, and the servants for thirty; so that the expense of each course will be reduced to about a hundred pounds. Each course may occupy six months of weekly lectures; consequently, if only a hundred artisans are to be found who can spare a shilling a week, one lecture may be carried on for 130*l.*; and if 120 artisans can be found to spare a shilling a week, three courses may be carried on during the year, and each person attend the whole. This calculation, however, supposes a very inconsiderable town. If the families engaged in trade and handicrafts have, one with another, a single person contributing, the number of 100 answers to a population of only 770, supposing the proportion of persons engaged in trade and handicrafts to be the same as in the West Riding of Yorkshire; and 710, taking the proportion of Lancashire. If, indeed, we take the proportions in the manufacturing towns, it will answer in some cases to a population of 5500, and in others of little more than 500. But even taking the proportion from towns in the least manufacturing counties, as Huntingdonshire, the population required to furnish 100 will not exceed 900—which is a town of about 200 houses. One of three times the size is but an inconsiderable place; and yet in such a place, upon a very moderate computation, 200 persons might easily be found to spare sixpence a week all the year round; which would be amply sufficient for two lectures. In the larger towns, where 5 or 600 persons might associate, five shillings a quarter would be sufficient to carry on three or four lectures, and leave between 150*l.* or 200*l.* a year for the purchase of books. The most complete establishment will always be that in which a library is combined with the lecture; and it is adviseable that, in places where at first there is not money or spirit enough to begin with both, a library only should be established, to which the lecture may afterwards be added.

The men themselves ought to have the chief share in the management of these concerns. This is essential to the success, and also to the independence of the undertaking; nor is there

the least reason to apprehend mismanagement. If benefit societies are, upon the whole, well conducted, we may rely upon institutions being still better conducted, where the improvement of the mind being the object, those only will ever take a part, who are desirous of their own advancement in knowledge, and of the general instruction of the class to which they belong. Neither is there any fear that the suggestions of persons in a higher station, and of more ample information, may not be duly attended to. Gratitude for the assistance received, and the advice offered, together with a conviction that the only motive for interfering is the good of the establishment, will give at least its just weight to the recommendations of patrons; and if it were not always so, far better would it be to see such influence fail entirely, than to run the risk of the apathy which might be occasioned among the men, and the abuse of the institutors themselves, which might frequently be produced by excluding from the control of their affairs, those whose interest are the only object in view. The influence of patrons is always sure to have at the least its proper weight, as long as their object plainly is merely to promote the good of those for whom the Institution was founded; and as soon as they are actuated by any other views, it is very fit that their influence should cease. There is nearly as little reason to apprehend, that the necessity of discussing, at meetings of the members, the affairs of the Institution, will give rise to a spirit of controversy and a habit of making speeches. Those meetings for private business will of course be held very seldom; and a feeling may always be expected to prevail, that the continuance of the establishment depends upon preserving union, notwithstanding any diversity of opinion in matters of detail, and upon keeping the discussion of rules and regulations subordinate to the attendance upon the lectures, the main object of the establishment. The time when information and advice is most wanted, with other assistance from the wealthy and the well informed, is at the beginning of the undertaking; and at that time the influence of those patrons will necessarily be the most powerful. Much depends upon a right course being taken at first; proper rules laid down; fit subjects selected for lecture; good teachers chosen —and upon all these matters the opinions and wishes of those who chiefly contribute to found the several institutions, are sure to have a very great weight.

It is now fit that we advert to the progress that has already been made in establishing this system of instruction. Its commencement was the work of Dr Birkbeck, to whom the people of this Island owe a debt of gratitude, the extent of which it would not be easy, perhaps in the present age not possible, to

describe; for as, in most cases, the effective demand precedes the supply, it would have been more in the ordinary course of things, that a teacher should spring up at the call of the mechanics for instruction: But long before any symptoms appeared of such an appetite on their part, and with the avowed purpose of implanting the desire in them, or at least of unfolding and directing it, by presenting the means of gratification, that most learned and excellent person formed the design, as enlightened as it was benevolent, of admitting the working classes of his fellow-countrymen to the knowledge of sciences, till then almost deemed the exclusive property of the higher ranks in society, and only acquired accidentally and irregularly in a few rare instances of extraordinary natural talents, by any of the lower orders. Dr Birkbeck, as is well known in this part of the Island, before he removed to London, where he has since reached the highest station in the medical profession, was settled for some time in Glasgow as Professor in the Anderson College; and about the year 1800, he announced a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy, and its application to the Arts, for the instruction of Mechanics. But a few at the first availed themselves of this advantage; by degrees, however, the extraordinary perspicuity of the teacher's method, the judicious selection of his experiments, and the natural attractions of the subject, to men whose lives were spent in directing or witnessing operations, of which the principles were now first unfolded to them, proved successful in diffusing a general taste for the study; and when he left Glasgow two or three years afterwards, about seven hundred eagerly and constantly attended the lecture.

It is somewhat singular, that although this admirable institution has ever since flourished under the able and worthy successor of Dr Birkbeck, and although there are many towns in Scotland, and some within a very short distance of Glasgow, where hundreds of artisans are collected, yet twenty years elapsed before the example was followed, of an experiment, which, for so long a period, was constantly before the eyes of men, and with uninterrupted success. This may in part be ascribed to the distresses of the times, as regards the lower classes, and to the political agitations, as respects the upper ranks: But we think it must also in part be attributed to the founder of the system having somewhat gone before the age; for if there had existed as great a propensity for learning among the mechanics during the first six or seven years, as now prevails, those being years of great manufacturing prosperity, and indeed of active speculation generally, there can be little doubt that lectures

would have been established upon the model of Dr Birkbeck's. It was not, however, till the year 1821, that Edinburgh followed the example,—and, as might be expected, with some material improvements. As the knowledge of the steps by which the adoption of Dr Birkbeck's plan in this city has been so successfully effected, may be of use elsewhere, we shall here give a succinct statement of them.

The promoters of the plan began by drawing up a short sketch of the proposed institution, and causing it to be circulated among the principal master mechanics, with a request that they would read it in their workshops, and take down the names of such of the men as were desirous of being taught the principles of those sciences most useful to artisans. In the course of ten days, between 70 and 80 names were entered; and a private meeting was held of a few gentlemen who were disposed to encourage the experiment. These resolved to begin a subscription for the purpose. In April 1821, they issued a prospectus among the mechanics, announcing the commencement of a Course of Lectures on Mechanics, and another on Chemistry, in October following,—with the opening of a Library of Books upon the same subjects, for perusal at home as well as in the room; the hours of lecture to be from eight to nine in the evening, twice a week, for six months; and the terms of admission to the whole, both lectures and library, fifteen shillings a year. A statement was also circulated to the publick at large, announcing the establishment of a '*School of Arts*,' with the particulars of the plan; and so well was it received, by all classes, that in September, notice was given of 220 mechanics having entered as students, and such a sum having been subscribed by the public, as enabled the Directors to open the establishment on the 16th of October. The following statement of the precise objects of the plan was given in this notice.

"The great object of this Institution is to supply, at such an expense as a working tradesman can afford, instruction in the various branches of Science which are of practical application to mechanics in their several trades, so that they may the better comprehend the reason for each individual operation that passes through their hands, and have more certain rules to follow than the mere imitation of what they may have seen done by another. It is not intended to teach the trade of the Carpenter, the Mason, the Dyer, or any other particular business; but there is no trade which does not depend, more or less, upon scientific principles; and to teach what these are, and to point out their practical application, will form the business of this establishment. He who unites a thorough knowledge of the principles of his art with that dexterity which practice, and practice only, can give, will be the most complete, and probably the most successful tradesman.

" As there is a great deal to be taught, and it is not the purpose of the School of Arts to give a mere smattering of knowledge, as the amusement of a vacant hour, but to afford solid instruction to those who will take it; it is not possible, during the first year, to do more in the space of time which tradesmen can reasonably spare, than to teach the more general principles of chemistry and mechanical philosophy, together with a brief notice of their practical application in some of the principal arts. A more minute and detailed instruction upon particular branches of art will form the subject of subsequent Courses of Lectures, after the Students have had an opportunity of acquiring an elementary education from the first Course of Lectures, and from the books they will be supplied with from the Library, and of thus becoming better prepared for understanding them."—*First Report*, p. 6.

When the lectures began, 272 students had purchased tickets; and the Institution was opened in the presence of the Magistrates of the city, and some of the most distinguished of its patrons, by a most excellent address from the Secretary, Mr L. Horner, on the part of the Directors. Dr Fyfe began his Course of Lectures on Chemistry, and Mr Galbraith on Mechanical Philosophy; and on the third night, 400 tickets had been sold. It became necessary here to limit the numbers, from a belief that the size of the room and the library could accommodate no more. As, however, a course of lectures on the Veterinary Art had been recently announced, twenty students were added in order to accommodate the farriers, some of whom showed such a desire to attend, that one came regularly on the night of the lecture, the distance of ten miles from the country. During the course of six months, 452 took out tickets. Of the 418 who began, 104 paid the full sum of 15s. for the whole year; the rest only paid 7s. 6d., which entitled them to half the course of lectures, and the use of the library during that quarter of the year. Of these 314, there were 86 who did not renew their subscription at the beginning of January 1822; and this is supposed by the Directors to have arisen in part from the interest decreasing with the attraction of novelty; for the season at which the payment of the second subscription fell due, was that of the new year's holidays, a season at which there are more temptations to spend money than usual. However, upon the vacancy created by the 86 students being known, 36 new ones came forward and entered. Nor can it be doubted, that the whole vacant places would have been filled, but for the disinclination naturally felt to begin in the middle of the course. Thus, after all, 322 paid for the whole year, and 366 were in attendance during the latter part of the lectures. The Chemical Lecture was the most attractive, and was always fully attend-

ed; the Mechanical not quite so numerously; the Farriery, by from 60 to 80; and a course of Architecture gratuitously given by Mr Milne (as was the Farriery by Mr Dick) was attended by from 150 to 200. The very moderate remuneration of 32*l.* each, was all that the other two lecturers received. The Library had, by liberal donations, and the money expended in purchases, amounted to 500 volumes; it was placed under the management of twelve students chosen by the Directors, and attending four by rotation each night, for the purpose of taking in and giving out books, that is, twice in a fortnight. The average number of books taken out each night was 210; and the eagerness to have them may be seen from this, that a fine of 6d. a fortnight being imposed for keeping them out longer than one fortnight, though not a volume was lost, nearly 200 fines were paid. The following contrivance deserves to be known, as likely to prove useful in obviating an inconvenience to which the issuing of books is liable.

'The rule adopted in giving out the books being, that those who apply first shall have the first choice, there was at first considerable confusion, from the eagerness of the Students to get the books they wanted; and various plans were tried to preserve better order without success, until that followed at the Anderson Institution of Glasgow was ascertained. It consists in arranging a series of benches in such a manner, that the Students take their seats in the order of their coming to the room, no books being delivered until a considerable number are arrived. They are then given out to the Students, as they successively arrive at the upper end of the series of benches. Although there was a very early attendance on the nights of giving out the books, on those nights when they were to be returned the inconvenience was considerable, from the greater number of the Students coming in the last half hour of the time allotted; it was, therefore, necessary to make it their interest to come early, and a rule was laid down, which has proved quite effectual, that the first thirty who return their books shall have the first choice the next night of giving out. The books have been kept very clean, very few have been damaged, and not one volume has been lost during the year.'—*First Report*, p. 18.

The Mechanical Lectures had hardly begun, when some of the students, finding the want of mathematical knowledge, proposed to the Directors to form themselves into a class, under one of their own number, a joiner, who had agreed to teach them gratuitously the Elements of Geometry and the higher branches of Arithmetic. This suggestion was warmly approved of, and some assistance in books being given, thirty met once a week for Geometry, and once for Arithmetic, and adopting the plan of mutual instruction; the class was arranged in

five divisions, each under the best scholar as a Monitor, going over on one night the lessons of the night before. The number of this class being limited to thirty, those who were excluded formed another on the same plan, under a cabinetmaker, also a student of the School of Arts. The joiner's name is James Yule; the cabinetmaker's David Dewar; and their successful exertions to teach their fellow-workmen, are deservedly a subject of great commendation. Mr Galbraith, the Mechanical Professor, adopted the plan of setting exercises to his pupils; and a list is published of those who chiefly distinguished themselves by the number and accuracy of their solutions, being 25 persons. In the four months, beginning at the termination of these lectures, a class was opened for Architectural and Mechanical drawing, consisting of two courses, of two months each, for twenty of the students; the sum paid being five shillings, and each pupil finding his own drawing materials. Of this they eagerly availed themselves—and each class received 25 lessons of two hours.

The experience of the first year, and particularly the fact that the students were of no less than forty-eight different trades, convinced the Directors that the best plan was to limit the lectures to the general principles of those sciences which are of universal application to the arts, and not to attempt, as had at first been intended, teaching the principle of the arts in detail. To this principle they adhered, except that a course of Farriery and of Architecture was again given the second year. In addition to Mechanics and Chemistry, they very judiciously established a lecture upon Mathematics, under Mr Wilson, which was attended by a hundred and fifty students, the greater number of whom took a part in the solution of questions, from time to time given out. A list of twenty-six persons is published, twelve of whom solved from twenty to forty in the course of the lectures. An additional half hour being set apart for *vivâ voce* examination, it is remarkable that only fourteen gave in their names as willing to submit to it. When the chemical Professor gave the same option, fifty offered themselves for examination. The whole number of students who entered during the second year was four hundred and thirty. The number limited being four hundred, that number was immediately filled up, and above eighty applicants were disappointed. The thirty over four hundred were admitted in the room of such as did not continue after the first quarter. The library was increased two hundred volumes, and the continued patronage of the public was extended to the plan by subscriptions.

The average receipts of the two first years were, from subscriptions, 448*l.* yearly, and from the students, 300*l.* The average expenditure was about 620*l.*, and a saving of 300*l.* was made towards building a lecture-room. The expenditure includes, for furniture and apparatus, 216*l.* a year; for books and binding, 110*l.*; and for expenses incident to the subscriptions, as advertisements, collection and meetings, about 70*l.*; leaving, of current necessary expenses, about 220*l.* only; so that, if the extrinsic subscriptions were at an end, or were confined to the accumulation of a fund for building, the students could themselves carry on the establishment, and have a surplus of 80*l.* a year for the wear and tear, and increase of the apparatus and the library; and if their contributions were increased to a pound yearly, which would probably make very little, if any, difference in the numbers of students, an additional 100*l.* would be afforded for the better payment of the Lecturers, or, if they continue satisfied, for the establishment of new lectures. We make this statement for the purpose of confirming the calculation formerly given, and showing, that, in places where the rich are less liberally inclined than in Edinburgh, the same invaluable establishments may easily be formed and perpetuated, by a judicious encouragement given at first to the mechanics, and without the necessity of relying upon continued assistance from those who first promoted and aided them.

We must not omit, however, to state, that the '*School of Arts*' is established upon principles essentially different from any other institution of this nature with which we are acquainted. The whole management is vested in fifteen Directors, chosen from among the subscribers, at an annual meeting. The students who attend the lectures, have nothing to do with the management, except certain individuals of them chosen by the Directors, and who act as committees for taking charge of the Library and apparatus. Care is taken, however, that a certain proportion of master mechanics shall always be in the direction, so that no regulations may be made which shall in any degree be hostile to the habits or feelings of the working classes. It is conceived that persons of education are better able to determine what course of instruction is best fitted to attain the objects in view, and which are the most suitable books for such a library,—that the students should have nothing to do, but to attend to the instruction;—that they should, in short, go to the School of Arts as to any other school, they themselves judging whether it is advantageous for them to lay out their money in that way or not. The *Subscribers* and *Students*, therefore, are kept quite distinct; the former are

only expected to *visit* the lecture-room *occasionally*, and they are entirely excluded from the use of the library; the *Students* are the privileged class. It is conceived that, looking forward to the time when the ardour of novelty shall have cooled, properly qualified teachers for such institutions can only be obtained by a remuneration that will make the situation an object of ambition to a well educated man; and that, to keep the students' fees low, which is quite essential, there must be, either by subscription or other means, an additional source of revenue. The lectures are strictly confined to such objects of science as will be useful to workmen *in the exercise of their trade;* and no book is admitted into the library but what relates to science or art. This constitution of the School of Arts differs therefore in some respects from the views we have taken in the early part of this article; but as the institution has continued to prosper for three years, and is universally popular with the mechanics of Edinburgh, we must leave it to time to decide which system is the best calculated to secure the permanence of such establishments.

We cannot take leave of this, our own *School of Arts*, without expressing the sense we feel of the important services rendered to the community by the individuals with whom it originated, and particularly by the Secretary, Mr Horner. To him it should afford, next to the satisfaction of rendering so great a service to the working classes, the best reward for his labours, that he may be assured there is no one exertion in which his justly lamented brother would have taken a deeper interest, and no object with which he would have been more willing to connect his name. *

We have had great satisfaction in looking over the list of subscribers, to find the names of persons of all parties and opinions; and we have had access to know that many of those individuals, whom, on general questions of politics, we are accustomed to consider as taking the less liberal side, have supported this establishment with a degree of zeal and earnestness which could only have proceeded from the most enlightened views of the important addition it is calculated to make to the happiness, prosperity, and security of the country.

When Dr Birkbeck reflected on the success of his plan, both at Glasgow, and now since it was established in a place far less

* Among the many liberal donations made to the Edinburgh School of Arts, let us mark, with unfeigned admiration, that of Mr Chantrey, who presented it with copies of his celebrated busts of Watt and Rennie, and one of Dr Franklin. These have been placed in the lecture-room.

abounding in artisans, it is not to be wondered at that he should have conceived the idea of giving its principles a wider diffusion, by the only means which seem in this country calculated for the general circulation of any scheme, its being patronised in London. He and a few of his friends accordingly called the attention of the metropolis to it about the end of last year, and the proposition met with all the encouragement that might have been expected, both from the master mechanics, the workmen, and the friends of knowledge and improvement. A meeting was held in November; a subscription was commenced; rules for the association were prepared; and a '*Mechanics' Institution*' was formed so promptly, that, in the month of January, the lectures were opened upon Mechanics by Professor Millington of the London Institution, and upon Chemistry by Mr Phillips. Between twelve and thirteen hundred workmen speedily entered, paying one pound each; and, crowding from great distances in the worst weather, and after the toils of the day were over, to slake that thirst of knowledge, which, as it forms so glorious a characteristic of these times, so will assuredly prove the source of improvements in the next age, calculated to throw all that has yet been witnessed into the shade. Dr Birkbeck himself most appropriately opened the establishment by an able Address; nor was the voluntary offer of his services less appropriate on the part of Professor Millington, who, with honest pride, declared to his audience, at the close of his introductory lecture, that he had originally belonged to the same class with themselves. A course of Geometry was also given by Mr Dotchin, and Dr Birkbeck delivered one upon Hydrostatics. A short course of Astronomy by Mr Newton, Editor of the London Journal of Arts and Sciences, has occupied part of the autumn; and Mr Cooper is now engaged in a very extensive series of lectures upon the application of Chemistry to the arts and manufactures. Temporary accommodation has hitherto been procured in the chapel in Monkwell Street, formerly Dr Lindsay's; and if, upon such a subject, we might entertain any faith in omens, surely a scheme for the moral and intellectual improvement of mankind could not be commenced under happier auspices than in the place which so virtuous and enlightened a friend of his country had once filled with the spirit of genuine philanthropy and universal toleration. It is intended, however, to place the Institution upon a permanent footing; and accordingly, very commodious premises have been provided, in a central situation, viz. in Southampton Buildings. A spacious hall, with rooms for the library and apparatus, will there be prepared.

The apparatus, already considerable, will, in all probability, soon be of a very superior description, and obtained at a very moderate expense, as different members of the Institution have agreed to devote their spare time to making it. Other persons, unconnected with it, but anxious to promote its interests from a friendly disposition to the progress of knowledge, have made presents of books and machinery; and there can be no doubt that this Institution, beside teaching a large body of people the most useful of the sciences, will assist in forming other establishments of the same kind in different parts of London.

But it is equally clear that these seminaries of popular education must soon spread over every part of the country. At Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds and other places, there have already been established institutions upon the same plan; and one of the most flourishing, in which 560 mechanics contribute to their own instruction, has been begun at Aberdeen. * At Kendal a lecture has been announced as about to be united with the 'Mechanics and Apprentices Library,' established there a few months ago. There are not above 8000 inhabitants in that town; and at Hawick, where there are only half that number, Mr Wilson from Edinburgh, † has delivered a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy to 200 artisans and workmen; in short, it should seem that a little more exertion alone is wanting to make the system universally prevail.

To encourage good men in these exertions, to rouse the indifferent and encourage the desponding, has been the object of these details. The subject is of such inestimable importance that we must be pardoned for addressing ourselves very anxiously in favour of it, to all men of enlightened views, and who value the real improvement of their fellow-creatures, and the best interests of their country. We are bound upon this weighty matter to be instant, in season or out of season. We speak not merely of seminaries for teaching

* The '*Mechanics' Institution*' of Aberdeen reflects the greatest credit upon the liberality and good sense of the richer inhabitants of that town, and upon the excellent spirit of the artisans. A library of 500 volumes has been already collected; a lecture-room fitted up for 600 students; courses of above sixty lectures on Chemistry and Mechanics delivered gratuitously; and a most valuable set of apparatus furnished.

† The plan of sending an experienced teacher to a place unable to provide one for itself, is much to be commended. We could wish to see men of science often going about from town to town labouring in this good work. They would entitle themselves to the never-ending gratitude of their country.

mechanics the principles of natural and mathematical sciences, but of schools where the working classes generally may learn those branches of knowledge which they cannot master by private reading. It must be a small town indeed, where some useful lecture may not, with a little exertion and a little encouragement, be so established that the quarterly contributions of the students may afterwards suffice to continue it. Moral and political philosophy may be acceptable even where there is no field for teachers of chemistry and mechanics; and where no lecture at all can be supported, a library may be set on foot, and the habit of useful reading encouraged. We constantly hear of publick spirited individuals; of men who are friendly to the poor and the working classes; of liberal-minded persons, anxious for the diffusion of knowledge and the cultivation of intellectual pursuits. But henceforward let no one assume any such titles if he has done nothing in his own neighbourhood to found a popular lecture, or if the circle be too narrow for that, to establish a reading club, which, in many cases, will end in a lecture. For such a club, there is hardly a village in the country too small; and we have shown that towns of a very moderate size may support a lecture.

But, great as the disposition to learn is among the working classes, and absolutely certain as a lecture would be of attendants wherever it was once set on foot, there is still a necessity for the upper classes coming forward to assist in making the first step. Those seminaries are still too new; they are too little known among the artisans generally, to be thought of, and demanded by themselves; still more difficult would it be for them to set about forming the plans for themselves; and the speculation would manifestly be too precarious to induce teachers to begin without some previous arrangement for their support. Even in the largest towns, it is hardly to be expected that the workmen should yet concert measures for their own instruction, although sufficiently numerous to require no pecuniary assistance in procuring the necessary teachers. But after the success of the experiments already made, it seems little less than shameful that there should be any considerable town without establishments for popular education. One man only is wanted in each place to ensure the success of the plan. Where there is such a man, and workmen in sufficient numbers,—there are all the materials that can be required. He has but to converse with a few master-workmen; to circulate, in concert with them, a notice for a meeting, or if it be deemed better to have no meeting, to ascertain how many will attend a class; and the room may be hired and

the lecturer engaged in a month. The first cost will be easily defrayed by a subscription among the rich; or, if that fail, the collection of a library will be made by degrees, out of the money raised from the students. The expense of providing apparatus ought not to deter any one from making the attempt. Many of the most important experiments may be shown with very cheap and simple machinery; and a skilful lecturer may make great progress in teaching his pupils, and enabling them to overcome the difficulties that stopt them in their private studies, with hardly any experiments at all.

Although it is evident that the present is the time for making an exertion to propagate such establishments, and, along with them, the desire of scientific instruction, we apprehend that, after a short interval, the wish for such education will beget an effectual demand, and teachers will present themselves to supply the want. Already it would be a safe adventure for a lecturer to engage in, where there are great bodies of artisans. In any of the large manufacturing towns of Lancaster and Yorkshire, a person duly qualified to teach the principles of mechanics and chemistry, and their application to the arts, would now find it easy to collect a large class, willing and able to remunerate him for his trouble; and it is highly probable, that, before long, there will be established, in each of those places, permanent teachers upon private speculation. To add reading societies, will require some concert; and for this purpose it will be necessary that some intelligent persons should take the lead, until those institutions are more general, and the management of them better known.

Among the many ways in which this may be effected, we have heard of none better than that which has been adopted, for three or four years, in the county of East Lothian, upon the suggestion, and under the superintendence of Mr Samuel Brown of Haddington. There are itinerant libraries of fifty volumes, which go from town to town in the county, remaining a certain time at each station. There are at present no less than nineteen divisions of fifty volumes each in the county of Haddington; and a similar plan has recently been introduced in Berwickshire. The Manager resides in the county town, and directs the revolutions; and when the little collection has gone through its appointed orbit, it returns to the head quarters from whence it set out. The scheme is chiefly carried into effect by the subscription of benevolent individuals. It is well deserving of imitation.

It is impossible to contemplate the funds provided in this country, and still more in Ireland, for what are commonly termed

charitable purposes, without lamenting that our ancestors were not as judicious as they were benevolent. A million and a half, or more, yearly, is expended by virtue of such endowments; and certainly but a very small proportion, possibly not a tenth part, beneficially, or even innocently, to the community: For only about a third part is the property of charities connected with education, and of that third by far the greatest share goes to *maintain* poor children, which is almost the worst employment of such funds. Of the remaining two-thirds, a very small proportion indeed is bestowed upon the only useful, or even harmless objects of charity, hospitals for the sick poor, and provisions for persons ruined by sudden and grievous calamities. We fear it is almost as hopeless to expect a better application of these ample funds in this kingdom, as it is evident that, upon every principle both of policy and of strict right, a very great portion of them at least ought to be more usefully applied; * but, by a salutary extension of the Mortmain Act, this evil may at least be checked. Funds may be beneficially employed in endowments, where the trustees have a discretion by the foundation; and, above all, a more wise distribution may be made of the great sums yearly collected for supposed charitable purposes in every part of the country.

Every person who has been accustomed to subscribe for the support of what are commonly called charities, should carefully ask himself this question, 'However humane the 'motive, am I doing any real good by so expending my mo-'ney? Or am I not doing more harm than good?' In either case, indeed, harm is done; because, if a case could be put of money so applied producing no mischief, yet, if it did no good, harm would be done by the waste of the money. But in order to enable him to answer the question, he must reflect, that no proposition is more undeniably true than this, that the existence of a known and regular provision for the poor, whether in the ordinary form of pensions, doles, gratuities, clothing, firing, &c. or in the shape of maintenance for poor children, in whole, or only in part, as clothing, has the inevitable tendency to create

* The only part which ought not, is that very inconsiderable portion which, according to the will of the founders, goes to support charities of a doubtful tendency, as, provisions for the aged who are poor through no want of economy in earlier life. In all cases where positive mischief is plainly done by the application of the funds according to the will of the founders, the Legislature is not only authorized, but bound to interpose; as the trustees have been by law supposed to do in certain glaring cases, as Small-pox and Foundling Hospitals.

not only as many objects as the provision will maintain, but a far greater number. Take, for illustration sake, an extreme case, but by no means a fancied one, (for there is in Bedford an endowment of this kind.) Suppose a certain revenue were provided by some charitably disposed person for the support of poor householders in a given town, and that it sufficed to maintain fifty—Who can doubt, that, for those fifty provisions, there would presently be a hundred competitors? Or, suppose a fund in any place devoted to maintain fifty children whose parents could not afford to support them, Can it be doubted that twice as many would prove their qualification for the provision? The immediate consequence of such provisions would be, to promote idleness and poverty beyond what the funds could relieve; but the continued and known existence of the provisions would infallibly train up a race of paupers; and the provision for children, especially, would promote improvident marriages, and increase the population by the addition of paupers. It is, therefore, a sacred duty which every one owes to the community, to refrain from giving contributions to begin such funds; and if he has already become a yearly contributor, it is equally his duty to withdraw his assistance, unless one condition is complied with, namely, that no new objects shall be taken into the establishment, but that those only who at present belong to it shall be maintained; so that the mischief may be terminated within a limited time, and nothing unfair or harsh done towards those who had previously depended on its funds.

Now, this wise and considerate manner of proceeding, would speedily place at the disposal of charitable and enlightened individuals ample funds for supporting works of real, because of most useful charity. Let any one cast his eye over the Reports of the Education Committee and Charity Commissioners, and he may form some idea of the large funds now profusely squandered under the influence of mistaken benevolence. Of the many examples that might be given, we select one, and to avoid even the semblance of invidious observation we shall not name it; but the details may be found in pp. 23 and 222 of the Report in 1816. The income was above 2000*l.*, of which 1500*l.* arose from yearly subscriptions and donations. This large fund clothed 101 boys, and maintained 65 girls; but the expense of boarding and clothing the girls was of course by far the greatest part of it, perhaps 1200*l.* Much abuse appeared to have crept into the management, in consequence of tradesmen acting as trustees, and voting on the orders to themselves, and on the payment of their own accounts. It was deemed right to check this; and a rule was adopted, at

a meeting of trustees, to prevent so scandalous a practice for the future. It was, however, rejected at a general meeting of the subscribers,—where, in all probability, the tradesmen had made a canvass, and obtained the attendance of friends. Nay, a learned Judge, who was one of the trustees, having afterwards proposed a resolution merely to prevent any trustee or subscriber voting on matters in which he was personally interested, it 'was 'rejected instantly, and therefore not recorded on the minutes,' (p. 224.); whereupon his Lordship most properly abstained from attending any future meeting, and, we trust, from ever contributing any more money to the fund.

This is one instance only of thousands, where the money collected from well-disposed persons, who take no further charge of a charity than to pay their subscriptions, is wasted by the jobbing of too active and interested managers. But suppose there had been no direct abuse, and that all the income had been honestly and carefully employed in promoting the objects of the establishment, by far the greater part of it would have been hurtfully bestowed. Instead of clothing 101 boys, and maintaining 65 girls, at the rate of 2000*l.* a year, the fixed income alone, of 500*l.* might have educated a thousand children, and left 1500*l.* a year free for establishing other schools, if wanted; and as two others of the same size would in all probability have more than sufficed to supply the defect of education in that district, (the uneducated being to the educated children there as 44 to 33, by the examination of the West London Lancaster Association, and the district having a population of less than 50,000 *inhabitants*), * a fund would have remained sufficient to support an institution for the instruction of 7 or 800 mechanics. Thus, the same money which is now not merely uselessly, but perniciously bestowed, might, by a little care, and a due portion of steadiness in resisting the interested clamours of persons who subscribe to it for the purpose of turning it to their own profit, be made the means of at once educating all the children in the worst district of London, and of planting there the light of science among the most useful and industrious class of the community. Now, within the same district, or applicable to it, there are probably other charitable funds, arising from voluntary contribution, to five or six times the amount of the single charity we have been considering; and it is most likely that there is hardly one of the benevolent indi-

* Supposing the schools required for a population of 50,000 to be in the proportion of one-ninth, schools for about 5500 would be wanted; and if there already exist schools for $\frac{1}{14}$ of that number, schools for 3100 more would be sufficient.

viduals who support this school, but contributes to one or more charities besides. How important, then, does it become for each man carefully to reconsider the use he is making, or suffering others to make, of that money which his humanity has set apart for the relief of his fellow-creatures, and the improvement of their condition; and how serious a duty is it to take care that what originates in the most praiseworthy motives, should also end in really beneficial results to the objects of his bounty!

We trust it is not necessary for us to close these observations by anticipating and removing objections to the diffusion of science among the working classes, arising from considerations of a political nature. The time, we rejoice to think, is past and gone, when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion; and when tyrants, or their minions, could proscribe the instructors of the people, as enemies to their power. It is preposterous to imagine that the enlargement of the understanding, and our acquaintance with the laws which regulate the universe, can dispose to unbelief. It may be a cure for superstition—for intolerance it will be the most certain cure; but a pure and true religion has nothing to fear from the greatest expansion which the intellect can receive by the study either of matter or of mind. The more science is diffused, the better will the Author of all things be known, and the less will the people be 'tossed to and 'fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby 'they lie in wait to deceive.' To tyrants, indeed, and bad rulers, the progress of knowledge among the mass of mankind is a just object of terror: it is fatal to them and their designs; they know this by unerring instinct, * and unceasingly they dread the light. But they will find it more easy to curse than to extinguish. It is spreading in spite of them, even in those countries where arbitrary power deems itself most secure; and in England, any attempt to check its progress would only bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it.

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* An amusing instance of this natural antipathy was afforded, when the Emperor of Austria visited Italy, soon after the cruel reverse of fortune which restored his dominions in Lombardy. A Professor was presented to him, and introduced as a learned man, who had made some important researches respecting the *constitution* of the atmosphere. The sound of the word was enough for his Imperial, Royal, Apostolic Majesty's nerves, and drew forth immediately this exclamation, '*Costituzione! Costituzione! Ah! e quella parola che ci ha fatto tanto male!*'—'Constitution! Constitution! Ah! it's that word that has done us so much mischief!'

ART. VI. *A Voyage to Cochin China.* By JOHN WHITE, Lieutenant in the United States Navy. London, Longman & Co. 1824. 8vo. pp. 372.

WITH the exception, perhaps, of the English, there is no people who ever wandered over the globe with such persevering industry as the Americans. Yet they have not hitherto contributed their due share of voyages and travels. Their voyages, indeed, having generally been made for the sole purpose of commercial gain, and conducted by men not always qualified to take advantage of their opportunities, could not well be expected to give birth to many interesting publications. The recent increase of their Navy, however, bids fair soon to remove these impediments; and among its first fruits, we hail with pleasure the appearance of this very interesting little volume, by an officer of good sense and observation, who describes, with apparent fairness, and much spirit, the manners of a country with which we are extremely little acquainted. Lieutenant White's book has the great merit of being short and cheap; and though here and there we find indications of book-making, we are disposed to give him credit for the better part of it. Before proceeding with our analysis, we had intended to favour our readers with a slight geographical and political sketch of the country to which it relates; and had gone through a good deal of heavy work in preparation for it, when we were very agreeably relieved, by learning that a book on this very subject was in preparation by Mr Crawford, a gentleman well known to the literary world by his Account of the Eastern Archipelago, a work, by the way, which we take shame to ourselves for not having noticed at the time of its appearance. We really have no inclination to put our hasty lucubrations in competition with those of a gentleman of his talents and means of information, and gladly postpone our account of Cochin China till we have had the advantage of seeing his.

Mr White, who is a Lieutenant in the American Navy, sailed from Salem, near Boston, in command of the merchant ship Franklin, in January 1819, on a trading voyage to Cochin China. His first chapter conducts us over beaten ground; but, in the second, he fairly grapples with his subject; and having entered the China sea, has a prodigious battle with sundry Malay proas, the details of which are given with the minuteness and importance of a general action, and the whole affray wrought up with a high finish. These Malays were more formidable than any we have before heard of; but our voyagers 'broadsides of grape, langrage and double round,'

taught them a lesson which they will not soon forget. In the end, indeed, the pirates appear to have had very nearly the best of it, for the American's artillery, as he calls it, lay all dismounted on the deck! But by dint of superior sailing he reached the anchorage of Mintow in Banka.

On the 8th of June, five months after leaving Salem, the navigators have their first interview with the natives of Cochin China, at the village of Vung-tau in the river of Don-nai. An officer was sent on shore to request the assistance of a pilot to conduct them to the city of Saigon. Shortly afterwards a large boat, full of men, and decorated with pendants and streamers, approached the ships. The chief who came on board is well described.

'The military chief was a withered, grey-headed old man, possessing however a great deal of vivacity, tinctured with a leaven of savage childishness, which, in spite of his affectation of great state and ceremony, would constantly break out, and afforded us infinite amusement. He had several attendants, who were perfectly subservient, and promptly obedient to all his orders; yet we observed that on all other occasions the greatest familiarity subsisted between them. One of the attendants carried a huge umbrella, with which he followed the old man to all parts of the ship, where his curiosity or caprice led him; and, when invited into the cabin, he would not descend without the umbrella, so tenacious was he of every circumstance of state and appearance. Another attendant was a handsome boy of about fifteen years of age, who carried in two blue silk bags, connected with a piece of cotton cloth, and thrown over his shoulder, the areka nut, betal leaf, chunam and tobacco, of which they chew immense quantities; and so universal is this custom among them, that I never saw a man of any rank or respectability without one of these attendants. They also smoke segars made of cut tobacco, rolled in paper wrappers, like the Portuguese, from whom probably they adopted this custom. Another servant carried his fan; and our risibility was not a little excited on seeing the old fellow strutting about the deck, peeping into the cook's coppers, embracing the sailors on the forecastle, dancing, grinning, and playing many other antic tricks, followed all the time by the whole train of fanners, umbrella bearers, and chunam boys, (for the attendants of the other chiefs had joined in the procession), with the most grave deportment and solemn visages, performing their several functions.

'The dress of the chiefs consisted of a very short and coarse cotton shirt, which had been originally white; trowsers of black crape, very wide, without waistbands, and secured round the waist by a sash of crimson silk; a tunic of black or blue silk, the lapel folding over the breast and buttoning on the opposite shoulder, which, as well as the shirt, had a very low collar, buttoned close round the neck, and reaching nearly to the knees; coarse wooden

sandals; a turban of black crape, surmounted by a hat made of palm leaves, in the form of a very obtuse cone; a ring for the insertion of the head underneath, and secured under the chin with a string. The style of the dress of the attendants was similar to that of the mandarin, but of much coarser materials.' pp. 36, 37.

After peering about the ship, this old chief began all at once to make love to the captain, by hugging him round the neck, and other suffocating endearments, which the American evaded as well as he could, while he stoutly maintained the weather-gage of his offensive visitor—wondering at the same time what all this could mean. The object was soon made known, by his taking a liking to every movable thing which came in his way. In order to divert his attention from a looking-glass and various other things which he had begged, a glass of brandy was offered him. This he lost no time in swallowing, and then he appropriated the whole bottle, placed it under his cloak, and immediately resumed his demands for more. 'The curtains, glass 'ware, wearing apparel, arms, amunition, spyglasses, and ca-'bin furniture, were successively the object of his cupidity.' After much trouble, however, he and his party were finally dislodged, at the expense of a pair of pistols, several cartridges of powder, shoes, shirts, six bottles of wine, three of rum, and three of French cordials, a cut-glass tumbler, two wine glasses, and a Dutch cheese, besides numberless minor presents to the attendants, whom it was thought proper to conciliate. By these means the voyagers hoped to gain the good will of the natives, and to be allowed to open a trade with the country. Their difficulties, however, were only beginning, and every species of trick was put in practice to delay and obstruct them.

The Captain's first visit to the shore was at the village of Canjeo, which is situated on the banks of a creek near to the great river of Don-nai.

'On our approach to the shore, our olfactory nerves were saluted with "the rankest compound of villanous smells that ever offended nostril;" and the natives of the place, consisting principally of men, women, children, swine, and mangy dogs, equally filthy and miserable in appearance, lined the muddy banks of this Stygian stream to welcome our landing. With this escort we proceeded immediately to the house of the chief, through several defiles, strewed with rotten fish, old bones, and various other nauseous objects, among the fortuitous assemblage of huts, fish-pots, old boats, pigstyes, &c. which surrounded us in every direction; and, in order that no circumstance of ceremony should be omitted, to honour their new guests, a most harmonious concert was immediately struck up by the swarm of little filthy children, in a state of perfect nudity (which

formed part of our procession), in which they were joined by their parents, and the swine and dogs before mentioned.' pp. 42, 43.

Here they were received by the old chief who had visited them on board. He entertained them in the following style:

'He gave orders to his attendants, and a rude table was set before us, on which were placed a coarse china tea-equipage, a large dish of boiled rice, together with a piece of boiled fresh pork, very fat and oily, and another of boiled yams. The old chief then began tearing the food in piecemeal with his long claws, and thrusting it into our mouths, between every thrust holding a large bowl of tea, made very sweet, to our lips, with the most cruel perseverance, to the utter hazard of suffocating us; till finally losing all patience at his tormenting hospitality, and finding prayers and entreaties of no avail, I stepped back, and clapped my hand on my dirk, darting at him at the same time a frown of high displeasure; on which he assumed such a droll look of embarrassment, wonder, and fear, as instantly subdued my anger, and threw me into an ungovernable agony of laughter, in which the old fellow joined with great glee.' p. 48.

The object which the Americans had in view, was to obtain permission to ascend the river in the ship, or at least to be allowed to go to Saigon in one of their boats; but whenever any allusion was made to these subjects, the old chief, who generally drank too much rum at his visits, always shook his head and drew his hand across his throat, 'as if,' says Captain White, 'to intimate that we should both lose our heads if that request 'were complied with.' At length, after much battling, it was agreed that an account of their being in the river should be transmitted to Saigon, and permission asked for their coming up to that city, and that an answer would be returned in two days.

In the mean time the strangers, now better acquainted with the practices of the natives, took care to place their moveables out of sight; but in spite of all their precautions, it was impossible to prevent pillage; and if, by any accident, the door of a storeroom was opened, there was always some one ready to pry furtively into it. When they could not steal, they set about begging in such a manner as generally to succeed. 'We 'found them,' says Captain White, 'a set of sturdy beggars, 'never expressing any gratitude for the presents which they re-'ceived, or omitting any opportunity of taking advantage of us, 'or stealing whatever lay in their way.'

The river is described as a very noble one. It was a mile wide, and fourteen fathoms deep in the channel. With the exception of the mountains of Baria, which terminate at Cape St James, the country in the neighbourhood is very low, fre-

quently inundated by the spring tides, clothed with almost impenetrable wood, like an Indian jungle, and infested with vast numbers of tigers and other ferocious animals. This great river has numerous mouths, forming islands similar in character to those at the Sunderbunds, where the Ganges empties itself into the bay of Bengal, or, as Mr White affectedly calls it, the 'Gangetic Delta.' As far as the eye could perceive to the south and east, the water was covered with boats, fishing among the weirs erected on the shoals. These weirs are thus described:

'They are constructed of poles, driven into the ground a few inches apart, extending, generally, about a quarter of a mile in length, and forming an obtuse angle, which projects towards the sea, with an opening at the angle, of about two feet wide, into a circular enclosure, outside of the angular point, about forty feet in diameter, composed of stakes placed equidistant in the ground, closely interwoven with osiers, in the manner of wicker-work. On the recess of the tide, the fish pass between the straight sides of the weir, through the opening at the angle, into the circular enclosure, and should any of them return, they are infallibly taken in the seines, which are placed at the outer extremities of the rows of stakes. Each of these weirs is furnished with an erection about twenty feet high, in the form of a gallows, and composed of trunks of trees, on which they dry their nets; being very conspicuous, they are excellent beacons, to warn the navigator of his approach to the shoals.' p. 54.

An account is then given of the peculiar mode of building the Cochin Chinese vessels; the most curious particular of which is, that some of them, of no less than fifty tons burthen, have bottoms constructed of basket-work.

'On examination, we found that they consisted of strips of bamboo, about one and a quarter inch wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick, very closely woven, in two entire pieces, each of which completely covered one section of the bottom below the wales. The timbers of this description of vessels are nearer each other than those of the other kind, and are so contrived as to be taken apart, and replaced again, with very little trouble, and no injury; and, as they make but one voyage in a year, always sailing with the favourable monsoon, after having discharged their cargoes, they are taken to pieces, and secured from the vicissitudes of the weather. Their bottoms, as well as those of the other sort, are covered outside to the thickness of half an inch, with *gul-gul*, which is a mixture of dammer, or pitch, oil, and chunam, or lime, and when properly amalgamated, is very tenacious and elastic, completely impervious to the water, and resists most admirably the encroachments of worms. They possess a great degree of stability, bearing a great press of sail, and are most excellent sea boats. They carry from one to three, very well cut, and neatly made *latteen* sails, with the exception of a few from

the north, which carry *lug-sails*, and are differently constructed, having square sterns, and their hulls approach nearer to the form of those of European model. Their sails are of matting; and we observed, that all the fishing boats had the *clue-pieces* of theirs coloured black. They use the wooden anchor, with one fluke, so common in the East. Their shrouds and cables are mostly of rattan, and their running rigging of *coiar*, the well known cordage made from the husk of the cocoa nut, or a coarse and short kind of hemp of different colours.' pp. 56, 57.

Every day brought fresh disappointments, and at last it became evident that the permission required was not likely to arrive. All sorts of methods, however, were devised by the natives to keep their guests in good humour, in order that they might beg and steal from them as much as possible before their departure. We recommend this part of the narrative to our readers as peculiarly amusing and characteristic. The want of an interpreter perpetually led them into mistakes, and that most fallacious of all modes of communication, the use of signs, seems to have misdirected them on many occasions. At length, however, they seem to have been completely wearied out by their reiterated delays and excuses; and were reduced to the necessity of declaring in some wrath that they must proceed to Huè, another port on the coast. The natives opposed no obstacle to this—and the navigators, after one more ineffectual attempt to procure a pass, and 'modelling their countenances into smiles,' are at last obliged to weigh their anchor and sail to the northward.

After touching at Cham Callao, they proceeded to Turon Bay, the port in which Lord Macartney anchored on his way to China in the year 1793, and of which we already possess a far more full and interesting account by Mr Barrow. The King of Cochin China, whom they were in search of had unluckily for them gone some weeks before to Toan-hoa, in the Gulf of Tonquiu. Here their old difficulties recurred, for want of some one who understood the language; and they do not appear to have availed themselves, to any useful purpose, of a person who wrote Latin. In this dilemma, they resolved to go all the way to Manilla in search of some one who could speak the Onam language. A historical account, not very well composed or digested, is next given of the country of Cochin China, and of its recent civil war. The reader may safely skip it, without much loss of information. The same may be said, with very little qualification, of the next four chapters, which contain a long account of Manilla, the greater part of which is given, not from Mr White's actual observation, but from the information of others, on whose accuracy we are far from hav-

ing an equal reliance. Whenever Mr White describes what he actually sees himself, he is spirited and interesting, and, we have no doubt, substantially correct,—though, if we did not happen otherwise to know that his account of the enormous segars used by the Manilla women is exact, we might have been inclined to suspect that he was indulging in some of the privileges of a traveller.

'It is of a taper form,' he says, 'its length ten and a half inches; diameter at the *butt*, or big end, two and a quarter inches; and at the smaller end, one and a half inches. It is composed entirely of tobacco, in parallel compact layers, and wrapped with the largest leaves of the same plant. It is ornamented with bands of floss silk, of various colours, which cross each other diagonally, the whole length of the cigar, and the intersections of the bands are ornamented with spangles; fire is applied to the smallest end of this unwieldy mass, and the large end is received by the mouth. One of these cigars, as may be supposed, will "last you" some eight or ten days' smoking. Pipes are seldom used except by the Chinese.' p. 165. The account of the locusts, beginning at page 140, on the other hand, is given partly from hearsay, and bears evident marks of exaggeration.

Early in September our author sailed from Manilla, in company with another American ship, the Marmion, which had recently arrived at that place. On reaching Cochin China, the same ceremonies were gone over, and the same system of pillage and provocation commenced against our persevering speculators, who were determined, at any cost, to get cargoes. Their first object was to obtain permission to proceed to the city of Saigon; and innumerable discussions took place on this point, which were adroitly managed by the natives, who generally fought off by some reference to anchorage and measurement dues, or to the customary *sagouètes*, or presents to the viceroy and the mandarins. The Americans, on their part, were careful to preserve a mysterious silence on these points, giving the Cochin Chinese, however, to understand, as well as they could, that their liberality would be proportionate to the commercial benefits they eventually received. During the long delay arising from these disputes, they had full time to examine the villages near them.

After five days spent off Canjeo, permission was given them to proceed to Nga-Bay, and subsequently to Saigon. On their way up, the vessel was boarded by a person whom they choose to call the Commissary of Marine, who investigated very minutely into their affairs, and, having ascertained the nature of their cargoes, their respective names, ages, and made a particular description of each person, drew the whole

up, and caused thirteen different copies to be made, to each of which the captain was requested to sign his name. But while this was going on upon deck, another source of disturbance occurred below. 'Their ears were saluted by a variety 'of sounds, resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied 'by the hollow guttural chant of the bull-frog, the heavy chime 'of a bell, and the tones which the imagination would give to 'an enormous Jew's harp.' This marvellous noise was explained by the natives to be caused by a shoal of fish, of a kind peculiar to the spot! We wish Mr White had given us a drawing of this musical fish, if he saw any of them.

After sailing fifty-nine miles up the river, the ships anchored, off the city of Saigon, in nine fathoms water—the river, then in flood, and thickened with yellow mud, running all the way at a depth of more than eight fathoms, with such velocity as only to be slightly retarded for two or three hours out of the twenty-four by the action of the tide, which flows considerably beyond the farthest point they attained.

The city of Saigon contains about 180,000 inhabitants, of which 10,000 are Chinese, and about as many Christians. It stands at the confluence of the two main branches of the Donnai, and extends nearly six miles along the shore.

'The houses are built principally of wood, thatched with palm leaves or rice straw, and are of one story. Some few are of brick, and covered with tiles. Those of the higher classes have hanging chambers, built under the roof-tree, about ten feet wide, extending the whole length of the building, with wooden gratings on each side for air, to which they ascend by ladders; those of the latter description are surrounded by a court, with a gate towards the street; but the dwellings of the poor are situated on the streets, and generally present a miserable appearance.' pp. 232, 233.

Of the fragility of these miserable hovels, it may give some idea to mention, that the ordinary way of stopping the progress of fire, is to employ a couple of elephants to trample down a dozen or two of the houses in the way of it, which they accomplish at once in a very few minutes. The streets are generally at right angles, unpaved, and swarming with pigs and nasty dogs. The inhabitants are disgustingly filthy in their persons and habits; and the whole place, out of doors and in, filled with bad smells of the most nauseous description—the predominant one, inside of the houses, arising from a rancid fish pickle, which they use with all their food, and from their own nasty dresses. In the centre of the city there is a great square-terraced platform, extending nearly three quarters of a mile on each side, on which, as at the Kremle at Moscow, the royal palace, the barracks, and all the public buildings, are placed.

It is the first elevated ground that occurs in ascending from the mouth of the river, and was originally, it seems, a natural conical mount, but levelled down and spread out by the grandfather of the present king. Its present elevation is about sixty feet above the level of the river. It is enclosed with walls of brick and earth about twenty feet high, and of great thickness.

'The regal palace stands in the centre, on a beautiful green, and is, with its grounds of about eight acres, enclosed by a high paling. It is an oblong building, of about one hundred by sixty feet square, constructed principally of brick, with verandas enclosed with screens of matting: it stands about six feet from the ground, on a foundation of brick, and is accessible by a flight of massy wooden steps.

'On each side, in front of the palace, and about one hundred feet from it, is a square watchtower, of about thirty feet high, containing a large bell. In the rear of the palace, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty feet, is another erection of nearly the same magnitude, containing the apartments of the women, and domestic offices of various kinds; the roofs covered with glazed tile, and ornamented with dragons, and other monsters, as in China.' (pp. 120, 121.) The King has not resided at Saigon since the termination of the late wars; but our voyagers were presented to the Governor.

'We entered the enclosure by a gateway in the high paling surrounding the governor's residence; in front of which, at the distance of ten feet, was a small oblong building parallel with the gateway, and apparently placed there as a mask. After we had passed this erection, we found ourselves in a spacious court; and directly in front of us, at about one hundred and fifty feet from the entrance, was the governor's house, a large quadrilateral building, eighty feet square, and covered with tiles. From the eaves in front continued a gently sloping roof of tiles, to the distance of sixty feet, supported by round pillars of rosewood beautifully polished. The sides of this area were hung with screens of bamboo. At right angles with the main building were placed (three on each side of the wall) platforms, raised about a foot from the floor, which was of hard, smooth earth. These platforms were each about forty-five feet long, and four feet wide, constructed of two planks, five inches thick, nicely joined together and highly polished. Between these two ranges of platforms, at the farther end of the area, was another platform, raised three feet from the floor, composed of a single plank, six by ten feet square, and about ten inches thick, resembling boxwood in colour and texture, and, from almost constant attrition, reflecting adjacent objects with nearly the fidelity of a mirror. On this elevation was seated, in the Asiatic style, cross-legged, and stroking his thin white beard, the acting governor; a meagre, wrinkled, cautious-looking old man, whose countenance, though relenting into a dubi-

ous smile, indicated any thing but fair dealing and sincerity. On the platforms, on each side, were seated, their different degrees of rank indicated by their proximity to the august representative of the sovereign, mandarins and officers of state of various dignity. Files of soldiers, with their two-handed swords, and shields covered with indurated buffalo hides, highly varnished, and studded with iron knobs, were drawn up in various parts of the hall. We walked directly up in front till we arrived at the entrance of the central vista, between the ranges of platforms on each side of the throne, when we *doffed our beavers*, and made three respectful bows in the European style, which salutation was returned by the governor by a slow and profound inclination of the head. After which he directed the linguists to escort us to a bamboo settee on his right hand, in a range with which were also some chairs, of apparently Chinese fabric, which the linguists told us had been placed there expressly for our accommodation. A motion of the governor's hand indicated a desire that we should be seated, with which we complied.' pp. 221–3.

In this fortress they found 250 pieces of cannon, many of them brass, and principally of European manufacture; and among them, 12 field-pieces stamped with the *fleur de lis*, and bearing to have been cast in the time of Louis XIV. The naval arsenal, however, is still more magnificent.

'There were about one hundred and fifty gallies, of most beautiful construction, hauled up under sheds; they were from forty to one hundred feet long, some of them mounting sixteen guns of three pounds calibre. Others mounted four or six guns each, of from four to twelve pounds calibre, all of brass, and most beautiful pieces. There were besides these about forty other gallies afloat, preparing for an excursion that the viceroy was to make up the river on his return from Huè. Most of these were decorated with gilding and carved work, "pennons and streamers gay," and presented a very animated and pleasing spectacle.' p. 235.

There is excellent building timber, it seems, of all descriptions, especially teak, of which he saw several great planks of 109 feet long. If the following account is to be relied on, it would give us a strong impression both of the enterprise and the oppression of the government.

'From the western part of the city, a river or canal has been recently cut, (indeed it was scarcely finished when we arrived there,) twenty-three English miles, connecting with a branch of the Cambodia river, by which a free water-communication is opened with Cambodia, which is called by the Onamese Cou-maigne. This canal is twelve feet deep throughout; about eighty feet wide, and was cut through immense forests and morasses, in the short space of six weeks. Twenty-six thousand men were employed, night and day, by turns, in this stupendous undertaking, and seven thousand lives sacrificed by fatigue, and consequent disease.' p. 237.

The voyagers are afterwards introduced to the Viceroy, who seems to have been a friendly, soldier-like person, and the only one almost of the natives for whom they conceived any respect or affection. A singular incident is mentioned in the account of their presentment to this Eastern potentate. Among the presents which they made on the occasion, was a fine *kaleidescope*, of which they took some pains to show the properties, and mentioned, that it was a recent and admired discovery in Europe. The Viceroy, however, no sooner peeped into it, than he said, that though it might be new in Europe, it was by no means so with them; and immediately ordered his attendant to bring in a number of instruments of the very same description, done up in red embossed paper, and visibly of Chinese manufacture; inferior in workmanship, but constructed precisely on the same principle with those of our ingenious countryman, Dr Brewster. Mr White seems to have an idea that this might have been also a Chinese invention; but we have no doubt that it had come from Europe through China; and it affords a very striking illustration of the rapidity with which inventions of all kinds are now circulated to the remotest quarters of the globe.

The Viceroy was pleased to entertain our voyagers with a repast, the singular character of which may be gathered from the following extract.

'The Chinese cooks in Onam perambulate the streets with an elastic strip of bamboo across their shoulders, from each end of which is suspended, by cords, a square board, resembling a wooden scale, on which they carry various dishes, ready cooked for the table. Among these viands, a very common object is a baked hog, covered with a coat of varnish, made principally of sugar or molasses. One of these itinerant purveyors of the stomach had been called in, and his board was laid upon the floor of the hall, on which he cut up the meat, and replenished our table from it, with his naked hands. This was, however, no time to be fastidious, and we laboured to do honour to our entertainment, and to gratify our benevolent host, who, in his anxiety to render our visit pleasant to us, had condescended, not only to superintend the ceremony of our table, but with his own viceroyal hands to convey the food into our very mouths.' pp. 314, 315.

The anchorage duties—which seem enormously high, being upwards of 1600 dollars for a brig of 200 tons—are levied, it appears, according to the dimensions of the ships; and Mr White gives a very characteristic and good-humoured account of this ceremony, which was followed by a strange scene of debauchery, and the whole party of natives eventually left the ship in no very creditable predicament. After this material point was settled, various approximations to trafficking took

place; but in proportion as the voyagers expressed a wish to purchase any article, it rose instantly in price, at which the buyers express, we conceive, a very unnecessary degree of astonishment.

'It would be tedious,' as Mr White says, 'to recapitulate the constant villany and turpitude which we experienced from these people during our residence in the country. Their total want of faith, constant eagerness to deceive and overreach us, and their pertinacity in trying to gain by shuffling and manœuvring, what might have been better and easier gained by openness and fair dealing; the tedious forms and ceremonies in transacting all kinds of business, carried into the most trifling transactions; the uncertainty of the eventual ratification of any bargain, (the least hope of wearing the patience of the purchaser out, and inducing him to offer a little more, being sufficient to annul any verbal stipulation), and there being no appeal, unless there is a written contract, which is never made till every art has been used, and every engine of extortion put in motion and exhausted to gain more; all these vexations, combined with the rapacious, faithless, despotic, and anti-commercial character of the government, will, as long as these causes exist, render Cochin China the least desirable country for mercantile adventurers.' p. 246.

It is difficult for us, at this distance, to speak upon such matters; but we cannot help thinking that they did not manage well with these strange people; and that part of their vexation was owing to their own credulity and liability to be discomposed. We think they might have anticipated the ill success of their plan of changing the Spanish dollar into copper pieces; and the whole detail of the proceeding shows how completely the natives had the game in their hands. They cheated the strangers in every way, insulted them to their faces, pelted them with stones, tried to ensnare them unwittingly in the committal of capital crimes, and finally drove them away from the country with only half a cargo, after upwards of four months' unceasing altercation.

We understand that the government of Bengal sent a mission to Cochin China and Siam in 1822. The object which the envoy Mr Crawfurd had in view was to establish, if possible, commercial relations of a more liberal nature than had existed heretofore. He was treated with ceremonious respect at both places; but made no great hand of the mission on the whole. The Siamese were still more impracticable than the Cochin Chinese, and are less enterprising and industrious. He was much struck with the excellent state of the fortifications at Huè, and with the number and discipline of the troops, who are clothed in uniforms, mostly of broadcloth, and divided into regiments and battalions, on European principles. He found the country, be-

yond the alluvial flats, of granitic or primitive formation. The recent establishment, however, of our settlement at Singapore, which we owe to the sagacity of Sir Stamford Raffles, has given a stimulus to the trade of those extensive regions, far exceeding what can be looked for from any commercial treaties, however favourable. This settlement has been established on the principles of a *free port*, in the widest acceptation of that term; and has succeeded beyond all calculation. The capital turned in it in the course of last year alone exceeded, as we have occasion to know, 13 millions of dollars in value. The traffic has hitherto been carried on chiefly by the Chinese, in junks of their own—and we have no doubt that immense quantities of our commodities will thus be introduced into that country, which would never have found their way by the restricted channel of Canton,—where the Hong merchants exercise a monopoly little less pernicious than that of the East India Company at home. It is by such experimental tests indeed alone that the prejudices of the world can ever be effectually cured. For no abrupt change is to be looked for in the commercial habits of any nation; and whoever peruses Mr White's book will be satisfied that a system of manners more bigotted, and more repugnant to all the purposes of trade, than those which now prevail in these regions, cannot well be conceived. The slow but certain operation of neighbouring good example, together with the immense advantage of a free communication with the English at Singapore, are perhaps the only possible methods of essentially improving the market of Cochin China, and eventually, perhaps, of ameliorating the condition and habits of this most uncourteous race.

There is nothing more remarkable in the accounts which we have of all the different nations whose coasts are washed by the China seas, than the pertinacity with which every kind of foreign intercourse is resisted. It matters not whether this intercourse be favourable to the natives or otherwise—whether its object be commerce or curiosity—or the necessity of obtaining supplies. Every thing foreign is considered as hostile, and is treated as such,—that is to say, is got rid of as speedily as possible. This characteristic feature becomes more and more marked as we go eastward. In Cochin China, Europeans are indeed admitted—but they are cheated, insulted, and thwarted in all their views in a manner which has no example in the West. In China, Heaven knows, we have work enough to maintain our footing; and nothing but the most urgent necessities of that State prevents our being ousted at once. Proceeding to the eastward, we come to Loo Choo, where the people, though possessed of all other virtues, if we are to believe the rose-co-

loured narratives of Lord Amherst's companions, have a particular liking for the departure of all visitors. The climax of this inhospitable spirit winds up in Japan, where it is the established practice to crucify all strangers, 'pour encourager les autres!'

Heretofore the ill-breeding of these people has been no more than a matter of curiosity; we shrugged our shoulders on reading the accounts which voyagers gave us from time to time, of their ineffectual attempts to open a friendly communication, but cared very little about it. Of late, however, we have been obliged to take a more immediate interest in the habits of the nations alluded to; first, on account of the opening of the Oriental Trade; and next, in consequence of the greater extension of the Southern Whale Fishery. With respect to the first, little need be said; our commercial interest is obviously dependent upon a cordial intercourse with the natives. But how it affects our whale fisheries, may not be so apparent; and as few, perhaps, of our readers are aware of the nature and extent of this very important branch of our commerce, we shall venture to lay before them a slight sketch of its rise and progress.

The southern whale fishery was first entered upon by our North American colonies, chiefly from Nantucket, some time before the accession of his late Majesty. Our Greenland fishermen were then ignorant of the manner in which the spermaceti whale was caught; and some enterprising persons in this country, who wished to establish that peculiar species of fishing, were obliged to engage Nantucket-men for the purpose. The fishery was accordingly commenced off the shoals of Nantucket, in the Gulf of Mexico, near the Western and Cape de Verd Islands; and even reached occasionally to the coasts of Guinea and Brazil; always just 'off soundings,' as it is termed by seamen; that is, beyond the edges of the banks on which soundings are obtained. At this time the American war broke out, and put a stop for a time to that branch of industry. It was commenced by vessels fitted out in this country in 1775; but it took many years to render it strictly a British fishery, since the Americans, whom we were forced to employ, used every endeavour to prevent our people from becoming whale-men. At the peace in 1783, the fishery was fully established, though very few ships were employed in it,—not, we believe, above three or four. In 1786, a new branch of it was opened for the black whale (or that which has the whalebone), on the western coast of Africa. Not less than 50,000 tuns of oil were brought to Great Britain, from that quarter, in the course of thirty years; and the lowest valuation of this quantity cannot be stated at less than 900,000*l.* The Americans probably obtained somewhat less than one half of this amount.

In the year 1788, the first attempt was made to fish in the Pacific ocean. The ship returned with a full cargo, and reported that sea to be full of sperm whales. An absurd panic had long prevailed respecting the navigation of Cape Horn, chiefly in consequence of Lord Anson's voyage. With all his merits, his Lordship certainly mismanaged that part of his undertaking in the most inexcusable manner. Instead of keeping his ships together, at a time when he had no enemy but the elements to struggle against, had he only allowed them to separate, with orders to rendezvous at some fixed point, the voyage might easily have been made, as it is now during all seasons of the year, by every class of single ships. The same passage can never be made by a fleet, without considerable delay; for any accident which detains one, must detain the whole; and as in a fleet accidents must always occur, the delays, as in Anson's case, become almost interminable. The accounts of the great number of whales, however, soon got the better of this terror, and many ships were speedily sent out. The fishery at first was tried between 20° and 12° south latitude, and afterwards from the southern coasts of Chili and off the Island of Chiloe,—eventually it was extended to every latitude between 40° south and the Galapagos Islands, which lie on the equator. Subsequently to this period, the East India Company permitted the whalers to carry their operations into the North Pacific Ocean, and along the north-western coast of North America, but not farther west than 180° of longitude.

In 1790, two other branches of this valuable fishery were opened, one to the island of South Georgia, where a great number of seals and sea elephants were annually caught for a long period; the other was, when the expedition to settle New Holland was sent out under Admiral Philips. The whale-ships carried out convicts, and afterwards fished in those seas.

The whales taken in the South Seas are called the whale-bone or black whales. The spermaceti, generally called the sperm whales, have no whale-bone, but are provided with large teeth. The brain of this fish, and the sediment of the oil, are made into what is called spermaceti. The first mentioned, or black whale, is generally found on soundings, on coasts, or on shoals in the ocean—and always goes into bays to calve. The sperm whale, generally speaking, is not found on soundings, but near them. A black southern whale produces from about 5 to 8 tuns of oil. A sperm whale ranges from 3 to 13 tuns. The black whales are independent of one another. The sperm are generally found in shoals; and sometimes they are met with in

such numbers as to extendas far as the eye can see. The cargoes of black whale oil run from 200 to 400 tuns. Those of the sperm oil average about 200 tuns. The greatest cargo ever brought home was about 350 tuns. The greatest number of English vessels employed in the Southern whale fishery at one time has been 150 sail—the average tonnage of each being nearly 300 tons.

Without entering into particulars, it may be here generally mentioned, that our first information respecting the Spanish possessions on the shores of the Pacific, and, what is more important, the first commercial knowledge which they had of us and our goods, was through the medium of these whalers, who have undoubtedly, by this means, rendered a most essential service to both countries, whatever the Spaniards in the Peninsula may have thought of it. In the year 1790, a rupture took place with Spain, which, while on one hand it stopped any direct communication with the mother country, put an end to all delicacy on the subject of our intercourse with her colonies.

Early in the present century, our fishery had stretched itself quite across the ocean, and had reached the Molucca Islands, where the sperm whale is found in great numbers. The East India Company were induced about this time to extend the limits of the fishers to the northward as far as the Celebes and Philippine Islands. Finally, the opening of the Indian and Eastern oceans, to all British ships, has enabled these enterprising men to search for the whale, and to follow him wherever he goes. We may now confidently look to them, therefore, for many interesting discoveries; for it is their peculiar province to navigate in unbeaten tracks, in contradistinction to traders, who follow the safe and well known routes.

In 1819 the first English whaler was sent off Japan. Sperm whales were seen in abundance; and this soon becoming known, a rush was made to the spot, and not less than *fifty* British and as many American ships were there last year,—to the infinite astonishment of the Japanese. Of all these, only one attempted to get supplies at that place. After a world of difficulty, a very few refreshments were procured—and the vessel was then fairly towed out to sea by a multitude of boats, in spite of all that could be done by the crew! Our ships are now gradually creeping up to the northward, and if they are not interrupted by the Russians, it may soon be truly said, that there will scarcely be a nook or corner of the earth which our adventurous and hardy whalers have not probed with their harpoons.

As these whale ships are obliged to keep the sea for a long

time, the scurvy is apt to attack the people; and it becomes a matter of the first importance to discover ports where refreshments may be obtained. From Japan, little, we fear, is ever to be looked for. Hopes were entertained that the Pelew Islands might afford a resting place between the Moluccas and Japan, but the following anecdote discourages these expectations. A ship of about 500 tons, manned with thirty-six men, was passing near that group. The master, not suspecting treachery, indiscreetly allowed a number of the natives to come on board. They suddenly took possession of the ship—drove some of the people below, and others aloft in the rigging. At length the Captain succeeded in rallying his people, and, rushing at the natives with pots of scalding water, which fortunately was at hand, drove these naked savages over board, much in the way that Robinson Crusoe did with his hot pitch. Several of the crew, however, were killed in the contest, and others were wounded.

The Malays, who inhabit the coasts of many of these islands, are in general inoffensive and trustworthy, when confidence is fairly placed in them. But we know of a Malay on board a whaler, who lately took it into his head to 'run a muck,' as it is called. He killed the master, the 2d and the 4th mates, and two men—then jumped overboard, and in order to prevent his being made prisoner, dived repeatedly till he was drowned! Our amiable friends at Loo Choo are not given to such practices indeed; but they are quite as averse to the company of our poor salt-fed whalers as any of their neighbours; at least the following anecdote holds out little hopes from them.

The ship Greenwich, James Gibson master, being in great distress for want of fresh provisions, and more than half his crew being 'down with the scurvy,' ran for the Loo Choo Islands, in April 1821. They succeeded in making the natives understand that they were in want of water and refreshments. They were supplied accordingly, but very sparingly; at the same time the Loo Chooans positively refused all payment; their sole anxiety appearing to be to get rid of their guests;—they would not even permit them to land, and, in fact, expressed the greatest misery till they got under weigh and left the island. On this occasion, the master went himself with two boats, but all he could procure was two goats, about two bushels of sweet potatoes, and a few fowls. 'There seemed to 'be plenty of vegetables on shore,' says the log-book of the 'Greenwich, 'but the inhabitants did not like to sell any. 'Some of the fishing-boats came very close to the ship, and the 'people in them seemed to be highly delighted at the sight of

'us. They would have come on board, but we could not stop 'for them, it being near night, and we could but just lay clear 'of the land.'

In July, of the same year (1821), the Greenwich made another attempt to open a friendly communication with Loo Choo. And as every thing relating to these people possesses a peculiar interest with the public, we shall quote the exact words of this ship's log-book.

'July 6th.—Brisk winds from S. E. Plied towards the S.W. 'point of Loo Chew. Sent 2 boats on shore after refresh-'ments. At noon the boats returned with 2 bullocks, 1 hog, 'and 6 fowls, and a few bushels of potatoes.

'July 7th.—Moderate winds and pleasant weather. 2 boats 'on shore after refreshments. Stood off and on shore with the 'ship, at the time the Captain was making good trade with the 'inhabitants of the town. We were ashore too this morning. 'There was an old priest came from another town and put a 'stop to our trade. He likewise hindered our people from 'going about the town, and hurried the boats off with all pos-'sible speed, with a few potatoes and 1 hog. Stood off and on 'during the night. A.M., 2 boats went on shore again at the same 'town. On our landing, a parcel of strangers, that we did not see 'yesterday, stopped us from going into the town. They show-'ed us into a house on the shore, and treated us with tea and 'pipes of tobacco. We had a good deal of trouble in getting 'a few potatoes; but neither bullocks, pigs, goats, nor fowls, 'could we get for love or money. The lower class of people 'were very willing to let us have any thing we wanted, but 'that mongrel breed between the Chinese and Japanese hinder-'ed them from obliging us. At noon returned on board.

'July 8th.—Brisk winds from E. to E.S.E., and fine weather. 'P.M. Two boats ashore after refreshments; at 5 returned 'with half a dozen fowls and a few potatoes. Made all sail to 'the S.S.E.'

As this account is the only authentic one which has reached us of any visit to Loo Choo since that of the Alceste and Lyra, we make no apology for giving it in detail. We recognise in these rude sketches the features of our old friends, as drawn in the more elaborate works published by the officers who accompanied Lord Amherst's Embassy to China.

We much fear, therefore, that the objections, of the government at least, to strangers, is too great ever to be overcome. The accounts alluded to describe these people as being without arms, and as being every way friendly. If we recollect rightly, however, Captain Wilson makes almost an equally favourable

report of the Pelew Islanders—a hint which, with every respect for Captain Hall and his friends at Napkiang, we recommend to all whaling captains in those seas.

Since the publication of Mr White's book, we have learnt, with much indignation, but no great surprise, that our *friends* the Dutch, who owe to us their very existence as a nation, in the true spirit of their old policy, have become jealous even of the whalers, and have recently raised their port charges so high on all their islands in those seas, that the increased expense of calling for supplies, becomes a very important item in the disbursements of a whaling voyage. Consequently the ships are obliged, ever since this most miserable and inhospitable proceeding, to be fitted out, at great cost, with stores and provisions for two and a half or three years, and sometimes even for four. With all that money, however, can procure, with the very best provisions, and a profusion of every known antiscorbutic that will keep, our gallant seamen cannot be supposed to keep the sea for such a protracted period, without an occasional run on shore, and a dish of fresh meat and vegetables. It is bad enough to be treated as we are by the ignorant and prejudiced natives; but it is really to the last degree humiliating to think, that, in these days, the colonies of an European nation should imitate the barbarous Malays and Japanese, in their unsociable policy; and if they do not actually use the 'crease' and the cross, yet virtually do us almost as serious an injury, by blocking us out of their ports. We trust that the attention of Government will be promptly called to this abuse, which proper representations cannot fail to remove.

We cannot quit the subject of the China seas without adverting, in terms of the highest praise, to the extensive survey which has for so many years been carried on there, by order, and at the sole expense, of the East India Company. This noble undertaking, though scarcely known in England, is probably the greatest and the most useful hydrographical operation ever entered into by any government. It was commenced in 1806, and concluded in 1822, a period of sixteen years. Captain Daniel Ross, of the Bombay Marine, was intrusted with the execution of this gigantic task; and being a man of talents, scientific knowledge, and the greatest zeal and industry, he has performed it in a most masterly manner. Captains Maughan and Crawford, also of the Bombay Marine, were associated with him in this work; and to their abilities and exertions much of its success is owing. There were never less than two ships employed on this service; and such was the spirit with which the survey was viewed by the

East India Company, that when these ships were captured in the war, and carried to Batavia, two others were instantly purchased at Bengal to carry it on. The expense of the survey must have been, at the lowest calculation, considerably beyond a hundred thousand pounds; and it is very pleasing to remark, that in all this there is not the slightest speck of any monopolizing or illiberal spirit to be seen. As fast as the charts were constructed, they were engraved in England, and immediately placed at the disposal of all the world at very low prices. As it may interest the curious in such matters, we give, in a note, a list of these charts; and we have no hesitation in saying, that these, together with Captain Horsburgh's admirable Book of Directions, and numerous accompanying Charts, form the completest body of hydrographical and nautical knowledge that has ever appeared in the world. * The last named gentleman deserves especial mention on this occasion. He has for many years been Hydrographer to the East India Company; and it is no more than due to his extraordinary industry and sagacity to say, that he has contributed more, by his writings and by his original charts, to the cause of Eastern navigation, than all the other writers and voyagers in the same seas put together.

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* List of charts made by Captain Ross and his assistants, during the survey of the China Sea.—South coast of China west of Macao, 2 plates. Tien Pak, Hai-lin-shak, and Namo Harbours. Channels and Islands at the entrance of Canton River, 1 large plate. Macao to Lankeet. Canton River. Coast of China east of Macao to the entrance of the Straits of Formosa. Harlem Bay. Lamon and Lamock Islands. Gulf of Petchelee. Harbours on the east coast of China, 2 plates. South coast of Hainan. Paracels and coast of Cochin China, 4 plates. West coast of Palwan. Straits of Mindora and Apo Shoal. Natunas and Tambelan Islands, 2 plates. Straits of Billiton. Straits of Gaspar. South coast of Banca. Lucepara passage. Ilchester Shoal, a part of Lingin. Geldrias Bank, near Rhio Straits. Singapore harbour. North and South Sands. Malacca Straits. Arroa Islands in the same straits.

Captain Ross, along with Captain Crawford, is now examining the islands and coasts on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. The Bombay government have also at present two vessels carrying on a survey of the Persian Gulf; and that of Prince of Wales's Island has employed one of the Bombay marine vessels to examine the northern coast of Sumatra, the Straits of Dryon, and the adjacent parts, of which two plates are already engraved. An excellent survey of the east coast of Banca has been made by Lieutenant Robinson of the Bombay Marine, and three charts of the entrance of the Hoogly River by Captain Maxfield.

ART. VII. *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the Celebrated Irish Chieftain; with some Account of his Ancestors.* Written by Himself. Fourth Edition. 12mo. pp. 376. London, 1824.

THIS agreeable and witty book is generally supposed to have been written by Mr Thomas Moore; a gentleman of small stature—but full of genius, and a steady friend of all that is honourable and just. He has here borrowed the name of a celebrated Irish leader, to typify that spirit of violence and insurrection which is necessarily generated by systematic oppression,—and rudely avenges its crimes: And the picture he has drawn of its prevalence in that unhappy country is at once piteous and frightful. Its effect in exciting our horror and indignation is in the longrun increased, we think,—though at first it may seem counteracted, by the tone of levity, and even jocularity, under which he has chosen to veil the deep sarcasm and substantial terrors of his story. We smile at first, and are amused—and wonder, as we proceed, that the humorous narrative should produce conviction, and pity—shame, abhorrence, and despair!

England seems to have treated Ireland much in the same way as Mrs Brownrigg treated her apprentice,—for which Mrs Brownrigg is hanged in the first volume of the Newgate Calendar. Upon the whole, we think the apprentice is better off than the Irishman: as Mrs Brownrigg merely starves and beats her, without any attempt to prohibit her from going to any shop, or praying at any church, apprentice might select; and once or twice, if we remember rightly, Brownrigg appears to have felt some compassion. Not so old England—who indulges rather in a steady baseness, uniform brutality, and unrelenting oppression.

Let us select from this entertaining little book a short history of dear Ireland, such as even some profligate idle member of the House of Commons, voting as his master bids him, may perchance throw his eye upon, and reflect for a moment upon the iniquity to which he lends his support.

For some centuries after the reign of Henry II., the Irish were killed like game, by persons qualified or unqualified. Whether dogs were used does not appear quite certain, though it is probable they were, spaniels as well as pointers; and that, after a regular point by Basto, well backed by Ponto and Cæsar, Mr O'Donnel or Mr O'Leary bolted from the thicket, and were bagged by the English sportsman. With Henry II.

came in tithes, to which, in all probability, about one million of lives may have been sacrificed in Ireland. In the reign of Edward I. the Irish who were settled near the English requested that the benefit of the English laws might be extended to them; but the remonstrance of the Barons with the hesitating King was in substance this:—'You have made us a present of these 'wild gentlemen,—and we particularly request that no measures 'may be adopted, to check us in that full range of tyranny 'and oppression in which we consider the value of such a gift 'to consist. You might as well give us sheep, and prevent us 'from shearing the wool, or roasting the meat.' This reasoning prevailed, and the Irish were kept to their barbarism, and the Barons preserved their live-stock.

'Read "Orange faction" (says Captain Rock) here, and you have the wisdom of our rulers, at the end of near six centuries, *in statu quo*.—The Grand Periodic Year of the Stoics, at the close of which every thing was to begin again, and the same events to be all reacted in the same order, is, on a miniature scale, represented in the History of the English Government in Ireland—every succeeding century being but a renewed revolution of the same follies, the same crimes, and the same turbulence that disgraced the former. But "vive l'Ennemi!" say I:—whoever may suffer by such measures, Captain Rock, at least, will prosper.

'And such was the result at the period of which I am speaking. The rejection of a petition, so humble and so reasonable, was followed, as a matter of course, by one of those daring rebellions, into which the revenge of an insulted people naturally breaks forth. The M'Cartys, the O'Briens, and all the other Macs and O's, who have been kept upon the alert by similar causes ever since, flew to arms under the command of a chieftain of my family, and, as the proffered *handle* of the sword had been rejected, made their inexorable masters at least feel its *edge*.' pp. 23–25.

Fifty years afterwards the same request was renewed and refused. Up again rose Mac and O,—a *just and necessary war* ensued; and, after the usual murders, the usual chains were replaced upon the Irishry. All Irishmen were excluded from every species of office. It was high treason to marry with the Irish blood, and highly penal to receive the Irish into religious houses. War was waged also against their Thomas Moores, Samuel Rogerses, and Walter Scotts, who went about the country harping and singing against English oppression. No such turbulent guests were to be received. The plan of making them poets laureate, or converting them to loyalty by pensions of one hundred pounds per annum, had not then been thought of. They debarred the Irish even from the pleasure of running away, and fixed them to the soil, like Negroes.

'I have thus selected,' says the historian of Rock, 'cursorily and at random, a few features of the reigns preceding the Reformation, in order to show what good use was made of those three or four hundred years, in attaching the Irish people to their English governors; and by what a gentle course of alteratives they were prepared for the inoculation of a new religion, which was now about to be attempted upon them by the same skilful and friendly hands.

'Henry the VIIth appears to have been the first monarch to whom it occurred, that matters were not managed exactly as they ought in this part of his dominions; and we find him—with a simplicity, which is still fresh and youthful among our rulers—expressing his *surprise* that "his subject of this land should be so prone to faction and rebellion, and that so little advantage had been hitherto derived from the acquisitions of his predecessors, notwithstanding the fruitfulness and natural advantages of Ireland."—Surprising, indeed, that a policy, such as we have been describing, should not have converted the whole country into a perfect Atalantis of happiness—should not have made it like the imaginary island of Sir Thomas More, where "*tota insula velut una familia est!*—most stubborn, truly, and ungrateful must that people be, upon whom, up to the very hour in which I write, such a long and unvarying course of penal laws, confiscations, and Insurrection Acts has been tried, without making them, in the least degree, in love with their rulers!

'Heloisa tells her tutor Abelard, that the correction which he inflicted upon her only served to increase the ardour of her affection for him;—But bayonets and hemp are no such "*amoris stimuli.*" —One more characteristic anecdote of those times, and I have done. At the battle of Knocktow, in the reign of Henry VII., when that remarkable man, the Earl of Kildare, assisted by the great O'Neal and other Irish chiefs, gained a victory over Clanricard of Connaught, most important to the English Government, Lord Gormanstown, after the battle, in the first insolence of success, said, turning to the Earl of Kildare, "We have now slaughtered our enemies, but, to complete the good deed, we must proceed yet further, and—cut the throats of those Irish of our own party!" * Who can wonder that the Rock Family were active in those times?' pp. 33—35.

Henry the 8th persisted in all these outrages: and aggravated them by insulting the prejudices of the people. England is almost the only country in the world (even at present), where there is not some favourite religious spot, where absurd lies, little bits of cloth, feathers, rusty nails, splinters, and other invaluable relics, are treasured up, and in defence of which the whole population are willing to turn out and perish as one man. Such was the shrine of St Kieran, the whole treasures of which the satellites of that corpulent tyrant turned out into the street, pillaged the sacred church of Clonmac-

'* Leland gives this anecdote on the authority of an Englishman.'

noise, scattered the holy nonesense of the priests to the winds, and burnt the real and venerable crosier of St Patrick, fresh from the silversmith's shop, and formed of the most costly materials. Modern princes change the uniform of regiments. Henry changed the religion of kingdoms; and was determined that the belief of the Irish should undergo a radical and Protestant conversion. With what success this attempt was made, the present state of Ireland is sufficient evidence.

'Be not dismayed,' said Elizabeth, on hearing that O'Neal meditated some designs against her government; 'tell my friends, if he arise, it will turn to their advantage—*there will be estates for those who want.*' Soon after this prophetic speech, Munster was destroyed by famine and the sword, and near 600,000 acres forfeited to the Crown, and distributed among Englishmen. Sir Walter Raleigh (the virtuous and good) butchered the garrison of Limerick in cold blood, after Lord-Deputy Gray had selected 700 to be hanged. There were, during the reign of Elizabeth, three invasions of Ireland by the Spaniards, produced principally by the absurd measures of this Princess for the reformation of its religion. The Catholic clergy, in consequence of these measures, abandoned their cures, the churches fell to ruin, and the people were left without any means of instruction. Add to these circumstances the murder of M'Mahon, the imprisonment of M'Toole * and O'Dogherty, and the kidnapping of O'Donnel,—all truly Anglo-Hibernian proceedings. The execution of the laws was rendered detestable and intolerable by the Queen's officers of justice. The spirit raised by these transactions, besides innumerable smaller insurrections, gave rise to the great wars of Desmond and Hugh O'Neal; which, after they had worn out the ablest generals, discomfited the choicest troops, exhausted the treasure, and embarrassed the operations of Elizabeth, were terminated by the destruction of these two ancient families, and by the confiscation of more than half the territorial surface of the island. The two last years of O'Neal's wars cost Elizabeth 140,000*l.* per annum, though the whole revenue of England at that period fell considerably short of 500,000*l.* Essex, after the destruction of Norris, led into Ireland an army of above 20,000 men, which was totally baffled and destroyed by Tyrone, with-

* There are not a few of the best and most humane Englishmen of the present day who, when under the influence of fear or anger, would think it no great crime to put to death people whose names begin with O, or Mac. The violent death of Smith, Green, or Thomson, would throw the neighbourhood into convulsions, and the regular forms would be adhered to—but little would be really thought of the death of any body called O'Dogherty or O'Toole.

in two years of their landing. Such was the importance of Irish rebellions two centuries before the time in which we live. Sir G. Carew attempted to assassinate the Lugan Earl—Mountjoy compelled the Irish rebels to massacre each other. In the course of a few months, 3000 men were starved to death in Tyrone. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Manson, and other commanders, saw three children feeding on the flesh of their dead mother. Such were the golden days of good Queen Bess!

By the rebellions of Dogherty in the reign of James I., six northern counties were confiscated, amounting to 500,000 acres. In the same manner, 64,000 acres were confiscated in Athlone. The whole of his confiscations amount to nearly a million acres; and if Leland means plantation acres, they constitute a twelfth of the whole kingdom according to Newenham, and a tenth according to Sir W. Petty. The most shocking and scandalous action in the reign of James, was his attack upon the whole property of the province of Connaught, which he would have effected, if he had not been bought off by a sum greater than he hoped to gain by his iniquity, besides the luxury of confiscation. The Irish, during the reign of James I., suffered under the *double* evils of a licentious soldiery, and a religious persecution.

Charles the First took a bribe of 120,000*l.* from his Irish subjects, to grant them what in those days were called *Graces*, but in these days would be denominated the Elements of Justice. The money was paid, but the graces were never granted. One of these graces is curious enough, 'That the clergy were 'not to be permitted to keep henceforward any private prisons 'of their own, but delinquents were to be committed to the 'public jails.' The idea of a rector, with his own private jail full of dissenters, is the most ludicrous piece of tyranny we ever heard of. The troops in the beginning of Charles's reign were supported by the weekly fines levied upon the Catholics for non-attendance upon established worship. The Archbishop of Dublin went himself, at the head of a file of musketeers, to disperse a Catholic congregation in Dublin,—which object he effected, after a considerable skirmish with the priests. 'The favourite object' (says Dr Leland, a Protestant clergyman, and dignitary of the Irish church) 'of the Irish Government and the English Parliament, was *the utter extermination* of all the Catholic inhabitants of Ireland.' The great rebellion took place in this reign, and Ireland was one scene of blood and cruelty and confiscation.

Cromwell began his career in Ireland by massacring for five days the garrison of Drogheda, to whom quarter had been promised. Two millions and an half of acres were confiscated.

Whole towns were put up in lots, and sold. The Catholics were banished from three-fourths of the kingdom, and confined to Connaught. After a certain day, every Catholic found out of Connaught was to be punished with death. Fleetwood complains peevishly 'that the people *do not transport readily,'—but* 'adds, 'it is doubtless a work in which the Lord will appear.' Ten thousand Irish were sent as recruits to the Spanish army.

'Such was *Cromwell's* way of settling the affairs of Ireland—and if a nation *is* to be ruined, this method is, perhaps, as good as any. It is, at least, more humane than the slow lingering process of exclusion, disappointment, and degradation, by which their hearts are worn out under more specious forms of tyranny: and that talent of despatch which Moliere attributes to one of his physicians, is no ordinary merit in a practitioner like Cromwell:—"C'est un homme expéditif, qui aime à depêcher ses malades; et quand on a à mourir, cela se fait avec lui le plus vite du monde." A certain military Duke, who complains that Ireland is but half-conquered, would, no doubt, upon an emergency, try his hand in the same line of practice, and, like that "stern hero," Mirmillo, in the Dispensary,

"While others meanly take whole months to slay,
Despatch the grateful patient in a day!"

'Among other amiable enactments against the Catholics at this period, the price of five pounds was set on the head of a Romish priest—being exactly the same sum offered by the same legislators for the head of a wolf. The Athenians, we are told, encouraged the destruction of wolves by a similar reward (five drachmas); but it does not appear that these heathens bought up the heads of priests at the same rate—such zeal in the cause of religion being reserved for times of Christianity and Protestantism.' pp. 97–99.

Nothing can show more strongly the light in which the Irish were held by Cromwell, than the correspondence with Henry Cromwell respecting the peopling of Jamaica from Ireland. Secretary Thurloe sends to Henry, the Lord Deputy in Ireland, to inform him, that 'a stock of Irish girls and Irish young men, 'are wanting for the peopling of Jamaica.' The answer of Henry Cromwell is as follows:—'Concerning the supply of 'young men, although we must use force in taking them up, 'yet *it being so much for their own good*, and likely to be of so 'great advantage to the public, it is not the least doubted but 'that you may have such a number of them as you may think 'fit to make use of on this account.'

'I shall not need repeat any thing respecting the girls, not 'doubting to answer your expectations to the full *in that;* and 'I think it might be of like advantage to your affairs there, and 'ours here, if you should think fit to send 1500 or 2000 boys 'to the place above mentioned. *We can well spare them;* and who 'knows but that it may be the means of making them English-

'men, I mean rather Christians. As for the girls, I suppose 'you will make provisions of clothes, and other accommodations 'for them.' Upon this, Thurloe informs Henry Cromwell, 'that the Council have voted 4000 *girls, and as many boys*, to 'go to Jamaica.'

Every Catholic priest found in Ireland was hanged, and five pounds paid to the informer.

'About the years 1652 and 1653,' says Colonel Lawrence in his *Interests of Ireland*, 'the plague and famine had so swept 'away whole counties, that a man might travel twenty or thirty 'miles and not see a living creature, either man nor beast, nor 'bird,—they being all dead, or had quitted those desolate places. 'Our soldiers would tell stories of the places where they saw 'smoke—it was so rare to see either smoke by day, or fire, or 'candle by night.' In this manner did the Irish live and die under Cromwell, suffering by the sword, famine, pestilence, and persecution, beholding the confiscation of a kingdom and the banishment of a race. 'So that there perished (says S. W. 'Petty) in the year 1641, 650,000 human beings, whose blood 'somebody must atone for to God and the King!!'

In the reign of Charles II., by the Act of Settlement, four millions and an half of acres were forever taken from the Irish. 'This country,' says the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant in 1675, 'has been perpetually rent and torn, since his Majesty's 'restoration. I can compare it to nothing better than the 'flinging the reward on the death of a deer among the packs of 'hounds—where every one pulls and tears where he can, for 'himself.' All wool grown in Ireland was, by act of Parliament, compelled to be sold to England; and Irish cattle were excluded from England. The English, however, were pleased to accept 30,000 head of cattle, sent as a gift from Ireland to the sufferers in the great fire! and the first day of the Sessions, after this act of munificence, the Parliament passed fresh acts of exclusion against the productions of that country.

'Among the many anomalous situations in which the Irish have been placed, by those "marriage vows, false as dicers' oaths," which bind their country to England, the dilemma in which they found themselves at the Revolution was not the least perplexing or cruel. *

* 'Among the persons most puzzled and perplexed by the two opposite Royal claims on their allegiance were the clergymen of the Established Church; who, having first prayed for King James as their lawful sovereign, as soon as William was proclaimed took to praying for *him*; but again, on the success of the Jacobite forces in the north, very prudently prayed for King James once more, till the arrival of Schomberg, when, as far as his quarters reached, they returned to praying for King William again.'

If they were loyal to the King *de jure*, they were hanged by the King *de facto*; and, if they escaped with life from the King *de facto*, it was but to be plundered and proscribed by the King *de jure* afterwards.

Hac *gener* atque *socer* coeant mercede suorum.—VIRGIL.

"In a manner so summary, prompt, and high-mettled,
'Twixt father and son-in-law matters were settled."

"In fact, most of the outlawries in Ireland were for treason committed the very day on which the Prince and Princess of Orange accepted the crown in the Banqueting-house; though the news of this event could not possibly have reached the other side of the Channel on the same day, and the Lord-lieutenant of King James, with an army to enforce obedience, was at that time in actual possession of the government,—so little was common sense consulted, or the mere decency of forms observed by that rapacious spirit, which nothing less than the confiscation of the whole island could satisfy; and which having, in the reign of James I. and at the Restoration, despoiled the natives of no less than ten millions six hundred and thirty-six thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven acres, now added to its plunder one million, sixty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two acres more, being the amount, altogether, (according to Lord Clare's calculation), of the whole superficial contents of the island!

'Thus not only had *all* Ireland suffered confiscation in the course of this century, but no inconsiderable portion of it had been twice and even thrice confiscated. Well might Lord Clare say, "that the situation of the Irish nation, at the Revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world." pp. 111—113.

By the Articles of Limerick, the Irish were promised the free exercise of their religion; but from that period till the year 1788, every year produced some fresh penalty against that religion—some liberty was abridged, some right impaired, or some suffering increased. By acts in King William's reign, they were prevented from being solicitors. No Catholic was allowed to marry a Protestant; and any Catholic who sent a son to Catholic countries for education, was to forfeit all his lands. In the reign of Queen Anne, any son of a Catholic who chose to turn Protestant got possession of the father's estate. No Papist was allowed to purchase freehold property, or to take a lease for more than thirty years. If a Protestant dies intestate, the estate is to go to the next *Protestant* heir, though all to the tenth generation should be Catholic. In the same manner, if a Catholic dies intestate, his estate is to go to the next Protestant. No Papist is to dwell in Limerick or Galway. No Papist to take an annuity for life. The widow of a Papist turning Protestant to have a portion of the chattels of deceased, in spite of any will. Every Papist teaching schools to be presented as a regular Popish convict. Prices of catching Catholic priests from 50*s.* to 10*l.*, according to rank. Papists are to answer all

questions respecting other Papists, or to be committed to jail for twelve months. No trust to be undertaken for Papists. No Papist to be on Grand Juries. Some notion may be formed of the spirit of those times, from an order of the House of Commons, 'that the Sergeant at Arms should take into custody all 'Papists that should presume to come into *the gallery!* (Commons' Journal, vol. iii. fol. 976.) During this reign, the English Parliament legislated as absolutely for Ireland as they do now for Rutlandshire—an evil not to be complained of, if they had done it as justly. In the reign of George I., the horses of Papists were seized for the militia, and rode by Protestants; towards which the Catholics paid double, and were compelled to find Protestant substitutes. They were prohibited from voting at vestries, or being high or petty constables. An act of the English Parliament in this reign opens as follows:—

Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the 'subjection of Ireland to the Imperial Crown of these realms, 'be it enacted,' &c. &c. In the reign of George II. four-sixths of the population were cut off from the right of voting at elections, by the necessity under which they were placed of taking the oath of supremacy. Barristers and solicitors marrying Catholics are exposed to all the penalties of Catholics. Persons robbed by privateers during a war with a Catholic State, are to be indemnified by a levy on the Catholic inhabitants of the neighbourhood. All marriages between Catholics and Protestants are annulled. All Popish priests celebrating them are to be hanged. 'This system (says Arthur Young) 'has no other tendency than that of driving 'out of the kingdom all the personal wealth of the Catho-'lics, and extinguishing their industry within it! and the face 'of the country, every object which presents itself to travellers, 'tells him how effectually this has been done.'—*Young's Tour in Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 48.

Such is the history of Ireland—for we are now at our own times: and the only remaining question is, whether the system of improvement and conciliation began in the reign of George III. shall be pursued, and the remaining incapacities of the Catholics removed, or all these concessions be made insignificant, by an adherence to that spirit of proscription which they professed to abolish? Looking to the sense and reason of the thing, and to the ordinary working of humanity and justice, when assisted, as they are here, by self-interest and worldly policy, it might seem absurd to doubt of the result. But looking to the facts and the persons by which we are now surrounded, we are constrained to say, that we greatly fear that these incapacities

never will be removed, till they are removed by fear. What else, indeed, can we expect when we see them opposed by such enlightened men as Mr Peel—faintly assisted by men of such admirable genius as Mr Canning,—when Royal Dukes consider it as a compliment to the memory of their father, to continue this miserable system of bigotry and exclusion—when men act ignominiously and contemptibly on this question who do so on no other question,—when almost the only persons zealously opposed to this general baseness and fatuity are a few Whigs and Reviewers, or here and there a virtuous poet like Mr Moore? We repeat again, that the measure never will be effected but by fear. In the midst of one of our just and necessary wars, the Irish Catholics will compel this country to grant them a great deal more than they at present require, or even contemplate. We regret most severely the protraction of the disease,—and the danger of the remedy;—but in this way it is that human affairs are carried on!

We are sorry we have nothing for which to praise Administration on the subject of the Catholic question—but, it is but justice to say, that they have been very zealous and active in detecting fiscal abuses in Ireland, in improving mercantile regulations, and in detecting Irish jobs. The commission on which Mr Wallace presided, has been of the greatest possible utility, and does infinite credit to the Government. The name of Mr Wallace, in any commission, has now become a pledge to the public, that there is a real intention to investigate and correct abuse. He stands in the singular predicament of being equally trusted by the rulers and the ruled. It is a new era in Government, when such men are called into action: And, if there were not proclaimed and fatal limits to that ministerial liberality—which, so far as it goes, we welcome without a grudge, and praise without a sneer—we might yet hope that, for the sake of mere consistency, they might be led to falsify our forebodings. But alas! there are motives more immediate, and therefore irresistible,—and the time is not yet come, when it will be believed easier to govern Ireland by the love of the many than by the power of the few—when the paltry and dangerous machinery of bigotted faction and prostituted patronage may be dispensed with, and the vessel of the State be propelled by the natural current of popular interests and the breath of popular applause. In the mean time, we cannot resist the temptation of gracing our conclusion with the following beautiful passage, in which the author alludes to the hopes that were raised at another great era of partial concession and liberality—that of the revolution of 1782,—when also, benefits were conferred which proved abortive, because they were incomplete

—and balm poured into the wound, where the envenomed shaft was yet left to rankle.

'And here,' says the gallant Captain Rock,—'as the free confession of weaknesses constitutes the chief charm and use of biography—I will candidly own that the dawn of prosperity and concord, which I now saw breaking over the fortunes of my country, so dazzled and deceived my youthful eyes, and so unsettled every hereditary notion of what I owed to my name and family, that—shall I confess it?—I even hailed with pleasure the prospects of peace and freedom that seemed opening around me; nay, was ready, in the boyish enthusiasm of the moment, to sacrifice all my own personal interest in all future riots and rebellions, to the one bright, seducing object of my country's liberty and repose.

'When I contemplated such a man as the venerable Charlemont, whose nobility was to the people like a fort over a valley—elevated above them solely for their defence; who introduced the polish of the courtier into the camp of the freeman, and served his country with all that pure, Platonic devotion, which a true knight in the times of chivalry proffered to his mistress;—when I listened to the eloquence of Grattan, the very music of Freedom—her first, fresh matin song, after a long night of slavery, degradation and sorrow;—when I saw the bright offerings which he brought to the shrine of his country,—wisdom, genius, courage, and patience, invigorated and embellished by all those social and domestic virtues, without which the loftiest talents stand isolated in the moral waste around them, like the pillars of Palmyra towering in a wilderness!—when I reflected on all this, it not only disheartened me for the mission of discord which I had undertaken, but made me secretly hope that it might be rendered unnecessary; and that a country, which could produce such men and achieve such a revolution, might yet—in spite of the joint efforts of the Government and my family—take her rank in the scale of nations, and be happy!

'My father, however, who saw the momentary dazzle by which I was affected, soon drew me out of this false light of hope in which I lay basking, and set the truth before me in a way but too convincing and ominous. "Be not deceived, boy," he would say, "by the fallacious appearances before you. Eminently great and good as is the man to whom Ireland owes this short era of glory, *our* work, believe me, will last longer than his. We have a Power on our side that 'will not willingly let us die;' and, long after Grattan shall have disappeared from earth,—like that arrow shot into the clouds by Alcestes—effecting nothing, but leaving a long train of light behind him, the Family of the Rocks will continue to flourish in all their native glory, upheld by the ever-watchful care of the Legislature, and fostered by that 'nursing-mother of Liberty, the Church."

ART. VIII. 1. *Letters on the Evils of Impressment, with the Outline of a Plan for doing them away; on which depends the Wealth, Prosperity, and Consequence of Great Britain.* By THOMAS URQUHART. London, 1816.

2. *Basis of a Plan for Manning the Navy at the Commencement of a War, &c.* By the Same. London, 1821.

3. *Impressment: An Attempt to prove why it should, and how it could, be Abolished.* By Lieutenant R. STANDISH HALY, R. N.

4. *Suggestions for the Abolition of the Present System of Impressment in the Naval Service.* By Captain MARRYATT, R. N. London, 1822.

5. *Cursory Suggestions on Naval Subjects; with the Outline of a Plan for raising Seamen for His Majesty's Fleets in a future War, by Ballot.* London, 1822.

IT would be absurd, we think, at this time of day, to say one word on the manifest cruelty and injustice of our practice of Impressment,—since nobody, so far as we can learn, denies that it is in itself most cruel and unjust,—or seeks to defend it on any other ground than that of necessity. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, almost entirely to this view of the matter, and inquire whether, in reality, it be necessary or not. Its legality, at least in so far as depends on ancient usage and judicial recognition, we do not presume to question,—and suppose we need not give ourselves much trouble about a rhetorical statement, which seems to have been made with some success in the late debates in Parliament, viz. of the many accomplished and distinguished officers, who are said to have entered the service by this rough and compulsory channel. Many a kidnapped youth has become a wealthy planter, in former days, in Virginia; and Ali Bey, and many other Mameluke leaders, were bought as slaves to recruit the troops over whom they ultimately rose to command. Nobody, however, thinks of maintaining, on the force of these examples, that kidnapping is the best way of breeding respectable colonists, or the slave market the best supply for an army. There is, in fact, no argument but that of necessity, on which the controversy can be for a moment maintained,—though, to exhaust that, will be found to require more exact inquiries into facts, than loyal declaimers or simple readers are aware of.

The subject unluckily is one on which the Government is particularly anxious to repress all discussion—and deadly perils are accordingly predicted from every attempt to approach it. Yet there is no one topic so frequently discussed in conversa-

tion; and every now and then a pamphlet comes forth, with the old pathetic denunciations, or the old peremptory justification of the practice. We cannot say, indeed, that they generally draw much attention. People do not expect to find any thing new in them; and besides, in time of war it is thought impossible to venture on any novelty, and in peace, that there is nothing to complain of. We have five little works, however, on the subject now before us; and being ourselves of opinion that a time of peace, when there is no Press wanted, and no discontent to be roused into mutiny, is the proper season for making such prospective arrangements, for the supply of seamen, as may be thought practicable, we are glad to have an opportunity, by the appearance of so many simultaneous publications, to make some suggestions on the subject.

We need not, however, detain our readers very long with any account of the different pamphlets that are mentioned in the title. Mr Urquhart's and Lieutenant Haly's contain nothing very tangible; and tend rather, by the obscurity of their style, to confirm the opinion, that impressment is a necessary evil. To Captain Marryatt we are indebted for several important details as to the number of landsmen usually serving on board our ships of war, and the proportion of seamen indispensable for each ship in the naval service. He also proposes a plan for the abolition of impressment, which is, however, the same thing, under another name, though somewhat mitigated, by limiting the period of service. He has become sensible, we have been informed, of this incongruity, and has withdrawn his pamphlet from circulation. We mention it, therefore, not to criticise it, but because we have made use of some of the valuable information which it contains. The author of *Cursory Suggestions* 'has been nearly eight-and-twenty years in his Majes-'ty's service, and nearly eleven in the command of some vessel 'of war; few men,' he therefore supposes, 'have had better 'opportunities to form correct opinions as to the subjects he 'writes upon; and he has once before drawn up a summary 'view of the subject of impressment.' He defends some *kind of coercion* as *necessary* to procure men for our fleet; and as he thus puts the question on its true basis, and proceeds to support his view by more detailed arguments and assertions, than are commonly resorted to on that side of the question, we think we cannot introduce the subject better than by an examination of his facts and reasonings.

He begins by laying it down as an axiom, 'that During peace, 'this country will never possess a greater number of *seamen* than 'will be able to procure *employment* in his Majesty's ships and

'vessels, and in the ships and vessels employed in the mercan-
'tile service.' Now, in the very outset, we would ask, what there is to prevent the country pensioning, if it be necessary, without employing, seamen, as well as sea-officers? If the State chose to keep 20,000 or 40,000 seamen idle on shore during peace, as well as 6000 officers, why could not that be accomplished? Whatever may be the gallant Captain's nautical experience, his reading, we are afraid, is not extensive, if he is ignorant that several plans have been suggested for providing men for the fleet, the principle of which is, 'that able-
'bodied youths, tradesmen, artificers and others, shall be brought
'up and fitted for the sea service, and allowed a small sum per
'annum even when they stay at home, for every year they have
'been at sea.' * The fact also is, that, since the peace, and at present probably the number is not much diminished, *thirty-two thousand seamen have actually been pensioned by Government, many of whom are not employed either in the King's or the merchants' service.* The Captain's proposition, therefore, does not correctly state either what must generally be, or what at present is.

Being convinced, however, of its truth, he goes on to say, 'It necessarily follows, that if a war were to break out, there
'would be a much greater demand for sailors than the country
'could supply.'—'That as Government has *not the power to*
'*offer high wages*, and as no substitute has ever been found to
'compete with this most powerful of all arguments, in inducing
'the sailor to volunteer for the navy in preference to the mer-
'cantile service, it follows, that the *only* means Government
'can have recourse to for manning the fleet *must be coercive.*'—
'The rate of seamen's wages,' he further says, 'is a point *al-*
'*most immaterial to merchants*, provided (which is quite impossible) the 'whole mercantile interest have to pay in the
'same proportion.' But no individual merchant or shipowner is of the Captain's opinion; for they all try to get seamen for as little money as possible, never giving one farthing higher wages

* See, among others, Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic.—In King William's reign, a scheme was set on foot for a register of 30,000 seamen, for the constant and regular supply of the King's fleet, with great privileges to the registered men, and at the same time imposing heavy penalties, in the event of their non-appearance, when called for. This registry was abolished, not because it did not answer its end, but because it was considered as a badge of slavery by a statute of 9th Anne, cap. 21. Surely, however, it was infinitely less like slavery than the existence of the practice of impressment.

than circumstances oblige them to give. And though we certainly have no desire to encourage any wasteful expenditure on the part of Government, it is as absurd to say that they have not the means of offering higher wages to sailors, as it would be to suppose that the abolition of the oppression and misery attending impressment, would not be a full compensation for any increased expense the country might be put to in effecting so desirable an object.

Great mistakes, however, have been made by the apologists of coercion, respecting the additional number of seamen that would be actually required at the breaking out of war; and as the whole practice of impressment has reference to this one point, we shall endeavour, in the first instance, to elucidate it. The author of 'Cursory Suggestions' gives it at *double* the whole number employed in the King's and merchants' service during peace. Even this, greatly exaggerated as it is, seems to have been an after-thought; for in the text, *treble* the number is stated as a moderate calculation, while double is given as a correction in the Errata. Mr Urquhart states it at between 90,000 and 110,000 seamen, and Captain Marryatt at 110,000. But the truth is that it is impossible to fix this number beforehand, since it plainly depends on the *number of seamen employed* during peace, and on the naval force of our antagonist. Our establishment, at present, is 17,000 seamen and 8000 marines; and the additional number requisite in the event of war, would obviously be different, according as our opponent was France, Russia, Spain, the United States, or any two, or all of them. During the late war, we had at one period 145,187 seamen and marines in the navy; but we were then contending against nearly the whole of Europe and the United States. Such a state of things is not likely again to occur; and it is therefore improper to assume, with all these authors, that 130,000 men—the average number employed during the latter years of the war—will be at all times indispensable to render our navy efficient. Naval officers, anxious for employment, and Ministers, greedy of influence and patronage, will never admit that any number of seamen short of what the country can possibly raise and maintain, is sufficient. Accordingly, during the late war, when our victorious fleet had almost swept the ocean of every opponent, no effort was made to reduce our unnecessarily large naval establishment. Our victories seemed of little advantage, except to the gallant admirals who gained peerages, and the numerous body of officers whom the country, in the overflowings of its gratitude, delighted to honour and reward. After

the battle of Trafalgar, when all fear of invasion was over,—when our enemies had nothing at sea but a few straggling frigates, the same, and even a larger naval force was kept up than when the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were undiminished, and our naval superiority far from being fully assured. Those who have a strong interest in keeping up a large fleet, certainly are not the best persons to decide what number of seamen may be requisite; and it is clear that, for the public interest, only such a number should at any time be employed as is sufficient to protect our trade, our foreign possessions, and our native shores. The force necessary for these purposes, we repeat, must always depend on the strength and skill of the enemy we have to contend with, and must be decided by the Legislature at the moment of commencing war. But, judging by the number of seamen required at the beginning of last war, we are inclined to think that the smallest number stated by either of the authors before us is much too large.

During the peace, and immediately prior to 1793, the number of men employed in the navy was 25,000. At the same period the merchant service, according to Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, employed 118,952 seamen. Before the war actually broke out, 25,000 additional men were voted by Parliament; and 85,000 men, including 12,115 marines, were granted for 1794. For 1795, the grant was 100,000, including 15,000 marines; and in 1797, the number was increased to 120,000, including 20,000 marines. Thus at the commencement of the war, instead of double the number of all the *men* (143,452) employed in the King's and merchants' service during the peace, only 60,000 were thought requisite by Parliament, or not near one half. Even after the war had continued four years, the number of men was only increased to 95,000, or not above two-thirds of that whole which, according to the Captain's statement, required to be immediately doubled. He, indeed, supposes that a number of additional hands would be wanted in the merchant service. But, from the check which various branches of commerce must receive at the breaking out of war, and the stop put to all trade with the enemy, we are inclined to believe that, on the whole, a greater number will not be wanted for the merchants' service. In so far, however, as impressment is concerned, we have only to attend to the number necessary for the navy. If merchants fit out privateers, or if more hands are required to navigate their ships, it is very material to keep in mind, that they procure them, as all other employers obtain workmen, by the offer of higher wages.

But it is of great importance to recollect, that the number of

men given above as belonging to the merchant-service, does not include fishermen, lightermen, watermen, and several other classes of half seamen, employed in small craft as coasters, and on our rivers and creeks. On the other hand, the 60,000 addititional *men* required were not all *sea*-men; 8,115 were marines or soldiers. Of the remaining 51,885, *one fourth also might be, according to the Admiralty regulations, landsmen and boys:* and from Captain Marryatt's estimates it appears, that *a full third of the crews of all his Majesty's ships consisted, towards the close of the war, of these descriptions of persons.* There is reason to believe, that very few ships, at the commencement of the war, had more than two-thirds of their crew, what are called regular bred seamen; and we believe that not twenty of his Majesty's ships had *at any period of the war* so large a proportion as two thirds. Further, it must be observed, that the officers were included in the number of men voted; and the whole of these actually employed, may, at a low estimate, be taken at 4000. Assuming, however, to be quite within bounds, that only one fourth, or 12,971 of the 51,885 men voted were landsmen and boys, and taking the officers at 4000, we find, that in fact only 34,914 seamen were required for the fleet at the commencement of the war in 1793. At that period France had a more powerful navy than at present, and French sailors were then fearless and enthusiastic. The navies of Spain and Holland have, since, dwindled into insignificance; and though those of Russia and the United States are increasing, neither of them is yet so formidable as that of France was at the beginning of the revolutionary war. Our fleet was at that period also more than adequate to all purposes of protection both at home and abroad; for large squadrons were very unprofitably employed in the Mediterranean, in the West and East Indies, and in various other places, conquering islands and colonies.

Upon this view of the case, therefore, we think we may safely assume, that a fleet, equal to that fitted out at the beginning of last war, is likely, under ordinary circumstances, to be fully as large a naval force as we shall need at the commencement of another war. At present, however, we have only 17,000 seamen employed in the King's ships, while, prior to 1793, we had 21,000; consequently, to equip as large a fleet as in 1794, supposing the same proportion of marines to be employed, and one fourth only of the additional men required to be landmen and boys, there will be a demand for 38,914 seamen. Now, supposing this or any greater number of seamen to be, as they certainly are, in the merchant service, the important

question is, Can we afford to offer them such high wages as to induce them to enter the King's service? Every man of common humanity, who balances the capabilities of the country with the alternative in question, will instantly answer this question in the affirmative. The Government, however, has hitherto always decided, and is still disposed, we are afraid, to decide otherwise; and some authors, like the gallant Captain, justify its decision. We must entreat our readers, therefore, to attend to the grounds of this justification.

The leading and conclusive fact upon this part of the question is, that Government, during war, has not only always refused to give its seamen wages, in any way equivalent to what they can then earn in the merchant service, but has not even offered them such as they were actually receiving in that service before war broke out. The ordinary wages in the navy, now and during war, are from 1*l.* 1s. to 1*l.* 15s. per month. But the ordinary wages in the merchant service, during peace, and when there is no such extraordinary demand for seamen as war necessarily produces, cannot now be stated lower than 2*l.* 2s. But during last war, that rate rose to 4*l.*, 5*l.*, and 6*l.* That our Government could not, in such circumstances, man its navy by volunteers, at the rate of 1*l* 7s. per month, must indeed be pretty apparent; and yet it would by no means follow, that it could only be manned by impressment. The plea is *Necessity*—that men *could not* be got without it,—and that, in spite of flourishing advertisements and active crimps, scarcely any were found to enter voluntarily. We can well believe it. Why should they enter a service where only half price is offered for their labour? or can anything be more preposterous than for Government to go into a market, and, finding no supply can be got *under the market price*, immediately to seize on the commodity by force, throw down half its value in return, and justify the proceeding on the score of *necessity?*

This, in fact, is an epitome of the whole question; and it is truly impossible to put it on any other foundation. We admit, at the same time, that if it had actually been necessary to outbid, or even to equal the enormous wages which seamen drew in the merchant service in the later years of the late war, the burden on Government would have been very oppressive. But the truth is, as we hope immediately to show, that this prodigious rise of wages was *occasioned almost entirely by the effects of this very practice of impressment*, in driving our seamen abroad, and into hiding, when their services were most wanted,—and that in reality, and on the whole, the country might purchase

the free services of the seamen at a less expense than it now costs to impress them.

The opinion delivered by the Captain evidently rests on the supposition, that the high rate of seamen's wages, during the late war, was the natural rate at such a period, and was solely occasioned by the war demand for seamen. But the term of apprenticeship at sea is seldom more than five years for very young lads, and generally it is not above three years. An intelligent youth may become a very good sailor in less time even than this; and, if healthy and active, may perform many of the duties of one from the moment of going on board. The additional demand for seamen at the beginning of war occasioning a certain rise in their wages, landmen and youths should, in the *natural* course of things, go from other employments, and supply our ships, both men of war and merchant men, with the proper number of hands, though they might not all possess the requisite proportion of seamen. But the demand for more seamen was also met, during the late war, by the great number of foreigners who were employed, soon after its commencement, both in the King's and the merchant service; that particular provision of the Navigation act, which forbids taking them in the latter, having been, as usual in time of war, suspended by the Legislature in 1793. In no other trade or occupation was there any similar influx of foreigners; and there is good reason to believe that they amounted at one time to *one eighth* of all the men employed in the navy, and to *one third* of all those in the merchant service. In the remarks prefixed to the late census by Mr Rickman, the number of foreign seamen serving on board our ships is stated at 100,000, which would be a full third *of the whole*. It may be doubted whether the war at any time created a demand for 100,000 seamen more than we had during peace; and this being supplied by foreigners, not in general requiring such high money wages as the English, there ought to have been only a very temporary, if any, rise in the rate of seamen's wages. In fact, however, their wages rose on the breaking out of the war, and continued rising, or very high, till it was brought to a close. Before 1793, their wages out of the port of London varied from 1*l.* 5s. to 1*l.* 15s. per man per month. Immediately after war was declared, they rose to 3*l.* 15s., and continued at this rate till towards 1800, when they rose to 4*l.* 4s. Towards 1803–1804, they rose to 5*l.* 5s., and were, in some instances, as high on the homeward voyage, in running ships, or ships sailing without convoy, as 6*l.* 6s. per month; and they continued at this high rate till the end of the war. Thus, after the fleet was fully

manned, and when there could be no demand for any large increase in the number of men, the seamen's wages continued to rise, and remained permanently higher than they were first carried by the influence of the sudden demand occasioned by war.

Now if this advance had been caused by the mere demand for seamen, independent of the violence used to obtain them, a similar advance must have taken place in the wages of the artificers who prepared the increased number of ships required, and for whose service there must have been a proportionably great demand. To equip fleets, shipwrights and sailmakers are as necessary as sailors. Both these classes of workmen, however, generally perform task-work, and, being paid proportionably to the labour and skill required, it is difficult to ascertain with precision what they actually gain. There is, however, in both trades a settled rate of wages;—and this rate *was not increased by the war.* Thus, before 1793, the rate of shipwrights' wages at London was 3s. 6d. per day in winter, and in summer, when working what is called day and quarter, or from five o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock at night, 4s. 4½d. This rate continued unaltered till 1804, when, after a *considerable disturbance*, it was raised to 5s. a day through the year, no day and quarter work being allowed. By working task-work, for which, however, only the best workmen are taken, they might sometimes gain nearly double the rate of the daily pay. Thus, when the greatest momentary demand existed for their labour, these workmen got but a trifling addition to their pay, while the rate of the seamen's wages was fully trebled for several years, and in many instances quadrupled. The rise in the rate of shipwrights' wages also was occasioned principally by the general rise of prices, and scarcely at all by the increased demand derived from the war. The general rise of prices, however, is at all times of little consequence to the seaman, because food and lodging are provided for him by his employers. Before 1793, the average rate of sailmakers' wages was 21s. per week; towards 1797, they rose to 24s., subsequently to 27s.; and before the close of the war to 30s., at which rate they now remain, though in general the men do not obtain full employment. It is peculiar then to the seamen, that their wages rise at the breaking out of war, and continue high as long as war lasts; and this rise, whether compared to the sum they receive both before and after the war, or to the wages of other labourers, can only be caused by that impressment to which they, and they only, are exposed.

That this species of coercion must be met on the part of the

merchants, by the offer of higher wages, is evident from its own nature. Sir Matthew Decker long ago said, 'The Grand 'Seignior cannot do a more absolute act, than to order a man to 'be dragged away from his family, and against his will run his 'head before the mouth of a cannon; and if such acts were frequent 'in Turkey upon any one set of useful men, would it not *drive* '*them away to other countries, and thin their numbers yearly,* and 'would not the remaining few DOUBLE OR TREBLE THEIR WAGES? '—WHICH IS THE CASE WITH OUR SAILORS IN TIME OF WAR, to 'the great detriment of our trade and manufactures.' When Sir Matthew wrote, the United States of America were British colonies, and could neither employ nor protect our seamen. The effects of impressment, both in driving them away and increasing their wages, will now be doubly pernicious; for America offers them certain employment and a safe asylum. The gallant Captain whose opinions we are combating also states, 'If Go-'vernment, from necessity, proceed to use *coercive measures,* the 'merchant will also offer *higher wages* and greater advantages 'than heretofore, in much the same ratio with which the measures 'of government are enforced.' Thus he also sees, that the high rate of seamen's wages during war *is the effect of impressment.* As the capability of the country to *purchase* their services will become more evident as this fact is better established, we shall endeavour to show what influence the dangers peculiar to the naval service, and the waste of life occasioned by battle and shipwreck, have on wages. We hope, at the same time, to satisfy the reader, that no reason can be discovered in this influence, why our population should avoid the naval service.

Except impressment, sailors on board merchant vessels are exposed to very few more dangers when the country is engaged in hostilities, than when it is in a state of peace. Some trifle must be allowed for the probability of being captured, and losing their emoluments, while they are consigned to a dungeon in a foreign country: But merchant vessels do not in general make resistance; and on board them consequently, sailors run no more risk during war of being knocked on the head, or of losing a leg, than during peace. The war, therefore, of itself, does not cause wages to rise in them. In privateers, and vessels carrying letters of marque, where the men are exposed to the chances of battle, the increased danger is found to be adequately compensated by a probability of obtaining prize-money; and *wages, in point of fact, are never higher on board them, than on board ordinary merchant vessels.* They being only fitted out during war, when wages, owing to impressment, are exorbitantly high, people serving on board them are

always well paid. What they receive, therefore, forms no criterion for judging either of the natural rate of seamen's wages, or of the sum it might be necessary to give for the voluntary service of seamen in the King's ships.

The effects of impressment in raising the wages of seamen, do not, however, terminate with the war, but operate even during peace. Six months rarely pass without rumours being circulated that press-warrants are to be issued; the fear of which has, in some measure, the same effect as if they were actually issued. We have known several instances during peace, of young men whose only reason for not going to sea, or for returning to their friends and engaging in other employments, after beginning their career as sailors, was the fear of impressment. 'Respectable young men,' says Mr Urquhart, whose experience as a shipmaster and shipowner for several years is on this point of some authority, 'will not now 'enter into the sea service, from fear of being impressed, and 'having their hopes blasted through life.' The wages of seamen in merchant vessels, during peace, are therefore somewhat higher on account of impressment than they otherwise would be.

It has been already stated, that the wages of seamen out of the port of London, were from 1*l.* 5s. to 1*l.* 15s. per month, before the commencement of the war in 1793. At present, they are from 2*l.* to 2*l.* 5s. The average, therefore, between last peace and the present, is 1*l.* 18s. 3d. per man per month. Seamen, we are informed, can at present be had in the United States of America for 11 dollars; or, assuming the dollar to be equal to 4s. 3d., at 2*l.* 6s. 9d. per month, this being, in fact, the average of seamen's wages throughout the Union. Taking into consideration the fact that articles of clothing, the chief necessaries the sailor has to purchase,—food and lodging being found him when employed,—are dearer in America than in Britain, it would appear that the wages of seamen are not higher there than here. Two guineas a month, therefore, may be taken as the general average rate of seamen's wages. If we add to this two pounds Sterling per month, the estimated expense of victualling each seaman in the navy, we may take the whole pay of seamen, compared with the pay of other labourers, at 4*l.* 2s. per month of 28 days, or very nearly 3s. per day. Now, this sum is considerably less than the wages of shipwrights and sailmakers; and we believe it may even be taken as less than the average wages of skilled artisans in Great Britain, which is generally stated at 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day. The average rate of wages, therefore, in merchant vessels, even en-

hanced as it is by impressment, is not, during peace, higher than the rate of wages in other employments. It is also somewhat curious to observe, that while the rate of wages for all other artisans is considerably higher in the United States than in Britain, the rate of seamen's wages is not higher. During the war even, the rate of seamen's wages in that country followed, at a distance, the fluctuations of the rate in this. In the United States, when our merchants were giving five guineas, sailors could be had for 20 dollars. Owing to the facility with which seamen transport themselves from one country to another where they are better paid for their labour, their wages are likely to be more on a par, in different and distant countries, than the wages of other labourers. Owing also to the peculiar practice which is the subject of our remarks, the wages of seamen will always be very nearly on a level in America and in Britain; rather lower, perhaps, in the latter country, during peace, and considerably higher, as in fact we find them, during war.

There are several occupations on the water, as those of fishermen, pilots, boatmen, &c. in which men are more exposed to danger and hardships, than seamen on board merchant vessels. But although the pecuniary rewards in these occupations are not great, there is never any want of men. For example, in the evidence given before the Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Trade, which sat in 1822, it is stated, that the boatmen of the Southern coast of England, were so numerous that they were in great distress for want of employment. The wages of these classes of sea-faring men depend on casualties, and therefore cannot be estimated; but their mode of living is a sufficient proof that they are not, on the whole, much better paid than seamen in the merchant service. It is also a general fact, that no country, qualified by nature to carry on trade by sea, and engage in fisheries, has ever been checked in its career of industry by a want of men, ready, for a comparatively small remuneration, to encounter all the dangers of the ocean. Our own history supplies numerous examples of sailors growing riotous for want of employment; but none of offers of employment which nobody was ready to embrace. The celebrated Navigation Act was originally passed because our ships were lying idle, and our sailors out of employment. The frequent change of scene which is a sailor's lot, and his alternate privations and enjoyments, make his both a pleasing and a healthy occupation. It is moreover spirit-stirring, and not dull and deadening, like throwing a shuttle or twisting a cotton thread. When these circumstances are added to the facts we have stated, our readers, we trust, will be satisfied, that the supposed hardships of a sailor's life

have little or no influence on his wages, and none in preventing any proportion of our population, which can find employment and pay at sea, from voluntarily becoming seamen.

But all the dangers proper to sea-going, independent of those which arise from fighting, are as great and alarming on board merchants', as on board the King's ships,—on board small and heavily-laden coasters, navigating amidst rocks and shoals, as on board the magnificent castles which float with such ease and majesty over the deep blue sea. Nay, from the very circumstance of the King's ships being equipped for fighting, which requires more hands than are necessary for the mere management of the vessel as a sailing machine,—from there being on board of them proper persons to attend to the different departments; and also, from the superior manner in which his Majesty's ships are provided with cordage, spars, &c. no expense being spared as to the materials, however niggardly and avaricious the Government may be as to paying the seamen,—there can be no question that the dangers and hardships incident to sea-going, as well as the labour required from the men, are in fact much less in the King's, than in merchant vessels.

But the danger and horror of battle, say some of the advocates for cruelty, terrify men from serving their country at sea; and can only be effectually counteracted by the violence of impressment, the gentle castigation of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and degrading our ships by making them gaols for felons. This, however, is absurd, as well as insulting. Courage is one of the most common qualities of human nature; and the love of enterprise and prize-money—the hope of distinction, or national rivalry—have always been found to make the perils of war rather a recommendation than otherwise to the profession. Not to dwell, however, on disputable matters, we shall state some facts to show, that very scanty rewards are sufficient to induce men voluntarily to brave the dangers of naval warfare.

In the *first* place, there is no class of vessels which procures seamen with greater facility than privateers, although, on board them, the men are exposed to all the dangers of battle, without at all times possessing that surgical aid which can do so much to heal and relieve the pain of wounds. They also hold out no prospect of that permanent provision for the seamen if disabled, which is always bestowed on those who are wounded in the national service. Of the facility with which this class of vessels procures men, we shall quote one memorable example. 'The *traders* of Liverpool,' says Mr Chalmers,* 'alone fitted

* Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, p. 40, Ed. 1810.

'out, at the beginning of the war with France, between the '26th of July 1778 and the 17th of April in the following year, 'one hundred and twenty privateers, each armed with from 10 'to 30 guns, but mostly with from 14 to 20. From an accu-'rate list, containing the name and appointment of each vessel, 'it appears, that these privateers measured 30,787 tons; car-'ried 1986 guns, and 8754 men.' In less than eight months, therefore, the merchants of one only of the ports of this empire were able to collect and send to sea a number of fighting men equal to the seventh part of the whole additional number of men required within one year after the breaking out of the war in 1793. At this time, too, there was a war demand for men in the King's ships, and the merchant ships from the same port were as numerous as usual; so that there can be no doubt but that voluntary enlistment is quite sufficient to procure men for fighting ships. At the very moment we are writing, the newspapers of almost every day contain accounts of vessels captured by pirates, or by men who have scarcely one chance more of making prize-money than the men who serve on board legalized privateers and men-of-war; and yet they freely encounter all the dangers of the sea and of war, and, in addition, all the ignominy of crime, and all the chances of dying by the hand of the public executioner. They are outlaws, we know; but they have partly become so from a love of that brisk excitement occasioned by the dangers which less enterprising mortals imagine are sufficient to deter our hardy countrymen from voluntarily entering on board our glory-covered navy.

Neither do the men-of-war ever want *officers*, though exposed as much as the men to all the dangers of battle and of the sea. During the greater part of last war, our ships were crowded with volunteer officers; and the Admiralty was in a manner besieged by those who, having already tasted both the bitters and the sweets of the service, were anxious to be again employed. The pay of naval officers is not, however, so great as to tempt men from civil occupations. Prize-money and pensions may sometimes enable them to pass the evening of their lives in opulence; but, in most cases, the greatest economy only preserves them from want and distress. The average of their regular emoluments indeed places them above the level of the upper servants of their brethren who have engaged in commerce, or devoted themselves to the liberal professions. But, notwithstanding the smallness of their wages, more men can always be obtained for officers than the country can employ. The present number of officers amounts to about 10,000; and of these there are about 2500, including only Admirals, Captains, and Lieute-

nants, *more than were ever employed at any one period of the war, or than can ever be employed.*

There is one particular class of officers to which we shall still further advert, because their conduct, and the conduct of the Government towards them, illustrates all the principles we wish to see acted on with regard to the seamen. Up to the middle of the late war, there was a great want of well-educated Medical men in the navy. The barbarous manner in which the sick and wounded were treated, was long assigned as one cause of the unpopularity of the service, and was in fact made a specific ground of complaint by the sailors in the mutiny of 1797. Fortunately, the rank in society, and the wealth of the medical profession, secured for its members that degree of protection from the Government which, judging by its conduct towards the seamen, would not have been accorded to them as men. Notwithstanding the great want of surgeons, the Admiralty never thought of impressing them. It advertised its wants, and offered a suitable remuneration. Several measures were gradually introduced to add respectability to the situation of ship's surgeon, till, in 1805, the medical officers of the navy had a rank assigned them, with salaries, not large, if compared to their expensive education, but very handsome, according to the general scale for remunerating officers in the navy. By this they were secured from insult, and ensured a comfortable subsistence, In a short time, a stream of medical men, from all parts of the country, almost forced away the Transport Board. It was no longer a question which University should send some of its starveling students for ship-doctors, or what apothecary should elect this mode of providing for a riotous apprentice, but to which of the numerous respectable candidates the vacant situation of assistant-surgeon should be given. This example is particularly instructive; because there is no class of persons employed in the navy who suffer more than medical men, from the inconveniences of the sea and the unpleasantnesses of discipline. They are in general well-educated and indulgently brought up, and, having reached the age of manhood before they go to sea, are considerably annoyed by the mode of living, which passes unheeded by those who have been accustomed to it from their infancy. In this case, the Government wanted a particular class of officers, just as it wants seamen; it held forth encouragement for them to come forward, and more came than could be employed.—It is incumbent on the advocates of impressment to show, why, if we acted on the same principle towards the seamen, similar results would not be produced.

Though unwilling to tire our readers by too many details, we must still quote another illustration of the principle we are

endeavouring to establish. The Marines are exposed to the same hardships, dangers and privations, as the seamen, being fed and treated in the same manner on board ship, and having no more privileges than the seamen, except the confidence reposed in them. Yet the pay of the marines is from 17*s.* 5*d.* to 1*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* per month, in proportion to the length of their service; while the veriest landsman, wearing a blue jacket, receives, without any deduction, 1*l.* 1*s.* from the moment of going on board. They have therefore no advantages whatever over the seamen but those of limited service and occasional relaxation on shore, both of which could be easily extended to volunteer seamen; and yet this corps was always able, with little or no difficulty, to obtain plenty of men. It not only supplied the increased number of ships with the full complement of marines, but that complement was increased. In 1793, the proportion of marines to the whole number of men voted, was 12,115 out of 85,000, or one-seventh; in the latter years of the war, the proportion was generally 31,400 out of 130,000, or considerably more than one-fifth; and great as was this increase, in 1813 the marine corps had more than 5000 supernumeraries. Since peace, the marine corps has not been reduced in the same proportion as the seamen; and they now amount to more than one-third of the whole.

It would appear also, from the increase in the number of marines in the latter years of the war, that the waste of life occasioned by battle and shipwreck had little or no influence on their wages: and there is obviously no reason why it should have any greater influence on the wages of seamen. We are able however to state, pretty correctly, the probable waste of life in the naval service; and it will be found so little beyond the average mortality in other trades and professions, as not to be worth consideration. From the accurate sick-lists, and other accounts of the crews, which are kept on board men-of-war, it is easy to ascertain the state of the crews as to sickness and the number of deaths; and it appears, that the average mortality of the navy during three years of the late war was 1 in 30.29. More than a half of this number died of disease, and the rest fell a sacrifice to the various accidents, including battles, shipwrecks, upsetting of boats, &c. to which sailors are liable. We are informed, that in several of the trades of the metropolis, the members of which, like the sailors, are between the ages of 16 and 60, the average mortality is greater than among seamen; showing that, with all the accidents to which they are liable, the chances of life are in their favour. The following Table shows, at one view, the number of killed and wounded in the five great naval victories of the late war, which anni-

hilated the opposing fleets of all Europe. The accounts are taken from Mr James's Naval History, and differ a little from the accounts published at the time in the Gazettes; but we believe them to be more correct. They make the number of killed and wounded greater than the Gazette accounts; and we therefore have no motives for our preference, but the conviction of their greater accuracy.

Date of the Naval Victory.	Name of the Admiral who commanded the Fleet.	On board the Fleet.	Number of Men Killed.	Wounded.
June 1st, 1794.	Lord Howe.	17,241	290	858
Feb. 14th, 1797.	Earl St Vincent.	9,900	73	227
Oct. 11th, 1797.	Lord Duncan.	8,221	203	622
Aug. 1st, 1798.	Lord Nelson.	7,401	218	678
Oct. 21st, 1805.	Lord Nelson.	18,725	449	1241
	Totals	61,488	1233	3626
		Total killed and wounded		4859

If we compare these accounts with the numbers of killed and wounded in land battles, it will be evident, that the risks of naval warfare are not very great. The single battle of Talavera, in killed, wounded, and missing, cost the country more men than all these naval victories. Without including the missing, the number of killed and wounded was 4,714, being only 145 less than the number of killed and wounded in all the naval battles. The proportion of the killed to the wounded was somewhat greater in the naval victories, than in the indecisive land-battle; in the former there being 1,233 killed, while in the latter there were only 801. There were only 18,500 men at Talavera, however, while in the naval actions there were at least 60,000, making the proportion of killed in the land battles, in proportion to the number of men engaged, more than twice as great as in the naval victories. This makes the statement probable, though we know not on what authority it rests, that the comparative loss of life during the late war, was three times greater in the army than in the navy.

Having by these remarks cleared away some supposed difficulties, and shown that there are no circumstances naturally and necessarily connected with sea-going which should cause sailors to receive much higher wages than other labourers, and none necessarily connected with the naval service which should oblige Government to give higher wages than sailors receive in merchant vessels during peace, we shall proceed to compare the

expense of hiring their voluntary service with the cost of impressing them.

Sailors being only labourers of a particular class, unless a general rise should take place in the rate of wages, 2*l.* 2s. per man per month in addition to their food, being about the average wages of artisans, and rather more than the average of their wages between last peace and the present, will be quite sufficient to buy their voluntary services. At present, including petty officers, who are taken from the seamen, the average rate of wages in the King's service is about 1*l.* 8s. The number of seamen required at the commencement of war being taken at 38,914, making, with the 17,000 men now employed, 55,914, their wages, at 2*l.* 2s. per man per month, will amount to 1,526,452*l.* per year. But the wages of the same number of men, at present, amount to 1,017,634*l.* It must, however, be recollected, that the sum we have stated would buy the services of able seamen, while, in the estimate of present wages, a great number of ordinary seamen are included. In fact, therefore, so large a sum would not be necessary; but supposing it should, the difference is only 508,818*l.* per year. We admit that this is a very considerable sum: But, in the first place, if it be no more than the fair price of the services it is intended to purchase, with what pretence of justice can it be withheld?—or can any thing be more monstrous than for a rich and lavish Government like ours, to use the most cruel violence and oppression; to compel its best and bravest servants to work for it, for less than, but for its interference, they could obtain from private employers? After all, the sum we have mentioned is not double the amount of what is annually bestowed, both in years of war and peace, on *officers* who cannot possibly be employed,—while the sum required for the seamen is only during years of war. Not to be stinted in our concessions, we shall admit, that, at the commencement of a war, merchants would offer somewhat higher wages than Government, and that the latter might, in consequence, find it necessary to increase its offers,—we will even admit that 4*l.* per month might, for the moment, be demanded; but this sum is so much larger than the ordinary earnings of boatmen, lightermen, and other maritime labourers and artisans, that it could only be the fault of Government if they did not soon crowd to our men-of-war and merchant ships, and sink the wages on board of them to the average level. Admitting, therefore, that a somewhat larger sum than 1,526,452*l.* would be required for the first year of war, and even supposing it to be wholly an additional charge, can it be put in competition with all the moral and social evils, and, we must also add, the expense, of impressment?

The last consideration alone, we think, is decisive of the whole question—as we have no doubt that we shall be able to show that the nation pays a great deal more, in money alone, to say nothing of feelings and character, for the system of impressment than many times the additional wages by which its necessity might be avoided. And, in the *first* place, if it be clear, as we trust it now is, that the high rate of wages in the merchant service during war, is entirely owing to the practice of impressment, it is obvious, that in this way alone a far greater burden is laid on the country than the additional wages for which we are contending. It is obvious enough, that all the sums the merchants are thus obliged to pay, must ultimately be paid by the country at large, in the advanced price of their commodities. Now, the number of men in the merchant service is always greater than that of the seamen in our fleets.—But the rise which impressment occasions in their wages is admitted to be from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per month,—whereas the addition which we propose in the King's ships, is only from 12s. to 15s. It follows, therefore, that if the necessity of the greater rise could be avoided by conceding the smaller, the country at large would save three or four times the amount thus justly and profitably advanced by the Government.

In the *second* place, it is obvious, that the establishment for impressing and securing the men must cost a considerable sum. During the late war, according to '*Steels' Lists*,' the number of stations where we had press-gangs varied from 45 at the commencement, to 34 at the close of the war; and at these different stations there were employed from 18 to 25 Captains, and from 47 to 59 Lieutenants, with a number of men amounting on an average to not less than 20 at each station. Here then we had at least 1000 men, or as many as would man a first-rate, employed, not to contend against the national foes, but to impress our own people! We have calculated the expense of this machinery for capturing our seamen, and are quite certain that it amounted to very little short of 100,000*l.* a year. Lieutenant Tomlinson * states, that 3000 persons were employed in the impress service, at an annual cost of 176,280*l.*, during the war of 1756; who, it would appear from his statements, did not procure a much greater number of men than they themselves amounted to. He adds, that there were 2250 men employed on board guardships, 'considered in no other light than as reservoirs for impressed men,' and that they cost 156,000*l*, per annum. At the same time, there were 40 tenders employed to convey the impressed men

* Author of a pamphlet published in 8vo. in 1774.

from the spots where they were seized to the ships in which they were to serve; and the same intelligent officer estimates their expense at 20,280*l.* per year. During the late war, instead of three guard-ships which Lieutenant Tomlinson mentions, there were never less than five line-of-battle ships, and sometimes eight, one 50 gun ship, three frigates, and five sloops, employed for the purpose of securing impressed men. In all other employments, too, workmen find their way to the spots where their services are requisite; and our seamen find their own way to America. The expense, therefore, of conveying impressed seamen to the King's ships, is entirely occasioned by the impress system. During the late war, the number of men employed on board guard-ships and tenders amounted at the very lowest to 1500, who, together with the vessels, calculating by the 'Naval Estimates' for 1800, must have cost the country at least 157,085*l.* per year.

But the expense of this system of constraint is not limited by the cost of the machinery for seizing and securing impressed men in the first instance. There must be, it is obvious, and there are, bodies of men on board ships, to retain impressed men in obedience, and prevent them carrying off the ships. Would any man stay a single hour in a ship to which he has been carried by force like a slave,—in which he has the sweepings of our gaols for his companions,—where his pay is only the third part of the sum he could earn if he were at liberty,—and where he is subjected to a system of flogging that is scarcely surpassed, except that it is carried into execution under the formalities of law, by the whippings to which the West Indian slave is exposed?—would any impressed man, we ask, stay on board our ships a single hour, if he were not retained by others? Now, those who enforce this system of coercion and constraint on board ship, are, first and chiefly, the armed officers, and afterwards, under their direction, the armed soldiers or marines. We know that both these classes of men are useful to contend against an enemy,—that they both fight and keep impressed men in awe,—that they are both heroes and gaolers; but, in this latter character, they are prodigiously expensive to the country.

The number of Captains and Lieutenants *actually employed* on board our ships, is not too great probably for the exigencies of the service; but the number of midshipmen greatly surpasses all useful bounds. The principal employment of these young gentlemen is to look after the seamen. And the worst of it is, that after their youth has been wasted in this unpleasant service, it becomes the duty of the country to provide for them, which is done by promoting them, though there is no room for them in

actual employment, to the rank of Lieutenants, Captains, and Admirals. We estimate, that the annual expense to the country, for half-pay to the *superfluous* officers of these four classes, is 324,486*l.* per year; and admitting that *half* of this is caused by Parliamentary influence, we shall have 162,243*l.* as an annual charge, *occasioned by impressment*, for superfluous officers.

With regard, again, to the Marines, we conceive it to be quite plain, that more than one half of them are retained and paid for, chiefly, if not altogether, for the sake of the coercion they exercise over the discontented, because impressed, seamen. If they were intended chiefly to be disembarked on an enemy's coast, or to form a flying camp, or to be employed as skilful marksmen, they would be trained to those purposes, and only sent on board ships in active service. The reverse is however the fact. They are embarked in a still greater proportion on board guard-ships, which never go to sea, than on board sea-going ships; they are rarely practised in the hazardous undertaking of disembarking in haste with cannon and stores, so as to form a flying army; and they are as rarely good marksmen. The marines are of no use when in barracks, as far as defending the country is concerned; and when on board ship, they have no other *exclusive* duty to perform, than to keep impressed men in obedience. Sailors can easily be trained to do all the duty of soldiers; but soldiers sent on board ship for the purpose of keeping the sailors in obedience, cannot mix with them; and therefore never learn the duties of sailors. They are not, therefore, as efficient a body of men for the purposes of national defence as sailors. The latter also are only paid when they are actually embarked, while the marines are paid in barracks as well as on board ship. Taking the return of the state of the marine corps, laid before the House of Commons in 1821, as the basis of our calculations, we can state, that this body of soldiers to keep sailors in obedience, cost, during the war, on an avarage, about 400,000*l.* per annum MORE *than as many sailors would have cost*, as there were private marines actually embarked.

There is, however, another item to state, which, independent of moral considerations, would, of itself, turn the mere money balance decidedly against impressment. The principal cause of the late war with America, was the resistance that country made to our right of search, and the tenacity with which we persevered in it. The Americans would probably have never thought of contending against this right as applied *to goods*; at least the popular feeling in that country, unsupported by which, the Government could not have carried on war, would not have been exasperated against us, had it not been for our practice of searching American vessels for British *seamen*. The *right* which

we persevered in supporting, and which we went to war to support, was the right of continuing uncontrolled the oppression of our own seamen. It would seem, however, from the fact of wages in American ships being at present nearly on a par with wages in British merchant ships, and from the rate of wages in both having been nearly equal, or rather higher in ours at every period of the war, that there was no motive whatever for our seamen to desert their country, but the ill treatment they received. And yet they burst asunder all those ties which bind men to their native land, gave up family, friends, and kindred,—to seek, amidst strangers in a foreign country, security from the hated practice of impressment! But for that, our seamen never would have deserted; and therefore, whatever might have been our right of search in theory, it would never have been a subject of dispute, for it would never have been brought into practice. Impressment was the cause why our seamen deserted; and their desertion brought on war, to preserve a right to impress them wherever they could be found! We are entitled, then, to charge the whole expense of the late war with America to our system of impressment. We do not pretend to calculate the millions which it cost; but we feel that it is quite impossible to estimate the moral injury occasioned by our repeated naval defeats. If every one of our seamen were to receive ten pounds a month, their services would be cheaply purchased, compared with the consequences of that war—carried on to prevent them finding a refuge from the tyranny of our naval laws, and still worse naval customs.

It would also appear from the fact, that labourers of every kind, *except sailors*, receive much higher wages in the United States of America than in England, that impressment, by making sailors thus unnaturally plenty and cheap in that country, has enabled it to form a navy much sooner than it could otherwise have done. But for this circumstance, the wages of seamen would have been, for some years to come, so much lower in this country than in America, that the Americans would have had little more trade than that of their own coasts. Impressment has, therefore, contributed to make that country a great maritime power; and has also enabled her successfully to compete with Great Britain in every branch of foreign trade. It is quite clear at least, that, but for the comparative low rate of seamen's wages in America, and their comparatively high rate in our own country, both of which were caused by impressment, we should have retained more, though it is not easy perhaps to decide how much, and the Americans would have acquired less, of the carrying trade. If we add to the other expenses of impress-

ment the loss thus occasioned to the empire, we shall swell the amount to many millions—and afford another striking illustration of the many collateral and unforeseen evils that always arise from a systematic course of injustice in any department of the government.

We might have some patience under this system, ruinous as it is, could it be considered as the means by which the men have been procured whose exertions have achieved so many brilliant victories. The truth is, however, that they have been obtained in spite of it. The officers of our ships—the marines and landsmen, who are as brave as the rest of their countrymen —and the boys, who grow up to manhood in the naval service, are all volunteers. To ascertain exactly the relative expense of impressment, we ought obviously to know what number of men it has actually procured: But on this important part of our subject, we regret that we have been unable to procure correct information. We solicited this in the proper quarter; but having obtained no satisfaction, we can only refer to some general facts, which show that impressment has never been the efficient means of procuring men for our fleet.

'I should imagine,' says Lieutenant Tomlinson, 'the Ministry would be glad to embrace any plan for manning the fleet with volunteers which carries a reasonable probability of success, as they sufficiently experienced the slow progress of raising seamen by impressing them in 1770 and 1771. For after a hot impress of five calendar months, *i. e.* from the 22d of September 1770 to the 22d of February 1771, besides the advantage of the first surprise; and after sweeping London of great numbers of those idle dissolute people who commonly enter on board men of war the first breaking out of an impress, and after all the gaols had been swept, and the refuse of the kingdom gathered together, they only mustered in their ships about thirty-three thousand men (exclusive of marines) *of all denominations*, in which were a great many officers, and a very considerable number of servants, besides the complements of all the tenders, &c.; so as to make the number of people raised, who really were seamen, very inconsiderable for the time, and under the very advantageous circumstances wherewith that impress was favoured, especially when we consider that the navy was supposed already to muster *sixteen thousand men* (marines included) when the impress broke out. But, to my certain knowledge, a very considerable number of those that were raised were the most miserable objects I ever saw in the navy, or heard tell of.' He adds in a note—'I do not mean to intimate, in the least degree, by what is above said, that there was any neglect concerning the means necessary to be used for raising more good seamen at that time, but only to show how much more tedious the raising of seamen by impressing is than people in general suppose. And the rea-

son of it will be in a great measure accounted for, when we recollect that, in September 1770, *three thousand seamen fled ashore from the colliers*, between Yarmouth roads and the Nore, and that great numbers *always flee into the country* upon those occasions, and *betake themselves to husbandry* and various other employments; and also, that many *flee to Holland*, &c. as shown in the course of this work.'

We know from personal sources of information, that a similar statement might be made as to the number of men obtained by impressment at the commencement of the war in 1793. Notwithstanding all the efforts which were then made, our ships were, for two or three years, not above two-thirds manned as to numbers, and the quality of the men was also very bad. We will venture indeed to assert, that the number of men obtained by impressment in eighteen months, throughout the whole kingdom, did not amount to 30,000. One of the ways in which *seamen* keep out of the clutches of the press-gang, is described in the following passage. Indeed, it is obvious that all their ingenuity will be tasked for this purpose; and after the resolution of the Cabinet to make war on the seamen, is known by its being carried into effect, they are wary enough either to keep concealed or flee their country; and it is only when some solitary victim forgets himself over his grog, or in the arms of his mistress, that he becomes the prey of the press-gang.

'Independently of these modes of escaping the service,' says the author of Cursory Suggestions, 'there are various means of evading the impress, which were successfully had recourse to by our seamen during the latter years of the last war, and which seem scarcely to admit of remedy under the old system.'—'I have before remarked, that all *outward-bound vessels had their crews protected from the impress*, and that consequently the men belonging to them ran little risk of being impressed till their return to England. It was the practice with masters of such vessels, when homeward-bound, to avail themselves of opportunities of landing their impressible men on various parts of the coast in the three Channels, *before* they entered into any port in which there were either press-gangs or ships of war. Boats were always on the look-out for such vessels, and readily undertook to land the impressible men, and to supply the ships from which they took them with old men, who were not impressible, or with men who were *protected* as pilots or fishermen, to assist in working them into port. The sailors who were thus landed remained in the country on the coast, where no press-gangs could reach them, in a state of idleness, until the vessels they belonged to were in readiness to proceed on another voyage, or until opportunities offered for them to join other *outward-bound* vessels, into which they were secretly conveyed at the out-ports, or on the coast, when the weather was favourable for such vessels to proceed on their voyages; and when they were once on board, they were protected from

the impress. Hence arose the difficulties that were experienced in procuring good seamen for the navy during the latter years of the war; and hence also the outcry, that good seamen were no longer to be found. *All the best seamen, the steadiest and best behaved men, avoided the impress without difficulty.*'

It is a well authenticated fact, that, at the close of the war, by far the greater part of our *sea*men had been brought up in the King's ships, or were men-of-war's men. When our trade employed, on an average, 180,000 seamen, the complaint was universal, that there were no merchant-bred seamen in the King's service. The merchants did all they could to prevent their men being impressed, and engaged only foreigners, apprentices, or discharged veterans, that they might have protected men. From the time, in short, when Edward III. embarked his archers on board ship, up to the close of the late war, where officers, marines, and men-of-war's men formed more than two-thirds of the crews of our ships, the majority—the great majority of the men who have conquered for us on the ocean—have voluntarily entered the service of the country.

Whatever number of men, also, may have been obtained by impressment, is probably more than counterbalanced by the numbers who desert. However much desertion from engagements, may be held in detestation, desertion, when a man is impressed, is practically regarded as innocent; and the practice is thus made familiar to the minds of the seamen, by the prevalence of that system. We have no data to estimate the precise number who desert; but we have seen whole boats' crews desert; and have known the seamen, in spite of every precaution, steal the boats at night, and escape in tens and twenties. It is a fact, too, that they have taken away even ships,—as, for example, the Hermione and Danae,—putting to death without mercy the officers and marines, who were the means of carrying into execution this tyrannical system. Nay, what is still more pernicious, and yet a stronger proof of their desperation, they have manned the ships of our enemies, and have ravished from the brow of their ungrateful country the wreaths of victory with which they had adorned it, and which, had they been well treated, it would have been their pride and their glory to have made more fair and flourishing. During the late war with America, it was confidently stated in the public prints, that 16,000 British seamen were employed in the merchant vessels and men-of-war of that country, and we see no reason to doubt that this was under the number. America is now their asylum. From the passage we have already quoted from Lieutenant Tomlinson, it appears, that formerly they

fled to Holland. But independent America presents so many more advantages, and so many more temptations than Holland, that it must attract much greater multitudes. The same author states the number of seamen who deserted in his time at 5000 annually, though he does not vouch for the correctness of the statement. The number of desertions is a point which, we trust, will be cleared up by some one who has access to the naval '*Weekly Returns.*'

'In January 1814,' says Captain Marryatt, 'I was appointed Lieutenant of his Majesty's ship Newcastle. She did not sail from England till the latter end of June in the same year. During this interval, we were obliged to have frequent draughts of men, in consequence of the desertions that took place. In one instance, at Bantry Bay, the men were so determined, that they walked down the side of the ship in presence of the *sentinel at the gangway* (a marine), and of the officer of the watch, took possession of one of the ship's boats, and, *notwithstanding they were fired at with ball cartridges (by the marines), persisted in their attempt*, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the shore. In stating this and subsequent facts, I conceive it my duty to observe, that it was not a dislike to the Captain and officers of the ship, but a *dislike* to the *compulsive service*, that instigated the men to this conduct.'—'This spirit of desertion was so prevalent, especially among regularly bred seamen, many of whom joined the enemy, that when the Newcastle chased the Constitution, in February 1815, off Madeira, she was nearly 100 men short of her complement of 350.'

When the number of men who are driven to desertion by impressment, is added to the number employed in the various departments of the impress service, it must, we think, be evident, that this miserable system, on the whole, and in the long-run, deprives the fleet of more men than are obtained by its means, without taking into consideration the number which the very existence of such an odious practice prevents from entering.

'But it is useless,' we shall be told, 'to dwell on the evils 'of a practice, the injustice of which has long been acknow-'ledged, unless some means can be pointed out to remedy 'them.' If our observations are correct, however, there is no evil to be remedied or avoided—*but Impressment itself:* and we have therefore nothing to do but to declare that it shall not be revived. The sea is almost the native element of the inhabitants of our extensive seacoast, and seagoing is a glad and a healthy occupation. Crowned with victory, our fleet would have been the favourite resort of our immense maritime population, had it not been for the stigma cast on it by impressment. But can men of good character be expected voluntarily to enter a service into which felons are sent as a punishment? Will any man, worth

having, repair to our ships to herd with criminals? Certainly not. As far as relates to the mode of paying the men, to the quality of the provisions, and to all the minute arrangements of the civil service of the navy, our system is generous and almost perfect. Some steps have even been taken to check cruel and indiscriminate punishment; and it is only necessary to decree the abolition of that impressment which is now actually extinct, and to restrain the officers still more, not in the power of exacting obedience, but in that of inflicting punishment—not in their means of preserving order, but in enforcing their caprices by cruelty, to induce all the young, the ardent, the *elite*, in short, of our population, voluntarily to enter the naval service.

Owing to the bad system we have hitherto pursued, some prospective measures might be necessary to procure us men at the beginning of a war. The only want which impressment can be supposed to supply, is that of *sea*men at the breaking out of a war, if war should commence *suddenly*. In a very short time all sorts of men will be obtained by their entering voluntarily. Our care, therefore, should be to provide, during peace, *sea*men for the commencement of a war. We should determine, then, as the basis of prospective measures, that the King's ships should be made, during peace, seminaries for educating seamen for the King's service at the breaking out of war. Common sense dictates, that as many *blue-jackets* should be kept in the pay and service of the fleet during peace as it requires *men*. Instead of augmenting the proportionate number of marines and officers on board ship during peace, we would augment the number of thorough-bred seamen. Every man-of-war, therefore, sent to sea, should carry as many seamen as possible, consistently with the preservation of their health. Not a single soldier should be embarked, to give our ships the appearance of prisons; and every man on board should be as capable of directing a great gun, of handling a musket and pike, and of steering a ship and managing her sails, as he could be made. At the commencement of a war, we would distribute this number of good seamen among double the number of ships in which they were employed during peace; and we would complete the crews of these ships, either by drafts of soldiers, by enticing other seamen and landsmen by the offer of higher wages, and bounties if necessary, or by such other just and honourable means as might tempt men voluntarily to come forward in the service of their country. Supposing that 25,000 thorough-bred seamen were embarked on board our ships during peace, then, at the breaking out of a war, by adding 20,000 soldiers and landmen, we

should be able *immediately* to equip and man double the number of ships we previously possessed, which, in almost any circumstances, would be quite sufficient for any *immediate* purpose. On the present system, precisely at the moment when the services of our seamen are most wanted, their bosoms are filled with indignation at the outrages they suffer; and before they can be brought to face the enemy, their spirits are subdued by the filth, sickness, and discipline of a guard-ship. Instead of this enfeebled, or indignant race of men, we would have none but those whose arms were nerved by the zeal with which they hastened to the combat. To the number of men we could obtain by voluntary enlistment, we would add those who are now employed in impressment; and then the country, strong in the love of its immense maritime population, would be provided against every emergency, and have no reason to dread the united navies of all the despots of Europe. If impressment be revived after some years' cessation, the probability is, that the seamen will either openly resist, or that, forsaking their country in a body, and carrying with them, perhaps, the ships of their employers, they will seek protection in the United States of America; while the bolder spirits among them may repair to the southern part of that Continent, and there, or in the islands belonging to it, renew the piracies of the Buccaneers. We trust, however, that these miseries and hazards will be avoided, and that the Legislature will *now* take measures that Impressment, at present happily extinct, may never be revived.

ART. IX. 1. *Journal of a Visit to some parts of Ethiopia.* By GEORGE WADDINGTON, Esq. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Reverend BERNARD HANBURY of Jesus College, A. M. F. A. S. 4to. London, 1822.

2. *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, under the Command of his Excellence Ismael Pacha.* By an American (Mr ENGLISH) in the service of the Viceroy. 8vo. London, 1822.

THE upper course of the Nile, from Egypt to Abyssinia, passes through a country which might, till very lately, be considered as nearly unknown. Few even of the most enterprising travellers were willing to venture upon tracts so rugged, occupied by tribes so lawless; and though Bruce, and a French physician of the name of Poncet, touched it at some points, in their way from and to Abyssinia, they both preferred making

the greater part of their journey across those immense deserts, which extend east and west of the course of the river. Yet the region is by no means devoid of interest. Its aspect, though rude, is bold and peculiar; and though it be now chiefly inhabited by ferocious savages, whose great employment consists in dragging bands of slaves across these huge deserts, yet it presents us with the most interesting historical monuments,—the memorials of a people, whose name and institutions were celebrated from the remotest antiquity.

In noticing Mr Burkhardt's volume, we were led over a part of this tract, before untrodden by modern travellers. A still better opportunity was soon after afforded for extending our knowledge of these regions, by the expedition lately sent by the Pacha of Egypt, to conquer the Nile to its source, and render himself the master of all who drink its waters. Under cover of this armament, three travellers of different nations, Mr Waddington, Mr English, and M. Caillaud, penetrated far beyond Burckhardt's limits, and into districts at least as interesting as those which he visited. M. Caillaud, we understand, reached farthest of any, having followed the Egyptian expedition to the utmost point of its career, which terminated at Singué, in the 10th degree of latitude: But till he, or rather his Editor, M. Jomard, shall terminate his voluminous work, we cannot have the pleasure of following him and Mr English to Sennaar and the banks of the Abiad. The track to which Mr Waddington limited his survey, comprising the kingdoms of Dongola and Merawe, seems to us, however, to furnish matter for some interesting observations, both on account of the striking features which they present, and because the relation which exists between their past and present state, appears to us essentially misunderstood by geographers of the present day.

It will be proper to begin with a brief account of this expedition of the Pacha, undertaken to conquer an empire a thousand miles in length, and half a mile in breadth! for this last is the average extent to which the Nile, even assisted by artificial channels, can change the character of the uninhabitable surrounding waste. This was not the most tempting of acquisitions: But the Sovereign of Egypt, when seized with the mania of conquest, must not be fastidious in his selection; for his immediate vicinity presents nothing but wastes of moving sand, which no one will dispute with the rash mortals who attempt to occupy them. The force destined to effect this mighty achievement consisted of nearly ten thousand persons, not quite half of whom made any profession of fighting; and of these there were only fifteen hundred Bedouin cavalry, who could be consider-

ed as fine troops; but the whole being well appointed with fire-arms, and bearing with them twelve pieces of cannon, a phenomenon yet unknown on the Upper Nile, they felt a just confidence, that nothing would bar their career into the heart of Africa.

The first enemy they encountered were the remains of the Mamelukes, those once turbulent rulers of Egypt, whom Mahomed Ali, by a deed treacherous and terrible, yet certainly politic, had rooted out of a country, which could never be peaceful while they were in it. Driven from their first refuge at Ibrim, they took possession of a spot in Dongola, which they dignified with the title of New Dongola. Every thing is relative. The Mamelukes, who desolated Egypt, improved Nubia. They built a handsome little town, and, by enlarging the means of irrigation, extended fertility over the surrounding district. When now summoned by Ismael Pacha, son to Mahommed Ali, and commander of the expedition, they proudly replied, 'We will make no terms with our servant!' Being unable however to muster more than 300 men, and looking for no support from the natives, with whom they were in open hostility, they broke up, and retreated to Shendi. But being there overtaken by the arms of the Pacha, they either dispersed, or were allowed, on submission, to live as private persons at Cairo. There has of late, it appears, been a Mameluke insurrection in Upper Egypt, but not of serious importance.

The next foe whom the Pacha met were a native race of formidable and peculiar aspect. The Shageia, or Sheygya, are mostly subjects to the King of Merawe, whose dominions lie along that part of the Nile which bends to the east and north, after passing Dongola. No African race presents a character more strongly marked. Though their colour be jet black, their form suggests nothing of the negro. The regularity of their features, the softness of their skin, the lustre of their eye, remind us of the finest specimens of the Arab race, and might even rank them as Europeans. Mr W., indeed, hesitates not to declare, that their clear glossy black appeared to him the finest colour that could be *selected* for a human being! Be this however as it may, the Shageia seem to have attained to a degree of intellectual culture unknown to any other African nation south of Egypt. Learned men are held in high estimation; and the leading branches of Mahommedan science are taught in schools, to which youth from the neighbouring countries resort. Mr Burckhardt saw some books that had been copied at Merawe, as beautifully written as any by the scribes at Cairo. The bulk of the nation, however, is devo-

ted to very different pursuits; and in their habits appear much to resemble the early feudal militia of Europe. They have servants from Nubia and other neighbouring districts, upon whom they devolve the cultivation of the ground, while they give themselves up almost wholly to war and military exercises. Their force consists mainly in cavalry, and their horsemanship is considered equal to that of the Mamelukes. The forays of this people extend on one side to the Upper Cataract of the Nile, and on the other as far as to Darfour. They rush to battle with a delight, and even gaiety, of which there is scarcely any other example. A virgin, richly attired, and seated on a dromedary, gives the signal, by calling out *Lilli-lilli-loo*, a sound used also at their festivals. The Shageia then 'ride up to the very 'faces of their enemy, with levity and gaiety of heart as to a festi-'val; they then give the *Salam aleikoum!* "Peace be with 'you!"—the peace of death, which is to attend the lance that instantly follows the salutation: mortal thrusts are given and received with the words of love upon their lips. This contempt of death, this mockery of what is most fearful, is peculiar to themselves,—the only people to whom arms are playthings, and war a sport.'

This daring prowess, which would have rendered these warriors truly formidable to troops, which, like those of the Pacha, were at best but a brave militia, went for nothing, through one defect. Though not without the means of procuring fire-arms, they had disdained their use, and proudly adhered to the weapons of their ancestors, a long sword, two lances, and a shield of hippopotamus skin,—implements of defence which were of little avail against the flying death which their new enemies could pour in upon them. Being unacquainted besides with every mode of healing gunshot wounds, a ball lodged even in the remotest extremity of the body, frequently caused bleeding to death.

Notwithstanding this fearless pride, the Shageia seem to have had some sense of the superior power of their enemy: For they tendered homage and a moderate tribute, provided he would pass by, and molest them no farther. When told, however, that the Pacha aimed at nothing less than to convert them absolutely into *fellahs*, (labouring peasantry), their fury was raised to the highest pitch. To the threat, that he would drive them beyond their country, they replied, 'He may drive us to 'the gates of the world, but we will not submit.' They were heard shouting from their encampment, 'You may come a-'gainst us from the north, and from the east, and from the 'west, but we will destroy you.' The Pacha endeavoured to intimidate them by a display of fire-works; but they called out,

'What! is he come to make war against heaven too!' and their courage was elevated by the idea of having heaven for their ally. Several skirmishes were fought with doubtful success. At length, while Ismael's troops were lying secure, and in a somewhat straggling state at Korti, they found themselves suddenly enveloped by three or four thousand of the 'black horsemen of the 'desert.' He could form his line very imperfectly, when the assault began, and with such fury, that the Egyptian vanguard was driven in at every point. As soon, however, as the vollies of musquetry began to play, and the Shageia found that the magic by which their necromancers had undertaken to intercept the balls had no power, they declined the unequal contest. Most of the cavalry saved themselves by flight; but the infantry were almost entirely cut to pieces. So ineffective indeed were their weapons, that the Egyptian army had not one killed, and only seventeen wounded, while six or seven hundred of the Shageia lay stretched on the field. The latter now took refuge in a high mountain position, entrenched within a chain of stone forts, whence, deeming themselves secure, they sent forth loud shouts of defiance. The Pacha, in fact, hesitated not a little in advancing to the assault; but he succeeded in throwing a shell into the encampment. The barbarians at first crowded round it, and were amused by its movements; but when it burst, and wounded several, they cried out, that the spirits of hell were come against them, and were too mighty for them—abandoned their position, and put themselves in full flight. The Pacha overtook them at Shendi, where, by prudent measures, he in a great measure overcame their enmity. The fellahs and women were sent back to cultivate their fields; and a considerable body of the warriors were prevailed upon to accompany him in the expedition against Sennaar.

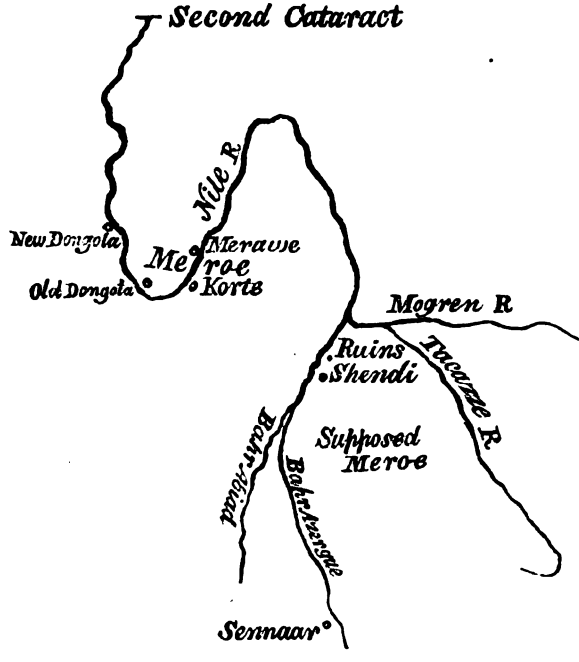
Mahommed Ali appears to have conducted this war on a conciliatory plan, to which, however, some of his proceedings are in strange contrast. Above all, if he be, as reported, ambitious to rank among civilized potentates, he must renounce the horrid practice of buying human ears at fifty piastres a piece. The consequence of this savage traffic was seen by the travellers, who frequently discovered the peaceful fellah lying beside his plough or his watering machine, a victim to the ruthless avarice of the troops. It was asserted that women and children had been thus sacrificed; but Mr W. had reason to doubt the truth of this report, from not seeing any of their bodies lying unburied; for the soldiers held the frightful maxim, that it was a breach of their allegiance to the Sultan to grant burial to his enemies. Hence, in following the traces of the

army, its victims were found, at every hundred steps, lying exposed to the air in a dreadful state. Yet, in the midst of these atrocities, we find traits of courtesy which might have done honour to the brightest age of European chivalry. Thus, the young prince of Merawe, being wounded in the battle of Korti, came at once with his train to the Egyptian camp, seemingly in the full confidence of being generously treated, and after being received with honour, and furnished with the means of cure, was allowed to rejoin his countrymen. Another case, where the Pacha, like a second Scipio, returned a beautiful black damsel uninjured to her father, appears, from the surprise which it excited, to have been rather an individual act, than indicative of the prevailing usages of war.

The success of the Pacha has in the first instance been complete. His troops have overrun and extorted an acknowledgment of supremacy from all the States which border on the Nile, and even from the more remote kingdom of Darfour. That he should be able, however, with the force which we have stated, to maintain a line of operation two thousand miles in length, with communications so difficult, and exposed to attack from so many points, appears quite out of the question. Already, if we are not misinformed, a great part of the line is in insurrection, and Ismael himself has been assassinated at Shendi. In fact, the Egyptian conquerors, from Sesostris downwards, have never done more than make successful inroads or forays. How, indeed, can protracted war be maintained by an army separated from its resources by a thousand miles of desert? The real triumph of Mahommed Ali would be over his encircling wastes, by carrying the waters of the Nile to subdue their sterility, and by hunting down and fixing the roving tribes which desolate his borders. He has not, indeed, neglected this source of prosperity; and the opening of the canal of Alexandria has been an illustrious work. But he might have done much more had his attention not been divided by these vain attempts at distant conquest. There is one expedition too which will never be forgiven to him by mankind and posterity—that in which he has been bribed to engage against the rising hopes of Grecian liberty.

The country now described by Mr Waddington and Mr English, is enclosed by a great bend of the Nile, which, though pretty distinctly pointed out by Eratosthenes, had been lost sight of by modern geographers. About 150 miles below the junction with the Tacazze, the river changes its usual northerly course to one almost due south; after pursuing which, for about the same distance, it again bends and resumes the northerly direction, which it ever after retains. As the ordinary maps are here

quite erroneous, we annex, from Mr Waddington's materials, a rough sketch, which will be found necessary for understanding the subsequent observations.



Thus, the Nile forms here three almost parallel channels; on the most easterly of which are situated Shendi and Berber, already traversed and described by Bruce and Burckhardt. The middle one, on which the kingdom of Merawe, and the western one, on which that of Dongola are situated, are now, for the first time, subjected to any careful survey. These territories present the same general aspect which characterizes the whole region which borders the Nile above Egypt. The habitable part consists merely of a narrow belt, which the Nile, sunk in deep rocks, does not, as in Egypt, spontaneously overflow, but over which it is laboriously forced by the efforts of men and machinery. The breadth of the space thus artificially irrigated seldom exceeds, and does not average, a mile; after which it passes immediately into that awful expanse of desert, which occupies the whole continent from the Red Sea to the Atlantic. The broken rocks which overhang the river, the brilliant verdure of the intermediate bank, and the vast and dreary back-ground, produce a variety of pic-

turesque and peculiar aspects. These two reaches of the Nile are distinguished above the rest of its course, by a greater breadth of fertility, more skilful culture, and consequently a greater population. Dongola has the island of Argo, 35 miles long, and every where productive; while the territory of Merawe is described as peculiarly luxuriant, and irrigated with a skill and diligence not surpassed in any part of Egypt.

After all, the most interesting object in this tract is offered, by a range of most magnificent monuments at Merawe, the capital of the kingdom of the same name. There are the remains of seven temples, of which the largest is 450 feet long, (nearly equal to St Paul's) by 159 broad. The two largest apartments are 147 feet by 111, and 123 by 102. This temple is generally in a very ruined state; and some of the materials are in so confused and shattered a position, as to indicate, that they had been broken down and unskilfully replaced. The other temples are of much smaller dimensions, but several of them better preserved; and in two, most of the chambers are excavated out of the solid rock. This rock belongs to a lofty precipitous eminence, called Djebel el Berkel, or the Holy Mountain, along the foot of which all these monuments are erected. Here are also seventeen pyramids; while, seven miles higher up the river, at a place called El Bellal, there is a more numerous and lofty range; but none of them rival the gigantic dimensions of those of Memphis. A general character of ruin pervades all these monuments, of which some indeed are reduced to mere masses of rubbish; a state which seems at least partly owing to the friable sandstone of which they are composed. The sculptures and ornaments which can still be traced, bear marks of very different periods of art,—some extremely rude, others rivalling what is most perfect in the temples of Egypt. The prevailing representations, as their antiquity would lead us to expect, are Jupiter-Ammon and Bacchus. A young divinity, supposed to be Horus, was also repeatedly observed. Osiris, Isis, and the other Egyptian characters, occurred, but less frequently.

The observation of these monuments naturally leads us to consider this region under its most interesting aspect—as enshrining the relics of the greater and more important kingdoms which, in a former age, occupied the same site.

No name in the ancient world was more venerable than that of Ethiopia. As early as Homer, its people are described as the most ancient of nations, and their rites as sacred beyond all others: And independent of the fabled grandeur thus assigned by superstition and poetry, history, in a distinct, though not detailed manner, represents the Ethiopians as a powerful people,

considerably improved in the arts of life. A distinction must however, be made in the application of the wide-spread name of Ethiopia. In one sense it implied generally the country of the Blacks, and thus included the whole of Central and Tropical Africa. But the region to which this name was applied in a peculiar sense, the civilized and learned Ethiopia, that to which Egypt, whether truly or not, looked up as the fountain of her arts and religion, was confined to the banks of the Upper Nile, and most peculiarly to the island-kingdom of Meroe. The site assigned to this kingdom and to its celebrated capital of the same name, was such, that it must have been passed over by some of our recent travellers:—And their descriptions, if accurate, should have afforded to Europe the means of ascertaining where it stood, and what monuments it has left behind. A judgment, in fact, has been very decidedly formed; but as it appears to us to be extremely questionable, if not absolutely erroneous, we must be indulged in a short discussion of the question.

All the ancient authorities treat of Meroe as an island, formed by the junction of the Nile with the Astapus, believed to be the Azergue, or river of Abyssinia, and with the Astaboras, which undoubtedly is the Tacazze, called still Atbara. The city of Meroe, then, to be within the island thus formed, must, it is supposed, be above this last junction, where indeed it is said by Eratosthenes actually to be. Accordingly, near Shendi, about forty miles above that junction, there have been discovered a range of temples and pyramids, of very considerable extent and magnificence. Bruce, on his passage, partly observed these monuments, and threw out a conjecture that they marked the site of the city of Meroe, and that the kingdom was composed of the extensive region between the Azergue and the Tacazze. This view of the subject, as to the kingdom at least, has been generally adopted in the English maps. M. Caillaud and Mr English have recently examined these ruins, as well as those at Merawe; and though Caillaud shows some disposition to prefer the site of Merawe, this idea is crushed in the bud by his Editor, Jomard, who entirely adopts the opinion first suggested by Bruce. Mr Waddington would gladly, for his own credit, have caught at the idea of Caillaud; but, on looking into the ancient authorities, he conceived it untenable, and acceded to Shendi. Every other hypothesis, indeed, seems now to be given up; and it appears, from a cotemporary journal, that Mr Bankes, the diligent explorer of the East, has been employing his draughtsman, Mr Linant, to delineate the ruins of Shendi, as those of Meroe.

Notwithstanding so great a concurrence of authorities, we cannot but think it pretty clear, that the city of Meroë was not at Shendi, but at Merawe, and that the kingdoms of the same name coincide; though Meroë, in its glory, probably extended to Dongola on one side, and Shendi on the other.

The first coincidence is that of name, which is complete; for both Burckhardt and Waddington observe, that the modern appellation, though written Merawe, has the precise sound of Meroë. Resemblance of name, indeed, is often accidental, but strict identity not so often; and, amid the general change, it is still common, especially in those unfrequented tracts of Africa, that great capitals should retain their name, (Axum, Augila, Assouan). At all events, resemblance, and still more identity, becomes almost decisive, when there is a coincidence also of circumstance and situation. Now, here we have, bearing the name of Meroe, a modern capital, having in its vicinity monuments that exactly correspond in character, magnitude and antiquity, to those which ought to mark the site of that celebrated metropolis of Ethiopia. There are no other ruins in this country which can be compared to these; for according to the measurements of Caillaud, those of Shendi are decidedly inferior. The length of the greatest temple there is not quite 280 feet; of that at Merawe it is 450. The height of the highest pyramid at Shendi is 25 metres (81 feet); of that at Merawe 103 feet. The base of the former is 67, of the latter 152 feet. Now, all the ancient accounts unite in representing Meroe as without a rival among the cities of Ethiopia; but if Shendi be Meroe, there must have been a much more splendid capital nearer to Egypt, and yet unknown to Egypt. We have then a combination of circumstances in favour of the position of Merawe, which only the most decided proof would be sufficient to negative.

Such proof is, with some apparent reason, supposed to exist in those ancient statements which appear absolutely to require, that Meroe must be above the junction of the Nile and the Tacazze. But a closer examination will probably alter our views as to the decisive nature of these statements. It has never been observed, that by far the highest ancient authority is in direct contradiction to them. To this preeminence Ptolemy seems fully entitled, from the advanced era at which he lived, the great extension of commerce and communication in his time, and, in fact, the more accurate and detailed manner in which he lays down his positions. His residence too at Alexandria, then the centre of the commerce of Africa and the East, gives peculiar weight to his authority respecting Egypt and the surround-

ing countries. We shall extract, then, as it is of no great length, his chapter respecting Meroe. (Book IV. ch. 8.)

'Meroe is rendered an island by the river Nile coming from the west, and by the river Astapus coming from the east.

'In it are the following towns—

	Longitude.	Latitude.
Meroe, - - - -	61 30	16 26
Sacolche, - - -	61 40	15 15
Eser, - - - -	61 40	13 30
Village of the Dari, - -	62	12 30
Then the junction of the Nile and Astapus,	61	12
Then the junction of the Astaboras and Astapus,	62 30	11 30'

We need only glance at this table, to perceive that Ptolemy places Meroe far (quite as far as Merawe actually is) below the junction with the Nile, of the Astapus, the Astaboras, or any great river whatever. He makes the difference of latitude indeed much too great; but into this error he appears to have been betrayed, by extending his itineraries nearly in a direct line up the river, without allowing for the very circuitous course which it here takes. Beyond Meroe, the knowledge of Ptolemy is first bedimmed; but from Egypt all the way to that point, he gives a close and continued chain of positions; and there is every reason to think, that the intercourse between the countries would be pretty frequent. It seems, then, scarcely possible, that Ptolemy should have been mistaken as to this point; or that so grand a feature should have escaped his notice, as that of the Nile, which, for more than a thousand miles, had not received even a rivulet, receiving, below Meroe, so mighty a tributary as the Tacazze.

The statements of Herodotus, though less detailed, appear to point pretty exactly to the same spot. According to him, travellers ascending the Nile above Elephantine, journeyed first forty days by land to avoid the cataracts; then embarked, and were conveyed in twelve days to Meroe. The place of embarkation would evidently be about the frontier of Dongola, where the long chain of cataracts terminates. Twelve days thence to Merawe, would be keeping up very exactly the same rate of travelling; whereas to Shendi it would be out of all sort of proportion. Again, Meroe is stated to be midway between Egypt and the Land of the Exiles, described by other writers as an island formed by the Nile, and which we think is evidently Sennaar, to which the paralled streams of the Azergue and Abiad give much of an insular aspect. Now, Merawe is very exactly midway up the Nile, between Egypt and Sennaar; but Shendi would break up altogether the equality between the two divisions.

Strabo, from Eratosthenes, gives a statement, which appears to point pretty directly to Shendi, and is indeed the only one

that can cause a doubt. But elsewhere he describes Meroe as '*bounded upwards on the south* by the junction of the rivers 'Astapus, Astaboras, and Astasobas.' This agrees very closely with our idea on the subject, and is quite contrary to that which would represent the Astaboras (Atbara) as the *northern* boundary of Meroe. His statement also, that Meroe is the last kingdom of the Ethiopians (Blacks), after which the Nubae commenced, and occupied the Nile downwards to Egypt, is still true only in regard to Merawe.

But how, then, it will be asked, was the idea so prevalent among ancient geographers, that Meroe was formed by the junction of the great rivers? and how does Ptolemy himself, in *the title* of his chapter, imply that statement, though its contents are in direct contradiction to it? The following will, we think, afford a sufficient account of the manner in which the error originated.

All who are conversant with the early history of geography, must be aware of the many errors with which it abounded. Among these none are more frequent than such as respect the continuous course of great rivers, and the distinction between islands and large peninsulas. The latter terms, indeed, are often used as synonymous,* though, perhaps, only through the influence of this original error. Now, the reader need only look at the above sketch of the country here considered as Meroe, intersected by three parallel branches of the Nile, to perceive at once how excessively natural it was, that the first imperfect accounts should represent it as an island enclosed by river branches. The original opinion, indeed, which is still to be found in Mela, (I. ix. 10.), and Pliny, (V. 9.), was, that the Astapus and Astaboras were branches of the Nile itself, first separating and forming Meroe into a species of Delta, and then reuniting;† an idea which seems to have a peculiar reference to the parallel streams of the modern Meroe. Then, when it was found that the Nile hereabouts received some large tributaries, it was very natural to consider those tributaries as the river branches employed in the formation of Meroe. The original idea thus formed of Meroe as an island enclosed by them, appears to have become rooted in the minds of geographers, even after they had obtained data by which it was directly negatived. How inconsistent the statement which, under this influence, Ptolemy placed at the head of his chapter, was with the details given by him in it, will be manifest, by observing the

* Peloponnesus, Chersonesus.

† According to Pliny's idea, it was the Niger above the separation, and the Nile below the junction.

vain attempt which the person who afterwards constructed the maps attached to his work, has made to reconcile them, and the strange delineations with which he has thus perplexed all succeeding inquirers.

Such are the considerations which, in our apprehension, establish the identity of the ancient with the modern Meroe. If the discussion has been tedious, it should be remembered that it involves, not merely a curious problem in geography, but the site of monuments calculated to throw light on the arts and history of one of the most celebrated nations of antiquity. One question of considerable interest, as it respects the progress of science and civilization, still requires our consideration. The arts and monuments of Egypt and of Ethiopia, exhibit that strict similarity which marks a common origin. But was Ethiopia or Egypt the original fountain? The former opinion is adopted by Mr Waddington, on the authority of Diodorus, and is supported with some ingenuity, and with pretty strong ancient authorities. As our own opinion, however, leans strongly the other way, we shall close this article with a few observations on the subject.

In conceiving that the arts and improvements of civilized life proceeded from Egypt to Ethiopia, rather than in the contrary direction, we by no means rest mainly even on the high and early testimony of Herodotus. A much stronger ground of conviction is supplied from the general laws by which that progress is invariably regulated. What are the circumstances amidst which social improvement is first seen to spring up? They are,—an extent of fertile and easily cultivated territory, wide interior communications, and an easy intercourse with foreign nations. All these are united in Lower Egypt; all are wanting in Ethiopia,—that narrow cultivated ridge, separated by such immense deserts from the rest of the universe. It is argued, indeed, that as Ethiopia, secure within her natural barriers, was never conquered unless by a temporary inroad of Sesostris, while her sovereigns repeatedly subdued and reigned over Egypt—it must have been Ethiopia which imposed her laws and arts upon Egypt. But this circumstance will not weigh much with those who have carefully marked the progress of human things. So strong is the attraction for man, of the arts which refine and exalt his nature, that if they are once brought into contact with him, whether by the weak or the strong, the victor or the vanquished, their cultivation is commenced with equal ardour. Upon Mr Waddington's principle, we should conclude that Greece must have conquered Rome, whose literature and arts were wholly Grecian. It is

well known how China and Indostan have civilized their conquerors. We are firmly convinced that the improvement of Egypt originated in the Delta, and that it was the successive conquests of the rude upper tribes, which gradually transferred the seat of empire and art to the southward, and even into the bosom of the desert.

Some arguments are derived from the aspect and structure of the Ethiopian temples. The circumstance of their being in a great degree excavated out of the rock, is supposed to mark an approach to that early Troglodytic existence, of which extensive traces are still found in this part of Africa. But surely the mighty structures of Ibsambul and Merawe were erected by men in a very different stage of society from that of the rude dwellers in caves. This peculiarity seems founded on the natural reason, that the Nile in its course through Nubia, is bordered by bold and precipitous rocks, which already, in many instances, assume the aspect of structures reared by human hands. In Egypt, the mountains are of a form less adapted to this object; and they are situated at some distance from the river, the sole centre of action and resort. That country, however, also contains magnificent sepulchral monuments cut out of the rock—sufficient to suggest and teach to Ethiopia the art of ornamental excavation. The ruder character of Ethiopian monuments has been supposed to indicate an earlier date; but besides that this character is not general, it seems quite natural in copies or imitations made by a ruder people. Finally, the more ruined state of the monuments at Meroe seems easily accounted for by other causes than the ravages of time. The materials are admitted to be more defective,—the masonry would probably be less skilful, and the traces of external violence seem more decidedly marked.

ART. X. 1. *Eighteenth Report of the Directors of the African Institution; read at the Annual General Meeting held on the 11th day of May* 1824. *With an Appendix and a Supplement.* 8vo. pp. 284. London, Hatchard. 1824.

2. *Report of the Committee of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions; read at the General Meeting of the Society, held on the 25th day of June* 1824. *Together with an Account of the Proceedings which took place at that Meeting.* 8vo. pp. 112. London, Hatchard. 1824.

3. *Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on Tues-*

day the 1st, *and Friday the* 11th, *of June* 1824, *on a Motion of Henry Brougham, Esq. respecting the Trial and Condemnation to Death, by a Court Martial, of the Rev. John Smith, late Missionary in the Colony of Demerara. With a Preface, containing some new Facts illustrative of the Subject. Published with the Sanction of the London Missionary Society.* 8vo. pp. 310. London, Hatchard. 1824.

4. *East India Sugar; or, An Inquiry respecting the Means of improving the Quality, and reducing the Cost of Sugar raised by Free Labour in the East Indies.* London, Taylor. 1824.

In resuming the discussion of those most important questions connected with the State of the Slaves in the British colonies, we must begin by setting before the reader some particulars in the recent history of this subject, and of the abolition of the slave trade, with which it is intimately connected. These are of sufficient interest to detain us for the present, and to occupy this article; but the consideration of them is fruitful in reflections touching nearly the whole field of West Indian controversy.

The first thing which calls for animadversion, is the continued protection afforded to the slave traffic, either directly or covertly, by all those legitimate governments which we had so great a share in restoring. The King of the Netherlands went the furthest in providing laws for putting it down, and acceding to arrangements for carrying them into execution. But his laws and his arrangements are, like those of our own colonial legislatures, intended to be quoted rather than enforced, to be dwelt upon in defending the makers of them against their adversaries, and not by any means to be acted upon with vigour and good faith.

'The continuance of this horrible trade' (says the British Commissioner at Surinam), 'or its abolition, within the dominions of the Netherlands Government, to which his Netherlands Majesty is solemnly pledged by treaty, depends entirely upon the tenor of the orders which they may send out to their colonial possessions; but the treaty has now been concluded nearly five years, and (excepting in my present colleague, M. Lammens, who is but just appointed, and is scrupulous of interfering with the duties of the executive government here) I cannot perceive, in any other of the Surinam officers of his Netherlands Majesty, either civil or military, the slightest appearance of any peremptory orders in the *bona fide* spirit of the treaty.'

The following passages, extracted from two despatches of the same zealous and active functionary, merit profound attention.

'The Slave Trade, it is obvious, is not a practice to be overcome by gentle admonitions, or merely negative prohibitions, or any thing short of the energetic measures pursued by the British Government, conducted as it is by miscreants whose inhuman character no language can adequately designate, and the profits of which are nearly in proportion to the risk; but so far from the authorities of this colony having hitherto made any active use of the means which are in their hands for the suppression of this murderous traffic, I am reluctantly compelled to acquaint your Lordship, that the Comet, Dutch frigate, and Swallow brig of war, both commissioned under the treaty, and also a brig of war called the Thetis, maintained at the expense of, and belonging to, the Colony, have been, one or other of them, laying off the town more than once when slave-vessels have been hovering off the mouths of the rivers (and some of which, I have reason to fear, have effected a disembarkation of their cargo), without ever quitting their moorings, instead of cruising occasionally up and down the coast to interrupt or observe them.

'I beg to take this opportunity of informing you, that Charles Beverley, the slave-trader, who has been the principal subject of my late despatches, and who lately made his escape from confinement, has again been taken and recommitted to the criminal gaol; but, from what I can learn, it appears that all idea of proceeding against him under the Dutch Abolition-Laws is now given up. I have only further to add, that I have again, since his recaption, renewed my proposal to the Governor, of sending him with the witnesses for trial to an English colony, as a subject of his Britannic Majesty, for a breach of the English Abolition Laws, which his Excellency continues to decline.'—*Eighteenth Report*, pp. 51, 52.

Portugal, however, far outstrips the Low-Countries in this race of iniquity. She had abolished the trade, nominally at least, to the north of the line,—and refused to make the prohibition general, upon the ground that the supply of slaves was necessary to her settlements in Brazil. When Brazil declared its independence, and a complete separation was effected, Portugal was urged to extend her former law, the reason of the limitation having wholly ceased: But a peremptory refusal was instantly given, accompanied with a threat, that all treaties with England would be considered as at an end, should she proceed to act upon any such views; and a new reason for maintaining the slave trade was now assigned. The supply of the Brazils was said no longer to be a matter of any moment, because a sufficient stock of slaves existed there; but the settlements in Africa and Asia were in want of them; and on this

account the crime of man-stealing must still be committed! It appears, that, in one year, 1822, there were shipped from Africa, for Rio Janeiro, 31,240 Negroes, of whom 3484 died on the passage. Into Bahia, above 8000 were imported the same year; and if a like proportion perished after leaving Africa, the whole amount of the Portuguese trade, for that one year, must have been 40,200, and of deaths on the voyage, 4466. In 1823, we have the best means of knowing, that the total number shipped for Rio alone amounted to 21,472, of which nearly 1800 died on the passage; and we have reason to think, that there was at least an equal importation, and an equal mortality, into the other Brazilian ports. We have very recently been favoured with an exact account of the importations into Rio for the first six months of the present year, from January to May inclusive; and from this we are concerned to say, that this detestable traffic seems again on the increase,—the total number shipped in this *half* year, for this one port, amounting to 16,563, and the mortality to no less than 2247. Nor is this infernal traffic by any means confined to the districts south of the line; the law affecting to prohibit it on the north being most scandalously evaded. Thirteen vessels were condemned in the same year at Sierra Leone, where they were brought in by English cruisers. These had 1700 slaves on board, all shipped in the forbidden district. The scene of official fraud which the proceedings disclosed in some of these cases, deserves to be exhibited to the contempt of mankind.

'Some of the cases involved perjuries without end, and atrocities of the most outrageous and revolting kind, and implicated in the guilt attending them Portuguese functionaries on the coast of Africa of the very highest class; and all of the cases afforded proofs of the most reprehensible disregard, on the part of the Brazilian authorities, of the stipulations of the treaties with this country. The licenses granted to these ships permitted them, while their destination was declared to be to Africa south of the Line, to visit St Thomas's, Cameroons, Calabar, &c. which no motive could be assigned for their visiting, but that of carrying on an illicit slave-trade. Nay, the authorities in Brazil appear to have concurred with the contrabandists, in giving fictitious names to places north of the Line, borrowed from places south of the Line, for the purpose of deceiving the British cruisers and the Mixed Commission Courts. The name of Molembo, a place south of the Line, to which the Portuguese Slave-Trade is still permitted, has been transferred, for this profligate purpose, to a place near Onim, in the Bight of Benin.'—*Ibid.* pp. 8, 9.

The Judge of the Mixed Commission Court, in speaking of a vessel captured with 172 on board, says, that '*the Governor* 'of Bissao was himself an interested participator in the illegal 'embarkation of slaves, a certain number of the slaves being

'his property; some of them being entered in the memoranda 'as shipped and received from his official residence,—as if all 'decency was cast off from the government of the settlement!'

'The examinations in this case develop the most complicated tissue of fraudulent expedients for defeating the ends of justice;—among them, fabricated log-books, exhibiting a voyage from the Brazils to Cabenda, by way of the Cape de Verds, when the real destination was Bissao; and schedules pointing out *the bribes* by which the connivance of the Judge, Governor, &c. was to be secured at the port of discharge in the Brazils. This vessel had already made several very successful and gainful voyages under the shelter of these ingenious expedients. The owner, in one of his letters, declared his intention of putting an end, by this voyage, to his course of slave-trading, as, "provided," he says, "that it were the pleasure of the Almighty that every thing should be placed in safety, they would have reaped a good harvest." In consequence, it may be presumed, of his capture on this occasion, which prevented his gathering the fruits he had anticipated, he appears, by the Sierra Leone Gazette, to have returned to the coast in the succeeding year, and to have successfully effected another voyage.'—*Ibid.* pp. 9, 10.

Justly as we may be disappointed and indignant at these facts, it must yet be admitted, that the Governments, both of the Netherlands and Portugal, stand advantageously distinguished from the others whose conduct we are now to survey in one important particular. They have agreed to give England a neutral right of search for detecting and punishing offences against their regulations respecting the traffic. Thus, dreadful as the extent of the Portuguese slave trade is, and must continue to be, south of the line, as long as it is permitted and even encouraged by the laws of that 'legitimate' sovereign, 'his Most 'Faithful Majesty,' the Portuguese, who attempt to carry it on north of the line, may be seized by our cruisers:—So that the shameful connivance of their own government, and the still more scandalous participations of its functionaries in the gains made by breaking their own laws, will not always enable them to escape detection. But *the* FRENCH rulers have constantly refused all arrangements of this kind; resolved, as it should seem, plainly to avow, by their whole conduct, and almost in distinct terms, that whatever prohibitions they may pretend to enact, they in reality have not the least intention of preventing a line of enterprise so dear to them as the slave trade. From hence it follows, that the Spaniards also carry on the traffic with absolute impunity, in flagrant violation of the laws which their government has affected to pass against it. Those laws make it illegal, in Spanish vessels, and by Spanish navigators; but a Spanish subject may legally carry it on in a French vessel. And the French flag, not being subject to the

right of neutral search, becomes an effectual cover for the Spanish trade. Yet, slight as the prohibition of the Spanish law is, it has been evaded; the Spanish flag is used so frequently, that six vessels sailing under it were condemned at Sierra Leone in 1822. So greedily tenacious, indeed, are the slave traders of every part of their vile occupation, that they will not, till forced, abandon even this petty branch of it, and betake themselves to the shelter of a foreign flag. Thus it happens, that the trade is carried on in the only colony which Spain retains, the island of Cuba, almost, if not quite as extensively and as openly, as it could have been, had no pretence been made of abolishing it. The Commissioners thus write to Lord Londonderry respecting it; and they certainly refer to the only circumstance which can form any justification of the mother-country.

'It is scarcely necessary to point out to your Lordship how entirely unproductive of any advantage have been the representations which, upon various occasions, we have made to the chief authority of the island. We have been always well received,—and redress, as far as it was practicable, promised; but the illicit Slave-Trade increases, and is daily carried on more systematically. The first alarm at the danger of the Negroes being declared free is gradually passing away; and the failure of the attempt of the Count Torreno to render more effectual the law respecting the abolition, together with the little interest manifested by the Government upon the subject, has generally given rise to the opinion, that the Spanish Nation and Government are very indifferent about it, or do not dare, in the present state of their American possessions, to offend the only colony which has remained tranquil and faithful, by enforcing the execution of a measure which is in the highest degree unpopular. We have no hesitation in giving it as our opinion, that, but for the large stock of Negroes imported during the three years previous to the abolition, and the present very low price of sugar, the Slave Trade would, at this moment, be as brisk and extensive as during any period whatever.

'Such a state of things existing before our eyes, is most painful and mortifying to us; but your Lordship is aware that every thing, consistent with our powers and instructions, has been done on our part to put a stop to it.'—*Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

But the conduct of the French Government casts that of all the others into the shade. Compelled by the indignant voice of the publick to profess an intention of abolishing the trade, and having bound itself by treaty to take this step, a law was passed, manifestly with the design of being made, from its very birth, a dead letter. Ever since it was enacted, the traffick has flourished as before. A British cruiser, in ten days, fell in with nine French slave ships. Their names were all transmitted officially to the Government at Paris by the British ambassador,

In one year, 190 cargoes of slaves were taken in by vessels in the river Borney, and 162 in Calabar; and by far the greater part were French. The particulars were, in many of these instances, furnished to the government in the same way. All this was passing under the eye of French cruisers; and the commodore on the African station expressly declared, that he had no instructions from his government to seize any French vessels, however manifestly they might be destined for the slave trade, unless they had slaves actually on board. In the course of three months, thirty slave ships were openly fitted out in the port of Nantz alone; with the full knowledge and participation of multitudes in that populous city. From the lists printed in the House of Commons papers 1823, of vessels fitted out in that port, the average tonnage must have been 170, and the average number of Negroes carried in each 255, supposing them all to have carried, in the proportion of three slaves to two tons, which appears, from the instances given, to have been the allowance. Thus, in three months, Nantz fitted out piratical adventurers enough to carry between seven and eight thousand Africans into West Indian slavery; and as we find that one vessel, laden with 327, lost 80 on the voyage, it is very likely that above 1800 perished in the course of these expeditions. In five months, above 80 slave cargoes were taken by French vessels from the river Borney. If these were of the same average amount, and formed only the half of all the slave trade to which the French flag afforded protection, it should seem, that above 40,000 wretched victims of criminal avarice were carried away by the connivance of the Most Christian King's government, in spite of his laws and treaties, to abolish the trade altogether; and of these 40,000, above 9000 may have perished miserably on the voyage; though not more miserably than the survivors who were saved, to live in bondage.

'These distressing facts,' to use the strong but appropriate language of Sir Charles Stuart, 'if they prove any thing, prove, 'that wherever the French flag appears, protection and impu-'nity are granted to the slave trader; and that the abuse of the 'laws enacted in France against this traffic, notwithstanding 'the allegations of the party disposed to encourage the mis-'chief, afford practical examples of the consequences which 'must result from this evil, by occasioning encroachments on 'the territories of friendly powers in Africa, and exciting 'bloody wars among the natives. 'The magnitude of the 'evil' (he adds) 'must compel the French Government now 'to determine, whether they will refuse to execute their en-'gagements, and sit down under the imputation of being the 'power to whom all those interested in such a cause turn their

'eyes as the avowed protectors of this commerce; or vindicate 'their character for good faith and humanity in the eyes of the 'rest of the world, by assimilating their legislation to that of 'those countries which have the greatest interest in maritime 'and colonial affairs.'

The answer of the French Government to all these representations has been, we will not say most unsatisfactory only; it has been a mere evasive, indirect, and systematick design to avoid any thing like an efficacious abolition of the traffick. 'Up to 'the present time,' says M. de Villele, 'the King's Govern-'ment had imagined that it had sufficiently proved the firm re-'solution it had always entertained, of repressing that odious 'traffic. The severity which it has displayed, whenever it has 'been possible to bring it to conviction, would appear to re-'move all doubt on this subject.—I do not deny that certain 'avaricious speculators may have risked such expeditions in de-'fiance of the laws; but these are only infractions, such as no 'Government can altogether prevent; and perhaps it might 'not be impossible for me to discover, even in England itself, 'more or less recent instances of this nature. The King's Go-'vernment has been neither less active nor less severe than the 'English Government, in detecting and punishing them. The 'measures which it has taken in this respect, are such as it has 'judged necessary, to ensure, in the most effectual manner, the 'execution of its own arrangements, with regard to an object 'the importance of which it duly appreciates.'

It requires no little proficiency in what Sir F. Burdett once very happily called 'the confirmed habit of official assertion,' to hazard such statements as these, in the face of facts as notorious as the light of day, from which, in France at least, the guilty deeds of the slave trader have never sought to screen themselves; in the face, too, of facts equally notorious in England. Who doubts the activity of *individuals* in this country, were the constituted authorities to slumber? Yet what instances of slave trading have been brought to light? One outlawry and two convictions, we believe, are all that have been had in England since the traffick was made a felony; and no one has ever pretended that the act of 1811 is evaded. In fact it was completely effectual, as far as regarded the direct traffick carried on by British subjects; and nearly so, in respect of all importations into our colonies. But in Nantz the traffick is openly carried on, and the African coast swarms with French slave traders, the Government remaining nearly passive, and appealing to a list of about 70 vessels seized, during seven years, by which it appears that 49 *were acquitted*, and among them some of the very worst and most notorious cases, as the *Rodeur*, the details of

which are fresh in the recollection of our readers, (Ed. Rev. Nov. 1821): and of the 30 condemned, nearly half were petty traders in the Isle of Bourbon, brought to trial by the zeal of *one* very excellent officer, who happened to be there; four were seizures of English cruisers, and several were the same ship repeatedly entered. But that measure, which the French Government might have taken, and has always refused to take, which would effectually have stopt the traffick, is the attaching to it *an infamous punishment*; treating it, not as a matter of penalty or forfeiture, which may be insured against like any other pecuniary risk, but as A CRIME, to be punished severely when detected, like other grave and infamous offences. The bare denunciation of such a law, would have stamped it so as to deter all but the most abandoned of men from continuing to drive the trade; and a single example under the law, would have effectually deterred even the most abandoned from pursuing a course, the risks of which could not be compensated by any gains.

The correspondence between the British Ambassador and M. de Chateaubriand, abounds somewhat more in professions on the part of the French, than that with M. de Villele. There is no lack of 'assurances,' and 'repeated assurances,' and 'renewed assurances,' of the 'King's Government feeling no less interest than that felt by the British Government to repress the trade.' But all the steps to be taken for the purpose are confined to the law as it stands, without a word about declaring it criminal; indeed an expression used by M. Chateaubriand is somewhat ominous upon this matter; he calls the slave traffick 'this species of speculation!'—and as such they are resolved to treat it in their legislation, without, however, taking the most ordinary precautions to put in execution their law, inefficient as it is. Thus a French slave-ship arrives at Pernambuco, having carried over 165 slaves beside her crew, though her burthen was only 75 tons. The master is received by the French Vice-Consul, M. L'ainé, not as a violator of the law, but a regular trader, and appears in the official register of that functionary as 'coming from Martinique with one hundred and odd *passengers!*' The Consul states, that he 'has no *official* knowledge of the vessel having brought in slaves,' and that he 'has no instructions how to act in such a case!' Equally ignorant, and by virtue of his office too, we presume, and to the full as ill provided with instructions, is the commander of the Hirondelle sloop of war, lying in the same harbour, and close by the slave-ship. No wonder that, to use the English Consul's language, 'remark should be excited even in Brazil, by the circumstance 'of a French Vice-Consul, and the commander of a French 'man-of-war, voluminously instructed as they are known to be

'on most points, being left without directions how to act against 'a daring violator of the laws of France.'

It affords some relief, after marking the disgraceful conduct of the French Government, to observe the proceedings of the Liberal party. In strict consistency with those pure and enlightened principles to which, through all reverses of fortune, they magnanimously adhere, they have formed an Abolition Committee, and published under its superintendence various excellent tracts for general circulation. Among these we rejoice to see placed on the same list with the Duc de Broglie's admirable Speech, a translation of Mr Clarkson's Essay, and of Mr Buxton's Speech, May 1823, with a Prefatory Discourse on Colonial Bondage by M. Charles Coquerel. The Society has also offered a prize of one thousand francs for the best work on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, particularly as it regards the interests of France. We have adverted to the inefficient measures adopted by the Spaniards; but it is fair to the constitutional administration to observe, that the new penal code adopted by the Cortes embraced the offence of slave trading, and substituted, for the decree of December 1817, an enactment, which gave the Negroes informing, either against the importer or the purchaser, their liberty, and a large head-money. When France overran Spain for the purpose of overthrowing the Cortes and restoring the most execrable of tyrannies, this law against the slave trade was abrogated with the rest of the constitutional code! and the law of 1817, proved ineffectual by the experience of six years, was restored with the other accompaniments of the Despot's return.

If the Constitutional Government of Spain could make some progress in enforcing the abolition, notwithstanding the immense difficulties and numberless dangers that surround it, with the violent prejudices of the colonial interest to combat, and the deference not unnaturally claimed by the only remaining settlement in part at least to be yielded, we might naturally expect, that those countries where the spirit and the principle of freedom prevail, without any of those obstacles to its universal development, would distinguish themselves by their zeal in extirpating the most hateful of all slavery, and putting down both the traffick and the property in slaves. Consolatory as the view of the American continent is to every friend of the rights and the welfare of his species, there is nothing in that magnificent spectacle more delightful than the lessons of terror, and of shame, which it reads to the tyrants of the old world. Those of shame may, indeed, be thrown away upon them; but terror is a monitor whose voice is far too well known to fail in teaching with effect. Nor can we help indulging the

expectation, that as those vast regions peopled with freemen never can exist long without the destruction of despotism in Europe, so, if the noble example set by the emancipated colonies of Spain, in utterly repudiating the slave traffick, and providing for the freedom of the Negroes already settled there, shall fail to operate upon the proprietors of the American Islands, the dread of worse consequences than a gradual improvement and ultimate liberation of the slaves may force them to do right as a choice of evils. In Columbia, all children of slaves born since 1818 are free by law; and a fund is formed by a tax, and successfully applied, to purchase the freedom of those born before that period. The following passage is taken from the Report of the minister of the Interior to the Congress, presented last year.

'The law of the 19th of July of the year 11, which gave liberty to all the new-born offspring of slaves, which abolished the traffic in Negroes, and established committees of manumission, has been executed throughout the republic. In December of the same year, being the term fixed by law for liberating such slaves as the funds appropriated for this purpose were competent to redeem, several received their liberty, blessing the Legislators of Colombia who had granted them such happiness. The number liberated last December was still greater; and the Government entertain well-founded hopes that the funds will annually increase.

'It seems that, in certain provinces of the republic, an apprehension exists, that, by the gradual extinction of slavery, the productions of the soil, and the working of the mines, will be diminished. This is an event that may happen; but it is unquestionably a minor evil to the inhabitants of those provinces, compared with that of living amidst a volcano, ever ready to explode with dreadful effect: it is better that their agriculture and mines should suffer partial ills, to which gradual remedies may be applied, than, by continuing the former personal slavery, insensibly heap up combustibles for a terrible conflagration. It is well known that, in this particular, our Legislators have been animated by the most profound foresight and justice.'—*Ibid.* p. 226.

We have great satisfaction in adding to this official Report some information contained in a private letter from an intelligent person in the Caraccas, and of so late a date as last April. After expressing the delight which he had experienced in reading Mr Buxton's Speech, and the others upon the same side of the question, and declaring his opinion of the safety and practicability of extending the Columbian law to the slave colonies; he adds, 'This would secure an agricultural population, from habit and necessity, to cultivate the land as is the case here, where three-fourths of the labouring class are free, and earn about one shilling sterling a day in some parts, and sixpence in others. In crop

time, in some places, wages rise to four rials a day: it depends a good deal upon the plenty or scarcity of labourers in different parts, and the price of provisions. All allow they do more work in a day than slaves, and you have only the trouble to pay them every Saturday night. But I do not expect to see this plan effected, as it has been here, by the slave owners themselves, assembled in Congress, at the recommendation of the immortal Bolivar, who gave a great example by setting his own slaves free without any conditions. He then leased out his estates, and they remained as free labourers upon them. The kings of Spain, with all their sins upon their heads, were too wise to allow the colonists to make laws for their slaves; and those of Louis XIV. are of a very different complexion from those enacted by the colonial council at Martinique.'—*Ibid.* p. 228.

He then alludes to the glorious victory gained over the Royalist fleet in the Lake of Maracaibo by Padilla, a Mulatto, and the storming of Puerto Cabello by General Paer. These gallant exploits, says he, completely cleared the republic of the enemy's troops; and he thus proceeds:

'We have ever since enjoyed perfect peace and tranquillity in every part of it; and agriculture and trade are increasing daily.—The laws are every where obeyed, and religious opinions not interfered with, provided you treat with decorum the established worship. The emancipation law produces the best effects. The slaves are contented with the prospect of their own eventual freedom, and the certainty of that of their children. Thirty-three were liberated out of the Manumission fund at Bogota alone during the three days of the annual national holidays last Christmas. I have not seen returns from the rest of the republic. Add to these the number born free during the year; and then let me ask, if the White population of this country has not an honester claim to their own liberty than any other in America, when they respect that of others without distinction of colour? We see in the senate Colonel Pinango, an excellent officer, both of infantry and engineers, who is a member of that body, although he is a dark Mulatto. He is an enlightened man, and of the best character.'—*Ibid.* p. 229.

The United States have all along distinguished themselves by their enmity to the slave trade. They early in the day took up the question, which had been first raised in this country, and they had the transcendant merit of outstripping all others, and being the first to effect its abolition by a law passed to take effect as soon as, by the constitution of the Federal Union, any general enactment could affect the trade of the individual States. When England, in 1811, declared it to be a crime, and punishable accordingly, our kinsmen in the New World were again our rivals in the honourable contest of sound and virtuous legislation; and again they went before us in acting upon our own principles. In 1820 they declared slave trading to be piracy, and denounced *the pains of death* to any citizen of the

United States who should be convicted in engaging in it, whether under the American or a foreign flag. When Mr Brougham's act (51 Geo. III.) was first discussed, upon his motion in June 1810, it had been admitted that capital punishment should, if necessary, be afterwards substituted for transportation; but it was deemed advisable at first to make it a clergiable felony, both upon general principles, respecting penal legislation, upon a due consideration of the peculiar scruples entertained by a very large and respectable body of abolitionists, and upon the ground that a very great step was about to be made in treating, for the first time, as a crime, that which had for ages been protected by Parliament, and regarded by the nation at large as one of the grand branches of the national commerce. It does not appear that the act has been at all deficient in the attainment of its object; the Slave Trade, as far as British subjects are concerned in it, seems to have been finally destroyed. But as America had made the traffic piracy, it was clear that if England should join her in treating it in the same way, and the two powers should, as a consequence of these enactments, agree to the mutual capture of each other's vessels found engaged in it, not only would the possibility be at once prevented, of either flag being employed to cover the traffick, but a broad foundation would be laid for obtaining a general consent of nations to treat it every where as piratical, when, to use Mr Canning's words, so becoming the magnanimity of the country on whose behalf he spoke, and so opposite to the language used by the wretched hirelings of the ministerial press, 'the two 'greatest maritime nations in the world should so far compro-'mise their maritime pride, as to act together for the accom-'plishment of such a purpose.' The proposal was communicated to our Government by the President of the United States, and, being acceded to, occasioned a bill to be brought in last Session, which passed into a law on the 31st of March 1824. It provides, that all subjects of Great Britain engaging directly in the Slave-trade any where, and all persons whatever so trading within the British dominions or settlements, shall be deemed Pirates, and punished accordingly with Death and forfeiture. A treaty with the United States has been concluded, by which the vessels of each power are authorized to detain those of the other found engaged in this piracy, and deliver them over to the authorities of the country they belong to, for the purpose of being dealt with according to the laws, now common to both States.

Another measure of great importance, indeed, as far as respects direct and immediate effects, far more important than the Piracy act, was carried through Parliament during the same

Session by Dr Lushington. This truly able and zealous promoter of all good works had, the year before, introduced a bill for consolidating the Abolition laws; and, among other improvements in the code, he had propounded the prohibition of the slave trade between Island and Island of the old British colonies, which, as the reader is aware, had been excepted out of all the abolition acts. This bill was at first thrown out in the Lords; but the learned and excellent author renewed it with better success; and a branch of the trade, the only one that remained, and hardly less inhuman than the African traffick itself, has now been prohibited like the rest.

From the measures adopted to extirpate the Trade in slaves, we now turn to the progress that has been made in preparing for the gradual, but complete abolition of Negro Slavery. The formation of the societies in London, Liverpool and elsewhere, whose object is to promote this most desirable consummation, has already been mentioned in this Journal. The fate of Mr Buxton's motion in July 1823, is also well known; the effects of the resolutions which the Government offered in the room of his motion, are fresh in the recollection of all, and may be described in a few words. No party was satisfied, hardly even the ministers who proposed them, and least of all the planters, to please and to screen whom this was contrived, while upon the state of the slaves, they could not possibly produce any change, directly or remotely,—being a mere repetition of things often before stated, both by Parliament and the executive government. But the propositions were agreed to by the abolitionists in the House of Commons, because the Government pledged itself to take the work into its own hands, and to carry through such reforms as might be necessary for the accomplishment of the design thus countenanced by an unanimous vote of the Legislature.

The London Society has continued its labours since the period of Mr Buxton's motion, with increased activity, and it has been powerfully and generally seconded by Societies all over the the country. Two hundred and twenty of these associations have been formed; a number of publications have been circulated; and nearly six hundred petitions presented to Parliament, in addition to between two and three hundred the Session before, all praying for immediate attention to the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and their gradual admission to the rights and station of free men.

The principles which the London Society promulgated, as the groundwork of its operations, and which all the societies in the country have adopted, may certainly be said to have receiv-

ed the sanction of the House of Commons. The following is the statement of them in the Resolutions passed at the first meeting, 31st January 1823. As the zeal and unanimity with which they have been received throughout the country, indicates plainly that they accord with the universal feeling upon the subject, it is of importance, in further discussing the question, that we should keep them in our view.

" That the individuals composing the present meeting are deeply impressed with the magnitude and number of the evils attached to the system of Slavery which prevails in many of the Colonies of Great Britain, a system which appears to be opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, as well as repugnant to every dictate of natural humanity and justice.

" That they long indulged a hope, that the great measure of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, for which an act of the Legislature was passed in 1807, after a struggle of twenty years, would have tended rapidly to the mitigation and gradual extinction of Negro bondage in the British Colonies, but that in this hope they have been painfully disappointed; and, after a lapse of sixteen years, they have still to deplore the almost undiminished prevalence of the very evils which it was one great object of the Abolition to remedy.

" That under these circumstances they feel themselves called upon, by the most binding considerations of their duty as Christians, by their best sympathies as men, and by their solicitude to maintain unimpaired the high reputation and the solid prosperity of their country, to exert themselves, in their separate and collective capacity, in furthering this most important object, and in endeavouring, by all prudent and lawful means, to mitigate, and eventually to abolish the Slavery existing in our Colonial possessions."—*Antislavery Report*, pp. 2, 3.

The House of Commons unanimously came to certain resolutions, which, as far as any practical effect went, may indeed well be deemed nugatory, but are material, as affording a sanction to *the principles* laid down by the Society, as asserting the expediency of improving the condition of the slaves; and as recognising their claims to emancipation as soon as they shall be fit for enjoying freedom.

'1. " That it is expedient to adopt effectual and decisive measures for meliorating the condition of the Slave Population in his Majesty's Colonies.

'2. " That through a determined and persevering but judicious and temperate enforcement of such measures, this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the Slave Population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

'3. " That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this

purpose, at the earliest period that may be compatible with the well-being of the Slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of all parties concerned therein.

'4. "That these Resolutions be laid before his Majesty."'—*Anti-slavery Report*, p. 3.

In these Resolutions the West Indians themselves acquiesced; manifestly from the hope that they would postpone to an indefinite period the liberation of the slaves, and prevent that which they mainly dread as fatal to the abuses of the system, and certain to terminate its oppression,—the interposition of Parliament, when the colonial assemblies persist in neglecting their duty and violating their promises.

Soon after the Resolutions were passed, instructions were sent to the colonies where the Crown has the power of legislation, directing certain restrictions to be imposed upon the powers of the masters in punishing their Negroes; and the reception which these instructions met with, is in the recollection of the reader. In Demerara, particularly, through the great mismanagement of the local authorities, who contrived to excite groundless alarm in the planters, and equally unfounded hopes in the slaves, and to conceal the real nature of the measures adopted until it was too late, a slight commotion was occasioned among the Negroes, of a nature quite unprecedented in such a situation, and far more resembling a combination of European workmen to strike for wages, for time, or other indulgence, than a rebellion of African slaves. It is clearly proved, by the account of the planters themselves, and the official documents, that *violence* was no part of the plan pursued by those called Insurgents; that no lives were taken, or even threatened by them, until long after the disturbance was at its height, and the troops engaged in quelling it; that even then only two persons were killed by the Negroes; that no injury whatever was offered to property; that they all along avowed their wish to be, only the obtaining what was understood to be granted them by some new law, which the government and their masters were supposed to be withholding from them; and that their declared principle was to take no life, because said they, our pastor has taught us that life is not ours to give! Hundreds of these poor creatures, however, were put to death in the field; and immediately after quiet was restored, many of the survivors were torn in pieces by an infliction of the scourge, more merciless than any thing upon record in modern times, and in Christian countries. A pious minister of the gospel, whose conduct had been marked by the most scrupulous dis-

charge of every duty, and by a moderation truly wonderful in a man of ordinary feelings surrounded by the scenes of cruelty he had been living in, was seized in his house, dragged to a loathsome dungeon, stript of his papers, brought in a moment of peace before a court-martial, *tried*—if we must say *tried*—after a fashion, which, unprivileged as we are to speak the plain truth, we dare in nowise attempt to describe—condemned to death for that which he never did, but which, if he had done it, was not a capital offence—detained in prison when stricken with the most severe malady, until he was relieved from persecution by death!

The West Indians had now gone too far. They had been perfectly successful in raising the cry of Negro insurrection; they had turned the consequences of their own resistance and blunders combined, into a plausible topic of alarm, representing the disturbance excited by themselves as a rebellion produced by the efforts made in favour of the Negroes; they had but too well calculated on the facility with which, in England, the terror of rebellion spreads, and for a season takes men's reason and almost their senses, from them; and they enjoyed the success which never fails to attend rumours of violence, in far distant regions, exaggerated by falsehood and by fancy, and ascribed to causes more false and more fanciful still, by interested or by ignorant men. But they used not soberly their advantage—and they forgot that it was only for the moment. No sooner was the case discussed—no sooner was the Missionary's trial sifted, than one voice of universal indignation burst forth, and overpowered all resistance. In Parliament and out of Parliament, among all parties and all sects—save only the worst of the High Church Party,* habitual enemies of every thing like the rights of freemen, and grossly attached to whatever is violent and domineering in the exercise of power—one sound was to be heard of unmingled reprobation at the act, and sovereign contempt for the reasons urged in palliation of what none ventured to defend. That the Demerara planters and authorities were utterly without an excuse, was everywhere admitted, and there was an end for ever of the attempt to resist the friends of the slaves, by spreading alarms of rebellion. Even in the House of Commons, the Ministers did not venture to oppose the current. After assaying to

* It is well known, that the infamous portion of the periodical press, which this party chiefly patronizes, and which is notoriously abandoned to the most disgusting practices of slander and obscenity, has been found, and almost alone found, on the side of the slave-drivers, and vehement in calumniating the Missionary.

meet the motion of censure on the first night by a direct negative, they were fain to substitute, the next night, the previous question; and even on this humble ground they could only obtain a poor majority of 47—no less than 146 voting against them, including about thirty members who do not usually take part against the Government, and seven or eight connected with the West Indies, but nobly resolved to separate themselves from the guilt and the shame incurred by the men of Demerara.

It is probable, that if the memorable debates upon this subject had preceded, instead of following the measures adopted by way of redeeming the pledge given when Mr Buxton's motion was withdrawn, a very great improvement would have been effected in the boldness and consistency of the views upon which the Government acted. Certain it is, that much disappointment was experienced by all who had marked the strong feelings which prevailed in the country, and who had weighed the facts of the case sufficiently to perceive how entirely futile were all the attempts to excite alarm for the consequences of interfering with the internal policy of the Sugar Colonies. The Order of Council prescribing various reforms for the island of Trinidad, is no doubt calculated to produce much good in that settlement. The protection of females from the lash, and the prohibition of the whip generally as a stimulus to labour, and confining it to cases of punishment not inflicted in the field, is of itself a very great improvement. So are the regulations touching marriages and manumissions, and the admission of Negro evidence. But this order, alas! extends to a fortieth part only of the slave population of the British colonies. It is, indeed, the avowed determination of the Government, to extend the same system to the other conquered colonies, including in all a population of 220,000 slaves. But there remain no less than 600,000 unhappy creatures in the old settlements, to whom these reforms cannot be applied. The following observations of the Anti-slavery Society, in their last Report, give a very just view of this matter, and in a tone of exemplary moderation.

'It seems to be the present purpose of his Majesty's Government to proceed with these colonies in the way of recommendation and example. The Trinidad Order in Council is to be presented to them as a model for their imitation, and they are to be invited to copy it. When the Committee, however, look back to the history of the last 36 years, or even to the transactions of the last 12 months, they find it difficult to indulge a hope that the Assemblies will accede, in any effectual way, to such improvements as these; or that they will concur in such further measures for the gradual abolition of slavery itself, as his Majesty's ministers have it in contemplation hereafter to

adopt. Indeed it cannot be expected that the colonists should willingly promote an end which they continue loudly and peremptorily to declare to be absolute ruin to all their interests. And certainly the success which they seem to think, though we believe on no just ground, has attended their clamours, is not likely to check, but rather to encourage, that spirit of resistance which they have manifested, and which nothing but a fear of incurring the displeasure of Parliament, and calling into action its compulsory powers, is likely effectually to restrain.

'What measures his Majesty's Government will adopt in case of that continued resistance which your Committee anticipate, it remains to be seen. In the mean time their language implies that they mean to wait in the expectation of soon finding in the Assemblies a more respectful and complying disposition.

'The Committee will most sincerely rejoice should this expectation be realized. The condemnation, however, of the benevolent purposes of Government, continues to be too loud and indignant to justify the hope of the early and effectual co-operation of the Colonial Assemblies. And let it not be forgotten, that the delay thus produced, to the length of which there is no express limit, is of itself a great evil. Besides the dangers to be apprehended from suspense and agitation, the nation contracts additional guilt by the unnecessary postponement of those reforms, the moral obligation of which has been unequivocally admitted. The delay is also a real calamity to the great mass of the slave population. Your Committee can discover no good reason for withholding from the Slaves in the other islands the same alleviations, at the least, which have been granted to those in Trinidad. They can see no good reason, for instance, why women should still continue liable to be shamelessly exposed and flogged in Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c.; why the driving whip should be still employed *there;* why marriage should still be without any legal sanction in *these* colonies; why facilities should not be given *there* also to manumissions; and why the exclusion of the evidence of slaves should continue to be upheld *there* in all its rigour, making it confessedly impossible to give to apparently protecting laws their just effect.

'The friends of Colonial Reform are accused of impatience and precipitation. They are told that an evil, which is the growth of ages, cannot be cured in an hour, and that the termination of slavery, in order to be safe, must be very slowly progressive. But admitting this proposition, the duty is so much the more urgent *to commence* the necessary work without delay; and it has not even been pretended that what may be safely done in Trinidad or Berbice, is altogether unsafe in St Vincent's, Barbadoes or Jamaica.'—*Ibid.* 20–22.

Now, this brings us at once to the main question in all these discussions. Every one not personally interested in it admits, that there must be a change in this execrable system. Every one

indeed grants that there must be an end of it; that it can be endured no longer—at least no longer than a due regard to the interests of the slaves themselves requires it to be continued. All are agreed that they must be set free the moment their liberty would be an acceptable gift; and that not a moment must be lost in *preparing* them for receiving it. There is nearly the same consent as to *the means* which must be taken to prepare them for it. They must no longer be dealt with as chattels liable to be severed from the soil on which they have been born and bred; they must be driven no more with the whip like brute beasts; they must be instructed in religion and morals, and time must be given them to learn, time to rest as other Christians do from their daily labour, time to work for their own maintenance and for the acquirement of property;—the women must be treated with the greater delicacy which their sex requires, and not used as cattle are, without regard to the difference of sex; and all of them must be made capable of giving evidence in Courts of Justice,—so as to prevent them from being placed as a body without the pale of the law, wherever a white man may be pleased to wrong them.

Upon these things, beyond the circle of the slave owners themselves, and a wretched knot of men who have taken up their cause as haters of freedom, contemners of human rights, and lovers of oppression for its own sake, and because of its being established, no dissentient voice is raised; and the only question is, *how* the reforms allowed to be necessary shall be effected? Our opinion is clear, that the local authorities should be suffered to make them,—if they will; but, that if they persist in delaying and in trifling with the declared sense of the Legislature, *the work must be done for them.* If it is not, the Negroes will do the work for themselves, and assuredly the bulk of their fellow-subjects will rejoice in its being done, how deplorable soever may be the consequences, because these will be wholly imputable to the obstinacy of the planters, and the feebleness of the Government at home; and, painful as is the alternative, it is far better than an indefinite continuance of the system. If the Legislature does its duty, the occasion for this alternative needs never arrive. Let the colonies only be convinced that an act of Parliament will *compel* the changes required, and admitted on all hands to be at once safe and effectual;—and those changes will speedily be made by the local governments. But even if they should not, we verily believe that an act *commanding and ordaining* them, if published fairly and immediately, will create over the whole British Islands, less commotion by far than the very inconsiderable ferment which the worst possible management ex-

cited in Demerara. The security, and even the interests of the Whites are by no means overlooked by us in our estimate; but we certainly place in the first rank, the security and the interests of by far the more numerous class, and the class so grievously injured. It happens, too, as is generally the case where the principle is clear, that their interests are the same; for nothing short of a miracle can save the Whites, if they neglect any longer the performance of their promises, and the discharge of their imperative duty. Six-and-thirty years have elapsed since the rights of the slaves have occupied the anxious attention of the people in this country; twenty years since the Legislature distinctly warned the slave-owners that it was resolved to better their condition; seventeen since the law lifted its voice to command that right and justice be done them. Not one step, however, has yet been made towards a compliance with these warnings, or an obedience to this command. How much longer then, are we to wait in the expectation of those infatuated men listening to us, changing their habits of procrastination, which have become a second nature, and rousing themselves from that implicit reliance upon our carelessness, or timidity, or insincerity, which it must be owned our conduct has been but too well calculated to engender?

It is not intended upon the present occasion to discuss at large this question, momentous in itself undoubtedly, but not more momentous than easy of solution. But we may very succinctly run over its principal topics, deferring the more extended consideration of it to a future opportunity.

First of all, the *right* to legislate for the internal concerns of the colonies, is beyond a doubt clearly in the mother country. Even with respect to the North American colonies, the right was never abandoned, except only as to taxation; and that was given up, not as matter of right, but upon the express ground that it was inexpedient to exercise it. The 18. *Geo. III. c.* 12. merely declares that Parliament will not impose duties upon the colonies, excepting for the regulation of commerce; and in departing from the exercise of the right of taxing, all other legislation is distinctly reserved. But we do not merely rely upon this point; the West Indies are upheld by the army and navy of England; they are both defended from foreign attack, and protected from intestine trouble, by the forces of the mother country. Those planters who talk so largely of their rights, could not hold their property four-and-twenty hours without the aid of those forces; they, who deny the right of the parent state to protect the Black subjects from their cruel usage, could not exist in the midst of those Blacks, but for the protection of her arm; left to themselves, they would suddenly experience a

change indeed—the slave and his master would exchange places. Nay, without abandoning them to the Negroes, were the Legislature only to withhold the application of that force, which alone enables them to keep possession of our markets with their produce, the great staple of the Islands must cease to be cultivated, or only continue to be grown in such a proportion as would wholly change the face of West Indian agriculture. They state themselves, that the people of this country contribute to allow them 'what is little, if at all, short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight,' * upon their sugar; and equal to a million and a half is paid by the country, that the West Indian Negroes may be driven to make dear sugar, rather than the free subjects of the East India Company should make cheap sugar for the consumption of the English market. It is not very wise in the West Indians to forget that every man in England pays a penny a pound for the sugar he consumes, as a tax to perpetuate the slave system; it is not very prudent to contrive that this shall be a kind of *blood-money*—of *torture-pence*, as it were—a tribute levied upon the inhabitants of the mother country for the purpose of enabling those of the colonies to maltreat their fellow-subjects with impunity. But, at all events, they cannot deny our right to interfere, and prevent the money which we so pay from being thus employed, contrary to the intention of the donors, whose purpose is to protect the Whites from commercial loss, not to perpetuate their tyranny over the Blacks.

If the West Indians have not the right, it is equally manifest that they have not the power, to resist the control of the mother country. Threats of separating have often been used, and never, we presume, very seriously. In truth, they could not be carried into execution. Were England to withdraw her forces, and suffer the colonists to take their own course, where could they look for protection? To America alone. But why should America, overburthened with slaves already, add eight or nine hundred thousand to her population, and without an object? For unhappily the possession of the Floridas gives her quite a sufficient command of our West India trade during war, without taking our islands. As for absolute independence, we presume it never can be dreamt of. It could only mean the erection of a Negro state in each of the islands.

But as a rebellion of the Whites is little calculated to excite alarm, the West Indians menace us with Negro insurrection.

* Letter of the Agent for Jamaica—11th March 1824—in Jamaica Gazette, 1st May 1824.

Now, any thing more chimerical than this fear, never surely was invented to delude thoughtless men. The risks of Negro rebellion have always been greatly exaggerated, as we have frequently had occasion to show; but unquestionably such risks do exist, and are most fit to be considered when we are surveying measures of which the natural tendency is *to promote discontent* among the slaves, and to excite in them vague and undefined expectations of change. But how can any such effect be produced by measures of a plain and intelligible description, manifestly calculated to better their condition, without in the least weakening the authority of their masters? Suppose, for example, that a law were passed in England, annexing the slaves to the soil (a law which the Abolitionists announced their expectation of seeing adopted in all the colonies as soon as the traffic ceased), with a provision, making their testimony admissible in all courts of justice, and giving them a day in the week to themselves,—does any man really believe that the promulgation of this would excite a single slave to rise? Is *that* the natural tendency of the intelligence which would thus be conveyed to the slaves? Upon being told that the Parliament had so far favoured them, and would continue to better their condition according as they behaved peaceably, but would also persist in supporting the lawful authority of their masters until they should acquire money enough to purchase their liberty one by one, who is fanciful enough to expect rebellion from men that have been so patient under the most cruel treatment? Is the Negro so unlike all other human beings, that, having so long borne with resignation the uttermost inflictions of cruelty, he should find the first approaches of kindness intolerable? But, in truth, there is little of sincerity in these arguments. They are used by persons who have no fear of any interference on behalf of the Negroes producing the least confusion or excitement among them. Their own conduct unequivocally proves, that they deem the risk of insurrection a most remote one indeed, and not at all to be augmented by any discussions in Parliament of West Indian affairs. They themselves are always the first to publish such debates in all their details, and in every way, written and oral, by which they can reach the slaves; and many topics of the most inflammatory nature, and the most likely to create a sensation among these unfortunate beings, are to be found broached for the first time, or even alone, by the West Indians in the midst of the plantations. If, indeed, any line of conduct can shake the peace of society in these settlements, it must be the extreme violence of the planters, and, above all, of the colonial assemblies, in their

controversies with the mother country respecting the state of the slaves. From thence some danger of insurrection may truly be descried. But if such apprehensions are well founded, the West Indians have themselves to blame for putting the peace of their settlements in jeopardy; if they are groundless, surely we may infer that all other alarms are infinitely more so.

'It will be recollected," say the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society, "that last year, when the question of Slavery was first agitated in Parliament, its agitation was strongly objected to by the West Indians, both at home and abroad, on the ground of this apprehended danger. And yet so little were the Colonists themselves affected by the consideration, that their own newspapers, over the conduct of which they possess a complete controul, have ever since been filled with the most violent declamations on the subject. Those very discussions, which, when they took place in this country, were denounced as sure to produce the most disastrous results in the West Indies, have been uniformly republished and circulated in the newspapers of the different Colonies, although these are the only sources of intelligence which commonly meet the eye even of the White population, or to which the other classes, whether free or Slaves, who can read, have access. Nay, the instructions of Earl Bathurst himself, which embodied the proposed reforms of the Slave system, almost in the form of a Mandate from his Majesty, were published at length in the Colonial Journals, accompanied by acrimonious and inflammatory comments, and, in some cases, by an avowal, on the part of the Planters, of a determination to resist to the utmost the benevolent intentions of the King and the Parliament towards their Slaves! And these various inflammatory publications took place in the West Indies long before the specific nature of Lord Bathurst's instructions was known either to your Committee or to the British public, to whom they were first communicated through the medium of the Colonial press. It is surely too much, then, for the West Indians, under such circumstances, to object to the public discussion of Slavery in England, as pregnant with danger to the peace of the Colonies. For if there was any ground for the apprehensions of danger which they profess to entertain, it is too obvious a conclusion to have been overlooked by them, that that danger was immeasurably enhanced by transferring the same discussion, only conducted in a far more vehement and inflammatory style, to the very region and atmosphere of Slavery. The mischief in question also, if mischief there were, was in this case incurred without any rational object. In this country public discussion is necessary; for how otherwise is the public attention to be engaged, or the expression of the national sentiment to be called forth? How are even the Ministers of the Crown themselves to be enabled to pursue their own liberal views on this great subject,—beset as they are by the solicitations and remonstrances of Colonial Proprietors and their adherents, powerful in Parliamentary influence, and acting with concert and perseverance,

—f the friends of reformation are to be silent, and to depend on the moral strength of their case alone, unaided by the public voice? This less obtrusive course had been pursued for many years prior to the formation of this Society; and what was the result? What was done for the unfortunate Slaves, subsequently to the abolition of the Slave Trade, in any of the Colonies, even in those in which the whole legislative power rested with the Crown? Shall we then pronounce public discussion in this country to be unnecessary?

'In the Colonies, however, no similar necessity for public discussion, through the medium of the press, can be alleged to exist. There no difference of opinion appears to be entertained on this subject; none at least dares to show itself. The Planters resident in the Colonies seem all agreed that Slavery ought to be maintained for ever. To agitate the question *there* is, therefore, most needlessly and gratuitously to provoke the evil they affect to dread. At least, while they thus act, they ought not to tell us, at the same moment, that, by agitating the subject at the distance of four or five thousand miles, we are exciting insurrection, conflagration, and massacre.'—*Anti-slavery Report*, pp. 10, 11, 12.

We profess our inability to discover any means of answering this argument, the cogency of which seems at once to dispose of the objections from alarm raised against the interference of the Legislature with colonial affairs. There remains then only one argument to combat—that which is derived from the difficulty of carrying into execution, in the colonies, laws enacted in the mother country. The existence of this difficulty we are far from denying, especially if no change shall be made in the appointments and in the situation of the colonial functionaries. If Governors and Judges are still to be chosen among the body of the planters, and if they are to be paid in part by the assemblies which represent the planters, any law restraining the misconduct of the Whites upon plantations will doubtless be feebly executed, whether passed in England or in the West Indies. But it is incredible that such a distribution of patronage should any longer be persisted in, or such a mode of paying the officers of state and justice be still resorted to, as must needs make them dependent on the very men whose proceedings it is the principal duty of their office to watch and to control. No reason whatever can be assigned against laying it down as an absolute rule from henceforward, that all offices of any importance shall be filled by persons wholly unconnected with the West Indies; and no good reason can be given for not removing all who are connected with the islands from offices holden during pleasure. No topic can be listened to in this question which merely relates to individual hardship and inconvenience, or to the offence that may be taken by the West Indians. The step

is necessary if we intend that any reforms shall be effected in the treatment of the slaves, and any progress made in bettering their condition so as to fit them for freedom; and if such a change is made, it will create the means of exercising laws passed for attaining those objects, whether the lawgivers are in the colony or the mother country. The argument which we are now grappling with was constantly urged against the abolition of the slave trade. You may enact laws for abolishing so necessary a commerce, it was said, but they will remain a dead letter; no person will be found to execute them. And this might have proved true, had the enforcement of the abolition been committed to West Indian courts and jurors; but the Vice-Admiralty Courts, who are wholly independent of the colonial assemblies, were charged with administering the new laws; and they have done so with sufficient strictness to eradicate the traffic, according to the admission, or rather the strenuous contention, of the planters themselves.

For these reasons, we conceive that the course which the Government should take lies clear and straight before them. In the conquered colonies they can enforce the requisite changes by orders in council. In the others they may wait until Parliament meets; and should no decisive measures be adopted by the local authorities, bills ought at once to be brought in, prescribing those changes which all but the interested parties agree in deeming necessary. But in either case, the colonial appointments should be revised, disinterested and unprejudiced persons substituted for those who are biassed by West Indian connexions,—and salaries allotted to all, independent of the votes which may be passed by the colonial assemblies.

But we confess that the experience of the past gives no small reason to fear lest the Government should again show a lukewarm zeal in the cause, on which the country has but one feeling and one voice, or should yield once more to the clamours raised and the alarms excited by the West Indian Body. It is in the recollection of every reader how long the slave trade was suffered to exist after the unanimous judgment of the people, nay, of mankind, had condemned it, and all but the time-serving Parliament, who habitually studied the wishes of the Ministers, cried aloud for its destruction. It is impossible to tell how much longer this infamy might still have been attached to the name of England, had not a Ministry, really zealous in the cause of humanity and justice, resolved to face the clamours of an interested party, and manfully do their duty,—when it was found so easy that all men wondered how it had been delayed. We have a dismal foreboding that the measures necessary for

the mitigation and extinction of slavery are fated to undergo the same lingering process with the abolition of the traffic. We shall, in all probability, hear again, as we did last Session, of the evil being old and inveterate—of the prejudices we have to contend with being long established and deeply rooted—of the necessity of making allowances for the colonial assemblies, and converting them, by good treatment, to more liberal views. In other words, yielding implicit deference, for an indefinite time, to their interested views, for the purpose of making them, at a period infinitely remote, adopt our views against their own interest. To all such arguments the most triumphant answer was given by Mr Stephen, at the General Meeting of the Society. When, surrounded by so many veterans in the sacred warfare, now for nearly forty years waged against slavery—by Wilberforce, and Clarkson, and W. Smith—he produced the records of former reliance placed upon these assemblies in vain—former applications zealously urged to them by their friends as well as their opponents, in vain—former instructions from the crown itself, backed by the authority of Parliament, all addressed to them in vain! It is not exhibiting a very seemly spectacle to show the Legislature again and again deceived by the same parties, in nearly the same terms. It is still less becoming, if we shall see reason to suspect that the deception, being too gross to succeed by itself, the Legislature wilfully shut their eyes, and suffer themselves to be deluded and mocked. Now, we conceive that nothing can tend more to prevent this delusion from being again practised with success, than distinctly to show how it was tried before, and with what result; or if the Legislature were disposed to be deluded, this open exhibition might make the connivance too glaring to be attempted.

On the 14th December 1796, the West India Committee, a body composed of the most eminent colonial proprietors resident in England, instructed Mr C. Ellis, one of their number, we believe their Chairman, to move an address to the Crown, of which they had previously approved, and which, being supported by their whole weight in the House of Commons, was carried unanimously in April 1797. Its object was to provide a substitute for the abolition, and to keep the control of that question in the hands of the Colonial Assemblies—For the reader needs hardly be reminded, that exactly the same opposition was made to any interference of the Legislature with the African Slave Trade, as is now attempted to its meddling with the condition of the West Indian population. The Address prayed, 'that his Majesty would graciously *recommend* to the 'Governors, Councils, and Assemblies of the West India

'Islands, "measures such as should regulate and control the "importation of Slaves from Africa; and by obviating the "causes which had hitherto impeded the natural increase of "Negroes already in the islands, should render that trade less "necessary, and ultimately lead to its termination; and fur- "ther, *with a view to the same effect, the adoption of every mea- "sure which might conduce to the moral and religious improve- "ment of the Negroes, and promote their happiness, by securing "to them the certain, immediate, and active protection of the "law.*"' Circular instructions, founded on this Address, and communicating it, were immediately despatched by the Duke of Portland, then Secretary of State, to all the West Indian Governments, and they were urged to give the subject their early and particular attention. The Committee added their own private instances to those of the Crown and the House of Commons, and they happily disclosed their real motives in a manner extremely fair and intelligible, as a somewhat unexpected production of the correspondence, we believe, by a singular official oversight afterwards showed. But we must let Mr Stephen himself tell this interesting story.

'The West India Committee did not trust to the Royal and Parliamentary influence alone. They added, what was likely to be of greater efficacy, confidential earnest solicitations from the members of that body, and from the colonial agents in this country, to the leading proprietors resident in the different islands, imploring them, for the sake of the slave trade, for the preservation of which they were all then earnestly struggling, and which they deemed essential to the very existence of the sugar colonies, to comply with the recommendations of the Crown. The better to impress this powerful consideration, the secret deliberations of the Committee, and the motives on which Mr Ellis had been requested, as its organ, to move the address in Parliament, were confidentially disclosed; and as the correspondence was afterwards brought to light and printed by authority of Parliament, (a discovery not I presume at all foreseen by the writers), I am enabled to read to you from these Parliamentary documents some of the arguments that were used.

'The Report of the Sub-committee contained the following reasons for the measure it recommended.

'*1st*, That the repeated discussion of the abolition of the slave trade in Parliament may produce consequences of *the utmost danger* to the colonies; and that if an act for this purpose should ever pass the British Parliament, *it will be fatal to them!*

'*2d*, That the question of abolition will continue to be agitated year after year, and as often as the forms of the House permit; and that neither the House of Commons nor the country in general will suffer it to rest, till some steps have been taken which may afford

them reason to believe, that every regulation has been adopted which is consistent with the safety of the colonies.

'*3d*, That many persons of great weight and character, though conscious of the danger to be apprehended from the measures proposed by Mr Wilberforce, have supported, and will continue to support them, because no mode of conduct at all compatible with their ideas of humanity has been proposed as an alternative.

'*4th*, That, on the other hand, many persons who have hitherto opposed the measures of Mr Wilberforce, will feel themselves under the necessity of submitting to them, unless some plan of regulation shall be brought forward.

'*5th*, That there is reason to believe, that besides Mr Wilberforce's bill, there will be proposed some more specious plan of moderate reform and gradual abolition, which will meet with very general support; and that it is of the utmost importance that such a plan should be anticipated, because the West India proprietors, from their local knowledge, are the only persons to whom the formation of it can be safely intrusted.

'*6th*, That consequently, for the joint purposes of *opposing* the plan of Mr Wilberforce, and establishing the character of the West India body, it is essential that they should manifest their willingness to promote actively the cause of humanity, by such steps as shall be consistent with safety to the property of individuals, and the general interests of the colonies.' *Ibid.* pp. *52*, *53*.

Individuals of the West Indian body added the weight of their earnest diligence to that of the Committee. Sir William Young, a proprietor, once a governor, a strenuous advocate in Parliament of the colonial interests, and a steady opposer to the last of the abolition, thus addressed the President of Antigua.

'I cannot omit the declaration, that on every ground of past experience in Parliament, from the first agitation of the question I advert to, and from all speculation on the future that my mind can reach, it appears to be indispensably necessary to take some steps in our colonies by legislative provisions, touching the situation of Negroes in respect to society, and to promote a natural increase of their population, and thus not only stop for the present, but gradually supersede the very pretensions at a future period, to a measure of direct abolition of the slave trade by the mother country,—a measure which would blast the root of all our settlements of property—change the foundation of every bequest, loan and security—turn every mortgage into an annuity on the lives of Negroes—institute a general system of foreclosure, and, depreciating our estates, preclude all immediate resources, and ruin every interest.' *Ibid.* pp. *53*, *54*.

So much for *the intention* of the measures, and *the meaning* of those who recommended them. Their tendency when adopted, where a show of doing something was made to deceive the

Legislature, was, as might be expected, nugatory, except for the purpose of the deception, and their effect upon the condition of the slaves absolutely nothing, whether we regard religious instruction or legal protection the two points to which the address was directed. Upon the *first* of these, the instructions of the Government, sent in pursuance of the address, are as explicit as any that can now be framed.

'As the instruction of Negroes (said his Grace) is of the utmost consequence, it would be important to know whether the legislature of the island has in view any particular modes of effecting this purpose; and what species and degree of encouragement it would be disposed to hold out to such missionaries as might be found properly qualified for that purpose, and would undertake that duty; either by enacting that such Missionaries should procure in favour of the estate where they are employed, certain privileges, immunities and advantages, or in what other manner their services should be rewarded by the island. This would lead to the general establishment of the Christian religion among the Negroes, and would establish marriages; it would restrain promiscuous intercourse, and impress their minds in a simple yet forcible manner with the great truths of morality.' *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.

It is seven-and-twenty years since the assemblies were thus specially urged to promote the instruction of the slaves by Missionaries, then taken for granted, and now demonstrated, to be the only teachers through whom such lessons can be conveyed. How have those 'local authorities' answered the united call made upon their prudence by their own leaders and champions, by the executive government, and by the legislature—those 'local authorities,' in whom we ought 'implicitly to confide;' whose 'knowledge of details' qualifies them for the office of practical reformers; and to whose 'liberal way of thinking' we are looking until our sight is dim with age? *It is admitted on all hands, that nothing whatever has been done* all the time, above a quarter of a century, which has elapsed. It is avowed by the planters in some places, that slavery and instruction are incompatible; it is proved that all the settlements are hostile to missions; in one they have been persecuted to death by the constituted authorities, and in another they have been outraged by crimes punishable with death; while the constituted authorities could not, or would not, interpose to protect them, or to vindicate the insulted laws.

Have the slaves fared better upon the *second* point urged in the address of 1797, the obtaining of 'certain immediate and active protections from the law?' How far this branch of the earnest recommendation sent to the Assemblies by the same high and combined authorities has been attended to, let one

of their most zealous advocates tell. Sir W. Young, Secretary of the West Indian Committee in 1797, was governor of Tobago in 1811—and he thus speaks, in a Report to Parliament, upon the state of the slaves.

'I think the slaves have by law no protection. In this, and I doubt not in every other island, there are laws for the protection of slaves, and good ones; but *circumstances* in the administration of this law render it a dead letter. When the intervention of the law is most required, it will have the least effect; as in cases where a vindictive and cruel master has dared to commit the most atrocious cruelties, even to murder his slave, no free person being present to witness the act. There appears to me a radical defect in the administration of justice throughout the West Indies, in whatever case the wrongs done to a slave are under consideration; or rather, that justice cannot in truth be administered, controlled as it is by a law of evidence, which covers the most guilty European with impunity; provided that, when having a criminal intent, he is cautious not to commit the crime in the presence of a free witness.

'On small plantations there is but one free person, the resident manager, and no slave can appear against him. In the back yard of a jobber of a small gang for hire, in the workshops or outbuildings of each artisan or petty tradesman, and within every house, the greatest cruelties may be exercised on a slave *without a possibility of conviction.* I should consider it (he adds) as inconsistent with the respect and deference I bear to the sagacity and wisdom of the august body for whose use this Report is framed, to idly enlarge it with the enumeration of humane laws for the protection of slaves; all rendered nugatory by the conditions of evidence required in their administration.' *Ibid.* pp. 58, 59.

And such is the case now, as well as in 1811—and in the other sugar colonies, as well as Barbadoes, with no change deserving of notice. Such, too, it is intended by the West Indians that it shall continue to be! For the ministers have announced their refusal to agree in the recommendation to admit the evidence of slaves against free persons—that is, to allow the court the power of hearing it, and reserve to them the estimate of the weight which it should have. Mr Stephens's invective against this monstrous inconsistency in those who condemned the Missionary upon slave evidence, is highly eloquent; but not more eloquent than soundly argumentative.

'The evidence of slaves is sufficient, it seems, to convict a preacher of the Gospel!—It is sufficient to condemn him to death; although the slaves who give the evidence are swearing for their own lives!—It is sufficient to give currency and judicial credit to the most palpable, and monstrous and inconsistent fables that ever were invented in romance—It is sufficient to prove that a pious self-devoted minister of the Gospel of Peace, is an instigator of sedition, rebellion, and blood-

shed—It is sufficient to prove that a man who is sinking into his grave under the influence of a pulmonary complaint—who has a helpless wife on the spot with him—who in all probability has not many weeks to live, is desirous of being the leader in a bloody and desperate contest of bands of insurgent slaves, in order that he may be made their emperor, and reign over them in the swamps and woods of the Guiana continent! The evidence of slaves, Sir, is sufficient *for all this!* though they themselves are avowedly guilty of the crime they impute, and give their testimony under an extreme influence of terror that would disqualify the most respectable of our countrymen from being heard as a witness in any court of this country. Their evidence may be safely received and relied upon against a prisoner, when a whole infuriated community is clamorous for his destruction; but is too dangerous to be heard in any case before a jury of White men, all whose prepossessions, and all whose sympathies, are adverse to the prosecutor and the witness, and favourable to the party accused! The same colonists, it seems, still inexorably oppose the reception of such witnesses, however credible and however unimpeachable on every ground but the colour of their skins, when necessary to enforce the laws against the oppressors of their unfortunate class. Neither the assemblies nor their partisans here, it seems, will consent in that respect to change a rule which their more zealous champions themselves have condemned as an insurmountable obstacle to the protection of the slaves, and the course of public justice.' *Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

After all this experience of the Assemblies and their advocates, surely we may be allowed now to ask, with the same eloquent defender of the oppressed African, Is it intemperate—is it unreasonable—is it precipitate, not to be content with a new reference to those same Assemblies—not passively to rely again on the same experiment, thus repeatedly tried, thus uniformly found to be fruitless? 'Our enemies,' says he, 'affect to blame us for 'not leaving the case in the hands of Government, and patiently expecting the result of its new solicitations; and even to 'ascribe to this cause the intemperate conduct of the Colonies. 'But was not the case left in the hands of Government, and 'had not its influence with the Assemblies full scope, without 'any interruption from us, from 1797 till the spring of the last 'year? If a term of twenty-six years was not long enough for 'patient acquiescence on our part, how long were we expected 'to wait before we raised our voice against this great national 'iniquity, and invoked the moral and religious feelings of the 'British people to aid us in a call for reformation?'

As often as a clamour shall be raised against the enemies of slavery for impatience; as often as they shall be desired to look for reformation towards the colonies; as often as an indifferent Go-

vernment shall affect to confide in the Assemblies, and an easy Parliament to repose upon the vigilance of such Government, we only desire to hold up the Address of 1797, the Circular Instructions, and the Suggestions of the Committee; and simply demanding, what has since been done in the West Indies, and answering that question by the Resolutions passed in 1823, which demonstrate that *nothing had been done*, and, strange to tell, also demonstrate, that because nothing had been done, Parliament renewed its confidence in the efficacious support of those who stood convicted of the non-feasance, we shall at least expect to be pardoned for repudiating all share in this confiding spirit,—if we may not also reckon upon the retrospect making a renewal of that trust impossible, consistently with a regard for the decorum usually expected in a grave and deliberative assembly.

These sentiments, we rejoice to think, are common to us with the great body of our fellow-citizens. The meeting held upon the subject of Negro-slavery, at which Mr Stephen delivered the admirable speech we have been citing, was almost unexampled for the numbers, the respectability, and the fervent but rational enthusiasm of those who composed it. The friend of liberty and of human improvement may dwell with pure delight upon the whole proceedings of that day. An accurate Report of them is contained in one of the Tracts now before us; and we cannot too earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers. They who seek, merely as critics, for gratification, will find themseves amply rewarded. It contains, among many speeches of first-rate merit, from Members of both Houses of Parliament and others, one display of eloquence so signal for rare and matured excellence, that the most practised orators may well admire how it should have come from one who then, for the first time, addressed a public assembly. We allude to Mr T. B. Macaulay, the son of one whose name ranks among the very foremost, for knowledge, talents, and integrity, in the lists of eminent men, called forth by the great African cause. He fortunately witnessed this most successful entrance into active life; and Mr Wilberforce justly and feelingly observed, referring to the attack upon Mr M. by those who purvey slander for the slave-drivers and High-churchmen, that he doubtless 'would willingly bear with all the base falsehoods, all the vile 'calumnies, all the detestable artifices which have been aimed a-'gainst him, to render him, like another Mr Smith, the martyr 'and victim of our cause—aye, and ten times more, for the gra-'tification he has this day enjoyed, in hearing one so dear to him plead such a cause in such a manner.' It is, indeed, most

consolatory to see the place of those who have left, * or are leaving the scene, filled by new candidates for the noble and unalloyed fame won in fighting the sacred battles of humanity. The great debate in Parliament upon the Missionary question, produced an invaluable acquisition to this great cause. Mr J. Williams, for the first time, bore a part in it; and delivered a speech which might fill veterans with envy, and beginners with despair. But the proceedings upon that remarkable occasion are in every one's hands, and we have not room for any longer critical digression, how tempting soever the occasion.

The fixed determination in the minds of the classes whose opinion justly commands the greatest respect, the middle classes of the people, to have Negro-slavery instantly mitigated, and gradually abolished, was indicated at the meeting in a manner not easily mistaken. It spoke the sense of all the societies scattered over the country. Let the enemies of slavery, then, persevere. They who administer Government, though in their hearts convinced and aware of the result, may, for a season, be afraid of countenancing them, because they dread the consequences of the clamour which would be raised by the Colonial party, were any sinister event to happen while they were promoting a change of system. But if the public voice is constantly exerted, they will be compelled to yield in this as in so many other instances; and, by the same ruling principle, the dread of having their authority shaken. They who have obliged those ministers to abandon taxes by the score, and places by the hundred—nay, to give up their most fixed principles of mercantile policy, and even to begin the frightful work of judicial reform—seemed, but a few years ago, to have a far more desperate work in hand, than the abolitionists who, after many a triumph, have now only their crowning victory to win. It must be theirs, if they persevere in deserving it, by their firmness and by their temperance; above all, by their vigilance in suffering no opportunities to escape unimproved; and their ra-

* Among those whose loss of late the cause has most seriously to lament, Mr Harrison is principally to be commemorated. He had gratuitously and most ably filled the laborious office of secretary to the African Institution during a period of twelve years. By principle a determined enemy of all undue power, and firmly attached to whatever afforded the prospect of elevating the character and improving the condition of those whom bad institutions have degraded, he had devoted his time, ever since he retired from professional pursuits, to the business of that Society, and others of a philanthropic nature. His loss will, indeed, not easily be repaired.

tional jealousy in refusing, whether to governments at home or governments abroad, a confidence so often abused. *

ART. XI. *Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the Experience of the last eight Years.* By THOMAS CHALMERS, D. D. Minister of St Johns, Glasgow. 1823.

THE public has been so long accustomed to hear the praises of the system by which the people of Scotland manage their poor, that we are apt to regard it as approaching nearly to perfection; and to hold out the imitation of its peculiarities as sufficient to secure all the advantages of a legal provision without any of its evils. There is enough in the principles, and in the former administration, of our law, to justify a reasonable portion of this eulogy. But if it is supposed that we need be under no apprehension about the increase of poors-rates; and that we are completely free from that terrible scourge which is undermining the morality, and wasting the resources, of England, we must say that there never was a more palpable or more dangerous error; and there is at last a sufficient body of facts ascertained to make it evident, that the prevalence of such an opinion can only be ascribed to that ordinary delusion, by which people, who have been long used to commend a system, repose under their general admiration of it, and will not disturb themselves by inquiring how it actually works. If the Scottish law has not been able to prevent the progressive increase of pauperism, this is the strongest possible demonstration of the inadequacy of any scheme, *which admits of a compulsory provision for the poor*, to do so; because, though there be certainly some, there are not many, regulations, by which the evils of this mode of provision can be guarded against, with which the law of Scotland has not been fenced. Neither was there ever a time at which an examination of the

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* We purpose, in our next Number, to enter upon the examination of Mr Stephen's great work upon Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies. It may, with truth, be said, that no man, without reading that book, can form an adequate idea of the state of the Negro bondsmen, in law or in practice—or a just estimate of the sacrifices which it would be fitting to make, and the risks which it would be justifiable to encounter, for the sake of terminating so intolerable an evil. The silence of the other party, inflexibly maintained with respect to this decisive exposition of the subject, most eloquently proves their sense of its importance, and their inability to answer it.

practical tendency and operation of our policy was more necessary than at present; for Scotland, if she has not already passed, is certainly fast approaching, a crisis with her poor-laws; and there are a few important facts on which misconception seems to prevail even among those who might be supposed to be best acquainted with all the details of the subject.

It is not necessary, in order to form a sound opinion respecting the present condition and future prospects of our pauperism, to encumber ourselves by various questions which have been raised respecting the true mode of preventing or relieving poverty. There is one principle, however, which we wish it to be understood that we always assume. This is, that a compulsory provision for the poor, *as a regular and established measure*, is not only pernicious, but has a direct and necessary tendency to increase the very evil which it is meant to cure. There are still, we believe, some few by whom this proposition is denied. But there is perhaps no practical truth supported by so unequivocal a course of general experience, or confirmed, on the whole, by so general an assent.

It has been suggested, however, by some of those who concede the general principle, that however sound it may be in ordinary cases, an exception arises to it on occasions of extensive and sudden distress, created by the vicissitudes of manufactures or of climate. It is admitted that every person, even in the lowest ranks, ought to be trained, and might easily be so, to provide, during the season of his prosperity, for those privations to which he knows that he is exposed in the ordinary course of human affairs. But it has been thought, that where great numbers of people are attracted, by the demands of a highly commercial or manufacturing nation, into particular lines of life, for which they are fitted to the exclusion of all others, and the demand for their labour is suddenly stopt by circumstances over which they had no control, —such as a war, or a change of the law,—it would be unjust and inexpedient to leave such persons in a state of destitution; and that if this were to be done, the result might sometimes be, either that the public peace would be disturbed, or that these unfortunate victims must reduce their scale of comforts so low, that though they might live and propagate, their moral habits must become degraded; and the State, by withholding a temporary supply, be clogged, for generations, with a beggarly and overgrown population.

There are the strongest grounds for doubting if any relaxation of the general rule ought to be permitted even in these extreme cases, let them be pushed as far as they may; be-

cause, of all the contingencies that ought to be constantly in the view of a manufacturing population, the sudden changes to which manufactures are subject seem to be the most obvious, and those against which there is therefore the smallest apology for not guarding. But, in order to narrow the debateable ground as much as possible, and to get some point on which we may safely rest, let it be admitted, that these are casualties for which the law ought to provide. It does not follow from this, that the mode of provision must be by the establishment of a poor-rate, *as an ordinary part of our public institutions.* It may be right that the public should be taxed in order to avert a peculiar public calamity; but surely this remedy ought never to be lightly applied; and it is difficult to see why a law should not be made on this, as on similar occasions, for the precise case when it occurs, and under all the qualifications which shall be approved of by the Legislature for the time. Such an interference would not take place rashly;—it would be guarded by right conditions;—it would not continue too long; and, above all, by its requiring the positive sanction of the Legislature, the relief that was afforded would be marked to those who were to receive it, as an extraordinary and precarious measure. There are many examples of this having been done in the course of our legislative humanity.

But when, instead of this, the raising of funds by compulsion, for the relief of mere common poverty, *is made a part of the ordinary law*, the results are not now a matter of speculation, but of certainty; and though they have been explained a thousand times, there are people to whom they require to be explained again.

1*st*, People become systematically trained to expect relief as a matter of right, as soon as they are qualified by penury to claim it; and the connection which Nature has established between economy and independence, and between improvidence and want, is, in their minds, impaired, or altogether destroyed. 2*dly*, The neighbours and kindred of the poor, seeing that there is a public fountain of what is called Charity, from which every pauper may draw, abstain from relieving them; and all those private sympathies are chilled by which penury might otherwise be secretly and honourably aided. 3*dly*, The consequence of this is, not merely that a preparation is artificially made for increasing the numbers of the poor, but that they are much less comfortably relieved; and that the moral character of the whole of the lower population is injured. In their prosperity they are made profuse; in their adversity, instead of falling into the arms of relations and friends, they find

themselves deserted; and, in place of asking relief from that genuine mercy which blesseth both the giver and the receiver, they demand it with defying and ungrateful hardness, as their legal due. *4thly*, Though it be by much the smallest of the evils which mark such a scene, still it is an evil of no inconsiderable magnitude, that this deviation from the natural system is attended with prodigious and unnecessary expense;—not merely the expense of what is strictly requisite for the poor, but of all that waste and misapplication, which is sure to attend the distribution of public funds, by a great number of individuals acting without concert, regulation, or responsibility. It has been said, that the poor, even of England, might be maintained for two millions Sterling a year; but it is certain that they have sometimes cost above four times that amount.

Of all these, however, the great and radical evil consists in the constant tendency of the legal system, not merely to increase the numbers of the poor, but to deteriorate their condition. No statistical table could be so useful as one that would show how regularly and steadily this class of persons, and the rates which support them, have augmented, wherever the practice of relieving them by law has been resorted to. There are many instances in which the spreading of the evil has been checked for a while, by the temporary zeal of those who were alarmed by its progress; but the general truth is unquestionable, that wherever the system of a compulsory maintenance has not been altogether abandoned, its advance, in the form of multiplying paupers, and of aggravating pauperism, is as certain, and almost as overwhelming, as the flowing of the tide. It is a thing, in short, that is only to be regulated by being utterly put down,—and thus banished from the list of those resources which the poor or their administrators can be allowed habitually to contemplate.

It has been supposed, however, that there is no ground for any alarm upon this account in Scotland, because we are protected by various checks, of which our Southern neighbours have not had the benefit; and because, under the hereditary operation of these, the natural repugnance of all uncorrupted people to apply for public charity, has been maintained undiminished among our population. There is happily a great deal of truth in this, but unfortunately a very great deal of exaggeration. In order to distinguish these, it is necessary to look at the mechanism of our system, and at the results which it has actually produced.

Some light was thrown upon these subjects, a few years ago, by two Reports which were drawn up by the General As-

sembly of our National Church, and presented to Parliament. One of these was in the year 1818, the other in the year following. It is to be lamented that neither of these contains information, either so precise or so full, in the details, as might have been expected from the quarter they came from. The clergy are the persons who are principally versant in the practical administration of the poor-law; and the Statistical Account of Scotland is a meritorious monument of their intelligence and accuracy on such subjects. Yet the Report drawn up by a Committee, and approved of by the Assembly of 1818, though it contains a great deal of correct and valuable preliminary observation, is, *in its details*, one of the most defective and inaccurate documents that was perhaps ever presented to Parliament. Its blunders, indeed, were so numerous, and in many instances so ludicrous, that it was avowedly for the sake of removing the ridicule which they brought upon its authors, that the Report of 1819 was got up. The Committee by whom this last statement was prepared claim no merit, except from the circumstance that they 'have employed 'the best means in their power to supply what was wanting in 'the information of former years, *and have endeavoured to ar-* '*range it in an intelligible form.*' In this attempt they were certainly more successful than their predecessors of the previous year; but still their work is very far indeed from being satisfactory. In particular, the value of its Tables is greatly impaired by their never showing the exact commencement and progress of poors-rates, but merely stating their amount *upon averages of ten years.* So that a parish which has been assessed for fifty years is not to be distinguished from one where an assessment was never heard of till two or three years ago; and it is impossible to discover, except by an occasional marginal remark, whether the pauperism or the assessment have been increasing, or stationary, or declining. There are a variety of other defects, which it would be well worthy of the clergy of Scotland to cure, as they might very easily do, by a more careful and better digested analysis:—But still, with all their imperfections, these Reports contain the only condensed information applicable to recent times, respecting the condition of the poor, that we are in possession of; and although they can rarely be trusted to, where precision of detail is wanted, they are sufficiently full to form the basis of general views.

The management of the poor in Scotland is committed to two bodies;—the one called the Kirk-session, the other the Heritors. The kirk-session is composed of the clergyman or

minister of each parish, and certain persons who are denominated Elders, aided sometimes by what are called Deacons. The ordinary business of the *elders* is to assist the clergyman in the moral discipline of the parish. When a vacancy happens, it is filled up by an election made by the remaining members of the session. There is no legal limitation of the number of elders; but the general understanding is, that they are not to be multiplied unnecessarily, and, as their office is a gratuitous one, and is attended with some little trouble, there is never much temptation to increase them, except when there is some particular point to be carried. They are commonly selected out of that respectable class of persons who are above the lower orders, and yet rather below the higher rank of the society of the place, though there is no definite rule, and no absolute exclusion of any body, whose circumstances and character are respectable. The *heritors* are the proprietors of the real property within the parish. It is by them and their tenants that the sum raised for the maintenance of the poor (called the assessment) must be paid. This assessment is divided between the proprietors and the tenants, according to rules which it is needless to explain here; but the general import of which is, that the proprietors are entitled to obtain relief of what is laid upon them, to the extent of one half, from their lessees. These heritors are conjoined with the kirk-sessions, in the administration of the poors-funds; that is, they are legally entitled to act along with them, but, as the First Report by the General Assembly states, 'the heritors, in practice, seldom or never in-'terfere in regulating the concerns of the poor or the poors-'funds, except in parishes where assessments are levied.' The ordinary funds for the support of the poor, consist of the alms collected at the church-door, parochial fines, and other dues, and any sum that may have been gifted to the parish. The last are commonly small; so that the chief fund arises from the church-door collections. The direct tax called an Assessment is only resorted to when these resources fail.

It is in this apparatus that the excellence of the Scottish system is said to consist. The elders are held to be a class of persons admirably fitted for investigating every claim that can be made for admission upon the poors-roll. They reside within the parish;—they either know the claimant personally, or can easily inquire into his character and circumstances;—and they are in that station of life to which such an employment, instead of being nauseous, is a fair ground of parochial power and importance. The heritors, on the other hand, being the persons who are to pay, are supposed to have a natural anxiety to keep the claim-

ants as few as possible, and consequently to check any extravagance or carelessness on the part of the elders; and the union of these two makes a body, to which there is nothing else exactly similar in the country; consisting partly of those under whose personal observation the distress that is to be relieved must fall, and of those who are steeled against profusion by their being themselves its immediate victims. It must be observed too, that this little ecclesiastical court is still held in considerable reverence all over the country, and that it acts in the midst of a population which is of a pious and industrious character. So that nothing seems to be wanting that legal regulation can provide; and all that is requisite for the perfection of the system is, that it shall be properly acted upon by those who are rewarded for doing so, not only by the feeling that they are performing a grateful duty, but by the direct promotion of their own interest.

This is the theory of the matter; and it is a very pleasing theory to contemplate. But if we really wish to know how it actually works, we must not commit the usual blunder of looking merely to its poetical side. We must not turn our eyes to those rude or happy parishes alone which have never yet been visited by the only circumstances that are calculated to try the practical efficacy of any scheme of poor-laws. We must withdraw our attention from districts where the population is either diminishing, or not much advancing, or where its advance has hitherto been equalled by the progress of trade; where it is slightly extended over a rural parish, where every family and every individual is personally known to the clergyman and the elders; where the waterfalls are yet free from cotton-mills; where no parallelogram with a thousand children has been erected or abandoned; where the largest town consists of a village, with its single spire and its single alehouse; where no barrack or uniform has ever been seen; and where, in short, all the primeval simplicity of the place has been preserved. We must look to those parishes which have been touched by what is called modern improvement,—a visitation to which, whether we like it or not, we must now make up our minds—which has already covered more than half the kingdom, and is destined, to an absolute certainty, to cover the rest of it, within a very short and almost visible portion of time. How does our machinery work *as an effectual check to pauperism in these cases*,—managed, as it always must be, with the ordinary vigilance of human beings? What has been the history of the progress of assessments for the poor in Scotland? What is the extent it has already reached? What is its apparent future tendency?

Nothing would have been more important than if the Reports of the General Assembly had afforded a plain answer to these questions, by stating precisely the commencement of the assessment in every assessed parish, with its subsequent yearly variations. But they do not do this: and do not even furnish materials out of which the facts can be accurately ascertained. They will probably never be ascertained, except by a Parliamentary return—which could be very easily furnished, and would be one of the most valuable statistical documents that Scotland could be presented with. In the mean time, those who care for such subjects must reason on such information as they can obtain by their own exertions, or, which is a safer foundation, on such broad and general facts as are quite notorious. Proceeding on these grounds, the general source and current of our assessments seems to have been somewhat as follows.

There were so few manufactures, and so little commerce, till lately, in Scotland, that when the kingdom came to be somewhat settled after the Revolution, there was no internal cause or apology for any assessment in any place. Accordingly, there would have been no assessments then, if it had not been that they were suggested to the people by the bad example of their neighbours. It is a certain, and most certainly a very memorable fact, that, prior to the year 1700, *there were only three assessed parishes in Scotland.* These parishes too were all in the Synod (or Ecclesiastical division) of Merse and Tiviotdale,—where the disease being once established, it has since spread, by contagion, to such an extent, that there is not now an inch of that extensive district that has not been long infected. 'Notice' (says the Committee of 1818) 'has been taken here 'of these facts, because the Synod of Merse and Tiviotdale is 'situate in the Scottish counties contiguous to England, where 'assessments generally prevail; and *they afford a decisive and 'striking practical proof, that compulsory assessments will soon 'be found unavoidable, wherever the feelings of the lower classes 'become habituated to the view of the claims made, and allowances 'received under them elsewhere.*'

Under the operation of this unquestionable principle, there has been a constant tendency in the evil, wherever it has been established, to spread,—and, of course, the great stream of it has been from the South to the North, where it has penetrated more slowly and partially, chiefly because the North has less attracted commerce,—and has had a more stationary population. But the mischief has not been left to work its way by mere contiguity. Towns have grown, and manufactures have sprung up, in countless places; and in most instances where this has taken

place, the population has trenched upon the average means of respectable subsistence,—the market for labour has not always been steady,—the connexion between the clergyman and elders on the one hand, and the people on the other, has been loosened,—claims have occurred so extensive and urgent, that it required great firmness, and a clear perception of right policy, to resist them,—the fatal experiment of an assessment has been resorted to, under the delusion that it would be only temporary; and the country has thus been gradually covered with innumerable spots, which are not only corrupt themselves, but spread the poison all around them. Over these scenes, even in purely agricultural parishes, ignorance and apathy have often presided; and the example of assessing, on what are supposed to be strong calls, has survived the season that created it; till at last the evil has attained a height, which it is so painful to contemplate, that most people shut their eyes to it, and relapse into pleasing rhapsodies about the excellence of the Scottish poor-laws!

It is not easy to detect the exact point of increase. But the general fact is discernible in every part of the system where it can operate;—in the number of *parishes* that are assessed;—the number of *people* subject to the compulsory practice;—the *property* which this practice has extended over;—the *description of persons* who are considered as paupers.

We cannot, by any analysis of the General Assembly's Reports, ascertain the simple fact of how many parishes were assessed at the time that these Reports were made out. This arises from various causes. 1. The circumstance, whether there be or be not an assessment, is often stated equivocally. 2. Under the principle of taking averages of ten years, occasional assessments are sometimes plainly taken into view, and sometimes avowedly left out of view. 3. Because the levying of money, under the form either of regular or of occasional 'voluntary contributions,' as they are called, but which contributions are obtained under the systematic threat of assessment, is not regularly set down as an assessment. It is so set down sometimes; on which occasion there is a distinct note to this effect—'This sum is set down in the minister's return as 'voluntary contribution; but as it is levied from heritors ac-'cording to the valued rent, it is here inserted as assessment.' But this is evidently not done regularly. 4. In some instances, the very number of parishes is not marked. Edinburgh, for example, is set down as only one parish, though it consisted then of eleven.

In this situation, we cannot state how many places were at

that time under the compulsory system, with absolute exactness; but, according to the fairest analysis of the Report of 1819, which is the only one of which the details can be depended upon at all, there were apparently about 218 parishes assessed. This seems to be the result, on the assumption that the Report is correct and full. But it is neither the one nor the other; and if a stricter account were taken, a very considerable addition would require to be made to this number. In particular, if credit be given for the new cases that have been added to the melancholy list since the date of these Reports, and for a due proportion of the very great number of instances in which, though heritors will not assess directly, they delude themselves by doing the very same thing, by systematic contributions under the threat of an assessment, and which the people rely upon just as confidently as if the tax were levied in the usual way, we suspect that 300 assessed parishes would be much nearer the number than 218; and *we are pretty confident that no fair computation could now reduce them below* 250. Now, there are about 890 parishes in Scotland; so that, apparently, there is nearly a third of the whole number under the operation of this corruption.

But though the number of *parishes* be important, as denoting the variety of places where the seed is sown, it is less material than the number of *people* who live within the influence of this curse. As might have been expected, it is the most populous parts of the country that are most subject to it; and, accordingly, upon looking at the census of 1821, we find, that the population of the 218 parishes stated in the Report as assessed, amounts to about 815,320. If the additional parishes, which we say ought to be included, be taken into view, its amount will not be much, if at all, under *one million.* The total population of the whole country, by the census of 1821, is about 2,093,456. So that *about half the people* live in the continual contemplation of that practice, which, when seen across the Border, corrupted three parishes prior to the year 1700, and has since made each of these three corrupt about a hundred, and the very knowledge of the existence of which, tends to destroy everywhere the only virtues that can either prevent or grace poverty. 'The Reports,' says the Committee of the Assembly, 'from the ministers of parishes that *are* assessed, concur universally in stating, that the effect of the assessments has been to lessen the reluctance of the poor to apply for charity from the parochial funds.' An occurrence is elsewhere mentioned, which shows the consequences of the people knowing any thing about the possibility of a compulsory provision. 'In one

'parish, the following singular fact occurred; when the heri-
'tors publickly proposed to establish an assessment, and the
'representations of the ministers as to the injurious conse-
'quences likely to result from the measure, had induced them
'at last to abandon it, still such was the impression produced
'on the minds of the parishioners, by its proposal and public
'discussion, that the amount of collections at the church-door
'was diminished one-half, and the number of applications for
'relief from the poors-funds was doubled.'

It will be observed too, that this misfortune has generally a tendency, not only to extend, but to extend, not perhaps annually, but in a course of years, *in an increasing ratio.* The assessment rears a population which relies upon it, as its appropriate fund of support, and increase of appetite grows by what it feeds upon. Greater energy also is required to diminish, than to prevent, the evil; and consequently, if the managers had not firmness to resist it at first, they must be expected always to yield to it more easily, according as it makes head against them. Accordingly, it is stated in the first Report, that of the 700 parishes (of which alone that Report takes notice), only three were assessed prior to the year 1700; 'but, 'from 1700 to 1800, there were 93 established; and in the short 'period from 1800 to 1817, not less than 49; being more than 'one-half of the whole number existing in the last century.' And while the flood is thus rolling over new parishes, the number of those from which it has receded is alarmingly small. It would be very useful to see an authentic return of the number of places from which assessments, when once habitually introduced, have been eradicated. Some such instances have, no doubt, occurred, and most honourable they are to the individuals concerned. But it may be doubted if twenty such achievements have been performed in the course of the last hundred years.

Nor is it merely by an increase of conquered parishes that the march of this destroyer is marked. Even within the same parish, there is generally, though not uniformly, a progressive rise in the annual tribute which he exacts. It is stated in the First Report, that in most parishes which have once admitted of assessments, they are on the increase; that in many they have doubled in ten years; and *in one, in four.* And the general wonder confessedly is, that, in spite of all that law does for the poor, they always multiply!

In most places where law has had them long under its charge, they have multiplied so much, that the original fund, which used anciently to be thought all that they could devour, would not

now be a morsel to them. But they have claimed, and, on a due exposition of our old statutes, they have been found entitled to claim, various new funds; and, if any thing could rouse the attention of our heritors, it would be the gradual encroachment which they have thus made upon every species of property. It was apparently never contemplated by the founders of our poor-laws, that any thing should be liable to be taxed except real property; and this, not according to its actual worth, but according to a system of *valuation*, which is familiar to the practice of Scotland, and is always greatly below the rack-rent. The '*means and substance*' of the tenantry, from whom the heritors obtain relief to the extent of a half, and the '*estimation of the substance*' of persons living in royal burghs, is, no doubt, directed by some of the statutes to be adopted as the rule. But, then, such persons had, in those days, scarcely any means or substance except what arose directly from land; and accordingly, the fact is, that the assessments long ago were almost invariably levied from *the valued rent of heritable property* alone. This, however, came in time to be found in many places insufficient; and, therefore, the *actual rent* was taken as the criterion. This subjected all real property according to a liberal construction of its true value. Personal property, however, was still understood to be safe. But it was at last decided,* that when a person was charged as the inhabitant of a royal burgh, he was not only liable to pay upon his real estate within the burgh, but on his personal income wherever situate. This subdued the last stronghold to which the inhabitants of burghs had retreated, and opened up the whole of their property, of every description, to this tax. The country heritors, however, gloried in their exemption, and believed, that whatever might be the case with the means and substance of their tenants, they themselves were beyond the reach of being touched, except for the actual rent of their real property within the parish; and, in particular, they were proud of the distinction, which at least saved their personal income from assessment or investigation. But, in the year 1817, this also was found to be a dream. A landed gentleman, living upon his own property in the country, was assessed as a householder, upon his whole personal income, though it was not only unconnected with the parish, but, to a great extent, was unconnected with the kingdom of Scotland. He resisted this. But it was found by the Court of Session,† that the charge was well founded. So that pau-

* Lawrie *ag.* Dreghorn, 2d Dec. 1797.

† Cochran *v.* M[illegible], 11th Feb. 1823.

perism has at last triumphed over every exemption; and personal property has been found almost universally liable in Scotland, nearly about the same time that a Committee of the House of Commons has reported, that this description of property ought to be saved from poors-rates in England.

The *description of persons*, too, for whom it is necessary to provide, has, in modern times, received a prodigious and most alarming addition. At the date of the statutory law which forms the basis of our system, there was no commerce in Scotland, and, therefore, there was not much sudden vicissitude in the market for labour. Hence, it is chiefly for the '*aged, sick, lame, and im-*' *potent, people*' '*quhilks of necessitie, mon live be almes,*' that the legislature provides; and those who have allowed the compulsory practice to get into their parishes, had evidently no idea that they were exposing themselves to maintain those who, though in perfect health, were made poor merely by want of employment or of provisions. But it was at last found lawful to assess, and to compel those who objected to that measure to pay, for the support of persons 'who, though in ordinary seasons, able 'to gain their livelihood, are reduced, during a dearth of pro-'visions, to have recourse to a charitable supply.' This was a case of poverty from dearth; but in 1819, a case which shall be explained hereafter, occurred from Paisley, in which a claim of the same kind was maintained for persons who had nothing to say, *except that they could get no work.* As this claim was not expressly sustained, it would be presumptuous in us to lay down that it was well founded; but we know that we are correct in stating, that those who resisted it had no pleasing anticipations of the result, and were extremely glad to get quit of the discussion by an accidental preliminary objection.

All that we infer from these facts is, that, in any view, pauperism,—meaning by this both poverty and poors-rates,—has greatly increased. It is rash to predict; but it has increased so progressively and so steadily, that if the present system shall continue for half a century longer, it seems no unsafe prophesy to anticipate that this mist, which so sadly obscures the virtues of our cottages, will have gathered ground at the heel of every labourer, and glided into every hamlet, in the kingdom. There are some to whom—when they think of the means which those on whom the relief of the poor depends have to check imposition or profusion,—this progress may seem unaccountable. But there are two things which these persons probably do not take into view.

First, Our machinery, though in many respects excellent, is

not perfect. In particular, the heritors have no immediate interest in the matter, so long as the poor are maintained by the collections at the church-doors, or by the ordinary parochial funds. The hope of keeping off an assessment on some future day, is not sufficient to stimulate their attention; and when the urgent day arrives, their interference is too late. The business is left previously to this to the minister and elders; and it is possible that they, having a smaller interest at stake, may be negligent too; and even when they are zealous, their actually witnessing the distress that is complained of, and being the persons to whom each tale of woe is addressed, and who receive the gratitude of relieving it, gives them a natural inclination to do any thing rather than see any misery not immediately removed. This may be an amiable, and, in their situation, perhaps a dutiful, propensity; but it is one which, if not controlled by great intelligence and firmness, allures to the adoption of the most disastrous remedies. And even when the heritors do exert themselves, they have generally but a poor chance, in the event of any difference of opinion between them and the elders; for there is no legal restriction in the number of the latter; whose sympathies are in general more in unison with the receivers of the charity than with its givers. And when these two bodies quarrel, as they sometimes do, the kirk-session can almost to a certainty bring an assessment on the parish if it pleases. So that, upon the whole, let the thing be as well managed as it can commonly be expected to be, the inclination of the meeting, even where its dislike to a compulsory provision is quite sincere, is rather to assess for the redress of urgent distress, and to trust to the future for undoing the mischief which they know they are inflicting, than resolutely to adhere to that seemingly harder policy, from which, though their reason assents to it, their hearts, or rather their weakness, recoils at the moment.

Secondly, Independently of this misfortune in the constitution of the body, there are certain circumstances, or rather feelings, which, wherever compulsory provision is put into people's power, abates the reluctance which they have to exercise it. Why has it ever been exercised? Why will it ever be so while it is allowed? It generally has crept, and ever will creep in, thus.—The tax is never thought of till the day of distress arrives; and, in the meanwhile, there being no pressure or alarm, every body is delighted with the beauty of our poor-laws. When a dearth, however, occurs, or the great local manufacturing concern becomes suddenly bankrupt, or there has been a fire, or any other calamity which creates an unexpected and clamo-

rous demand for charity, the parochial authorities meet in a state of emotion and confusion—enlightened by no general principle—confirmed by no experience. But, because they have a vague impression that it is a bad thing, they are all against assessment, and resolve to try a subscription. Some are liberal, and subscribe well; but some, who ought to be more liberal, give nothing at all, or give once, with a resolute intimation that it is to be once for all. This excites the indignation of the right givers; and it is resolved that every person shall contribute exactly what could be required of him by law; and it is announced that the law will be put in force against those who refuse. A few, relying on their brethren's horror of assessment, resist even this compulsory voluntary contribution; till, at last, some who originally opposed assessment become eager for it, as the only mode of annoying and subduing the shabby; and others are led into it from perceiving, that, after all, it is the only instrument by which relief can be procured instantly, certainly, and equally.

All this folly could, no doubt, be easily avoided. For nothing is requisite for its avoidance but a certain portion of energy and intelligence. But the misfortune is, that these are qualities of which the supply is not always equal to the demand; and they are least of all to be expected, when they are only recommended by the dread of an evil that is future, and obstructed by the prospect of existing misery that is both piteous and alarming. The check that is supposed to be afforded by those who impose the assessment having to bear their proportion of it, which is the keystone of the whole system, though extremely valuable, is not nearly so effectual as is commonly imagined. The managers of all funds like to have them large, even when they themselves contribute rateably. The unwillingness to pay is diminished by the pleasure of managing, and by being freed from further trouble or foresight for the moment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pays taxes like any body else; yet he always likes to have them high. And it will be observed, that, in large towns, this check has scarcely any operation at all, because the number of those by whom the assessment is imposed is utterly insignificant when compared with those by whom it must be paid; and even in country parishes, though heritors may feel the burden which they are imposing, they are generally more disposed to pay, and have done with this matter for a year, than to persevere in exercising that systematic vigilance by which alone the evil can be put down, after it has once been introduced. If their own expenditure were all that was at stake, it might be enough to say, 'Let them suffer for their weakness.' But where

their weakness corrupts the people, and fixes an intolerable burden on posterity, it is desirable to make some exertion to save them from the consequences of their own ignorance.

It has been imagined, that this is sure to be done at last by the mere progress of knowledge;—that people will get wiser, when the true philosophy of pauperism is better understood: and that the terrible example of England will startle even those who will not or cannot think. Experience, we fear, warrants no such anticipations. All the attempts that have hitherto been made to eradicate poors-rates, have been met by such powerful prejudices, and the temptations to fly to them as the most certain, and equal, and speedy remedy, are so great, that, although we are disposed to allow great effect to the advancement of truth, we cannot help doubting, whether this be an evil, for the removal of which it is safe to trust to the mere improving good sense of individuals. But all speculation upon this point is superseded by a circumstance, of which the public is perhaps not sufficiently aware. The progress of intelligence can only operate in preventing compulsory provision, where the adoption of this remedy is a matter of discretion, and not of legal necessity. Now it is commonly supposed, that every thing connected with the management of our poor is committed exclusively to the heritors and kirk-session; and it is chiefly with reference to this circumstance, that our system has hitherto been so much admired. It is held that there can be no great danger when the success of every claimant depends entirely upon the will of those who know his circumstances, and who have to pay what he gets; and the true mode of abolishing poor-rates is described as consisting in the growing conviction of their inexpediency; upon the completion of which the heritors and kirk-sessions have only to abstain from using them, and to fall back on their other resources, when this evil will disappear. But, independently of the fearful risk which there is of its reappearance, as soon as people forget their principles or do not act upon them, it has been discovered that the ground-work of this vision is founded in error.

The Committee of the Assembly state, that 'it is a characteristic feature of our poor-laws, that the power of determining every matter relative to the application and expenditure of the poors' funds, is committed, *in the first instance*, to the hands of the persons liable to the burden of payment.' But if there be any other persons to whom this power is committed *in the second instance*, the importance of its being given to the Heritors and Kirk-session in the first, is altogether destroyed. Now, it appears that cases have occurred in which the pauper, instead of being the humble and grateful dependent of the paro-

chial tribunal, has discovered that the Scottish statutes gave him *a legal right* to relief, and in which, instead of taking what was originally awarded, he has made an appeal to the Sheriff of the county, acting in his judicial capacity, for more; and in which the Sheriff has found himself compelled to support this demand. '*The Committee find twenty-six cases reported of higher allowances than the kirk-session proposed to give, being fixed by the Sheriff, on appeal to him by the pauper; and thirty cases of "murmurings and threatenings" of an appeal by discontented individuals.*' It is stated in a preceding passage, that 'several ministers from assessed parishes, expressed their regret (and it is mentioned as one of the evils resulting from assessments), that when the Sheriff interferes on the petition of a pauper to enforce a higher allowance than the session proposes to give, he feels himself limited as a judge, to a view of merely the *indigence* of the case, without any reference to the accidental *character* of the individual.'

This is by far the most alarming circumstance in the whole system of our pauperism; for, if it be true that the parochial authorities are liable to be controlled as to the persons they put upon the poor's-roll, or the amount of the relief that they afford, by the courts of law, our hope of ultimately freeing the land of this pest, in so far as it depends on the progress of knowledge, may be considered as destroyed. It was long denied by many that there was any foundation for this interference. But a recent and very solemn judgement of the Supreme Court, puts an end to all doubt upon the subject. Glasgow is much infested by Irish of the lowest description; and as there is no law of removal in Scotland, but every one acquires a settlement merely by three years' continued residence in any parish he may happen to go to, it is impossible to get rid of these persons, when they fall, as they very generally do, after the three years are out, into a state of what is reckoned destitution in this country, but which, when relieved oy poors-rates, is paradise to an Irish beggar. In order to check the premium thus held out to the daily arrival of hosts of locusts, a general resolution was adopted by the heritors and kirk-session of the Barony parish of that city, that no Irishman should be admitted upon the poors-roll. Whether this was a fair or judicious resolution, is quite immaterial. It was one which they held that they were just as well entitled to form, as to exclude persons of bad character, or to exercise their discretion in any other way that was satisfactory to their own minds. They accordingly rejected the claim of an applicant, because he was a native of Ireland. On this the claimant brought their opinion under the review of the Court of

Session; and after an ample discussion, that Court determined, * 1*st*, That it had authority to control the proceedings of heritors and kirk-sessions in rejecting claimants. 2*dly*, That, in this particular case, the meeting had acted illegally in not granting relief to a person to whom no objection had been stated, except that he was an Irishman. He was therefore ordered to be put upon the roll; and although it was not decided, it was distinctly intimated, and understood by the parties, that, if any attempt should be made to evade that judgment, by giving him too small a sum, the Court had also power to control this; because it was admitted that he stood in need of relief, and that, by law, a pauper was not solely a begger of charity, but *a creditor* upon a fund, in the management of which the heritors and session were *accountable trustees.* This judgment has since been acted upon by the parties, as fixing the law.

The result of this is, that the great foundation on which the reputation of our system rests, is removed, or rather it has been found, upon examination, that it had never had any legal existence. It is true, that Courts of Justice will not interfere lightly with the decisions of the parochial authorities; but the whole character of the system is subverted the moment the poor know that they do not absolutely depend upon their local managers; and that, instead of being applicants for charity, they are claimants of a legal right; which right, of course, does not depend upon their personal conduct, and cannot be withheld or discontinued according to improved views of policy, but forms a provision on which they may always rely, and the duration and measure of which depend solely on the continuance and the extent of their indigence. Nor is this state of the law less unfavourable to those who act as administrators for the poor in the first instance. Heritors and kirk-sessions will proceed with vigour, when they are aware that the whole responsibility of their conduct is laid upon themselves. But when they know that there is a power greater than they to which every pauper can apply, they feel, that, while they or the public funds committed to their charge may be involved in litigation, they can have little authority or glory in their provincial sphere;—they sicken at their task, and abandon it in despair. And when it is held that Courts of Justice will always be delicate in their interference, it must never be forgotten that there is at least one case to which, beyond all question, this interference would be applied while the present law is allowed to remain. Suppose that the administrators of a parish were to become satisfied, as it is to be hoped that the whole kingdom will soon be, that assess-

* Heritors of Barony Parish *v.* Higgins, 9th July 1824.

ment was not only an evil, but an evil of such enormous and encroaching magnitude that its rigid avoidance was to be always assumed as an ultimate principle, unless when the Legislature chose to command its adoption on special occasions. This is the only system which the progress of knowledge tends to recommend; and if intelligence were allowed to act freely, poors-rates might possibly come to be eradicated gradually out of every parish. But the law, which makes the heritors and kirk-sessions mere trustees, and declares that the pauper is a creditor upon a public fund set apart for his use, is a deathblow to this hope. Though a parish, with this view, would be in precisely the state which it is desirable that all parishes should reach, any pauper may bring it back to its former degradation in a moment, by saying, that he will not submit to precarious voluntary charity, but will have his legal rights, and will go to law in support of them. A court of justice cannot deny him his right upon views of policy. So that there is thus a direct legal check interposed, by which the growth of a more enlightened policy is either prevented or made useless.

Nor let people delude themselves with the idea, that the poor can remain ignorant of their rights, or that there are effectual obstacles against their enforcing them. Whenever the notion of a right to relief prevails, the modesty of charity is extinguished, and the poor take perfectly good care of themselves. The Report states twenty-six cases of successful appeals to Sheriffs, and thirty cases of murmurings and threatenings. Our law Reports show, that besides these, there have been several successful applications to the Supreme Court. But one of these was of so expressive a character, that it throws all the rest into the shade. In 1819, a petition was presented to the Heritors and Kirk-session of the Abbey Parish of Paisley, *by eight hundred and twenty-five* persons, who described themselves as '*able bodied men*,' but claimed relief *as poor*, 'in respect of the urgency of their situation, arising 'from *the stagnation of manufacturing employment.*' This application was taken into consideration by the kirk-session; but it was rejected, on the ground that such persons did not fall within the provision of the law. Upon this, the able bodied men applied to the Sheriff, not merely to fix the law, but to compel the heritors to exercise it in their favour. The Sheriff ordered the heritors to meet and assess themselves. This decision was brought under the review of the Court of Session, where the matter was very fortunately got quit of, by its being only necessary to decide,* that, even though the

* 29th November, 1821.

heritors had been wrong, the power of controlling them was not vested *in the Sheriff.* It was not found, because it was not necessary to find, whether an appeal would have lain *to the Court of Session* or not; but what the determination upon this point would have been, may be conjectured from the judgment that was afterwards pronounced in the case of the Barony parish of Glasgow, where such an appeal was expressly sustained. The decision setting aside the Sheriff's order, however, ended the discussion; for trade revived, and the stagnation which the 825 petitioners complained of, was removed. But this was a tremendous experiment, and fearfully near succeeding. It is an example sufficient to make every heritor in Scotland tremble for his estate. For if this battalion of able bodied beggars,—the like of which may be brought into any parish into which it pleases a manufacturer to lead them,—had compelled the landed gentlemen near Paisley to assess themselves, the result would have implied that land is everywhere to be burdened with the maintenance of all distressed manufacturers, but that the owners of that land have no substantial and independent voice in the matter.

The General Assembly had a natural tendency to soften the statement of evils which could not be denied;—because those who are the practical managers of a system, are the last to see its imperfections. Accordingly, there are various pictures of our pauperism given in the first Report, which, though extremely pleasing, are evidently fallacious, unless they be confined rigidly to parishes that have never applied compulsive contribution to the maintainance of their poor. Yet, even with this tendency, the following is one of the results to which they came. They say that 'they cannot avoid expressing their conviction, that the full and accurate details furnished by the numerous returns from the ministers of parishes that are assessed, have enabled them to produce an extent and kind of evidence more conclusive than has ever been collected hitherto in Scotland, not only of the pernicious tendency in general of these compulsatory taxations, *but of their having already made a progress in this country, which ought to excite the alarm of all who take an interest in its welfare.*' In another passage the following declaration is made. 'The subcommittee take the liberty to add their decided conviction, not only that the practice of legal and compulsory assessments for the support of the poor, *is radically unwise and dangerous, but also that the crisis has already arrived when Scotland should, in every quarter, take the alarm,* and form precautions against the farther spread in our country of so baneful a national calamity.

'Individual cases of the mischief arising from assessments have 'been often brought before the public, and they have given 'ground for loud and just warnings to the public foresight and 'prudence. But the complete picture had not been hitherto 'produced and sufficiently authenticated, in all its broad ex- 'tent of magnitude and threatening aspect. It has been so 'produced and authenticated now. May it not, therefore, be 'hoped that it will at once arrest the attention of both heritors 'and all who feel any concern in the most important interests 'in the kingdom; and *will excite, without delay, to measures 'for resisting the progress, and for even exterminating, if pos- 'sible, the existence of so disastrous an evil.*' If these conclusions were well founded, as unquestionably they were, in the year 1818, how much sounder are they now, when the evil, instead of diminishing since that period, has unquestionably increased, and when the decisions that have been referred to have removed the delusion that had long prevailed, with respect to what our law really was!

Perceiving the course that this calamity was taking, and aware that this exhortation by the clergy was anxiously concurred in by every person acquainted with the true theory of pauperism, a bill was brought into Parliament, in the year 1819, by Mr Kennedy, which proposed merely to establish one single principle. It consisted of only four clauses. Two of these reserved the law as it was, with respect to all questions of settlement, and with respect to madmen or idiots;—and the other two merely went to provide, that the Courts of Law should have no power to control the decision of the heritors and kirk-session. The whole really enacting words of the bill were as follows: 'In all cases touching the right to receive re- 'lief or aid, either temporary or permanent, or the amount of 'such relief or aid when granted, *the decision of the heritors 'and kirk-session* of a landward parish, of the kirk-session and 'magistrates of a burgh, or other lawful administrators of the 'funds for the relief of the poor, in a parish within burgh, or 'of the heritors, kirk-session, and magistrates of a burgh, or 'other lawful administrators of the funds for the relief of the 'poor, in a parish partly landward, and partly within burgh, 'respectively met as aforesaid, *shall be exclusive of all other 'jurisdiction*, and be final and conclusive, any law or practice 'to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This bill passed the House of Commons—but it was stopt in the House of Lords. The only objections we ever heard stated to it were, 1*st*, That it interfered with *the rights* of the poor. 2*dly*, That the poor had no rights; but that any alteration or

declaration of the law was unnecessary, because it was quite certain that the Superior Courts had never interfered to thwart the parochial jurisdictions, and had no authority to do so. The practice of sheriffs in controuling them was overlooked; and the case of the Barony Parish of Glasgow had not then been decided; and those who anticipated what the judgment upon any such case must be, were held to be unacquainted with the law. 3*dly*, That as the bill made the decision of the heritors and kirk-session conclusive, there was no remedy for landowners who might be assessed unreasonably by meetings in which they often formed the minority, and which were composed chiefly of elders, who might be increased at their own pleasure, and whose tendency to assess is always greater than that of the heritors. So this measure was defeated. If the bill had passed, it would have prevented the legal establishment of the principle, that the destitute have not only a right to relief, but a right which does not depend upon discretion, and would have laid the only foundation on which the progress of knowledge in eradicating poors-rates can act.

In the year 1824, the same intelligent and patriotic person made another attempt to arrest the evil, by a bill of more extensive operation, and which was framed in the view of meeting the only formidable objection to the preceding measure; which objection was the one that was founded on the dread of the heritors being outvoted, without remedy, by the elders. The provisions of this new bill were as follows.—

1. A division was made between the minister and kirk-session on the one part, and the heritors on the other; and it was proposed that, while the former should have the absolute and exclusive controul of the *ordinary* poor-funds, without being liable to be interfered with, the latter should have an equally absolute and exclusive controul over the *assessment*. But, in order that the kirk-sessions might be adequately represented among the heritors, it was provided, that the clergyman should be a constituent member of their meeting.—The object of this was to prevent the heritors from complaining that they were overwhelmed by the elders, and at the same time to reconcile the elders to the scheme of withdrawing the extraordinary funds from their controul, by giving them the entire management of the other funds.

2. It was declared, that, in parishes *where an assessment existed* previous to the date of the act, the heritors should be obliged to continue assessing themselves, if it should be necessary, for the maintenance of the existing paupers, till they should die out, or should be otherwise provided for; and the

compliance with this regulation was secured by adequate measures.—The object of this was to prevent the inhumanity of suddenly withdrawing from existing paupers that support on which they had been accustomed to rely; and since it must necessarily have been owing partly to the heritors themselves that the assessment came upon the parish, it was right to make them continue it while the pauperism which it had probably created endured.

3. Having thus provided for the existing mass of evil, it was next declared, that persons claiming relief *for the first time*, should receive it solely from the ordinary funds, placed under the exclusive administration of the kirk-session; and that assessment should never be again resorted to, for the relief of any pauperism arising subsequently to the date of the act. The object of this was to put down, by law, a mischief which it was undeniable that the discretion, though guided by the self-interest, of the parochial authorities, had failed to put down, and which was advancing steadily, and with increasing force.

Laudable as the object of this bill undoubtedly was, and beneficial as its effects must have been to all the heritors of the county, we scarcely remember any measure that was ever more universally opposed. By far the greater part of this hostility unquestionably arose from the bill not being understood; and it certainly was an error on the part of its promoters, that they relied too much upon the intelligence of their countrymen, and took too little pains to instruct them. At the same time, it is not without convicting themselves of some carelessness, that those who say they were uninformed state this fact; for changes similar to the leading ones which this bill proposed to introduce, were recommended and explained in several publications, only a few years ago. It is sufficient to refer to the first article of the 55th Number of this work, to the pamphlet before us, and the other economical works of its distinguished author. We do not, and cannot, doubt that much of this opposition was founded on objections which really appeared insurmountable to those to whom they occurred, and was the result of an honest conviction of the inexpediency of the measure. At the same time, we are equally satisfied that some of it, and this perhaps the loudest portion, arose from mere prejudice; and as any future attempt to alter our law, will, to a certainty, be met by the same prejudices, it may be useful to explain what they are.

There were, and will always be, some who were against taking away the Paupers Appeal to the Courts of Law, because such an appeal either did not lie, or, if it did, then it was wrong to destroy it. This was the reasoning of those who never admit a flaw to exist in any thing that is; and of those

whose benevolence is so cruel, that they would rather ruin the poor than not relieve them anyhow.—The division of the funds, and the separation of the kirk-sessions from the heritors, was complained of as a measure destructive of the harmony with which these bodies had hitherto acted, and an undue extension of the powers of the heritors. It is hardly necessary to explain, that this was, and ever will be, a favourite topic, with certain clergymen and their elders, whom this proposal deprives of some power, by withdrawing the future assessments from their controul. Yet, to the amazement of every one who understood the subject, this part of the bill was also opposed by many of the heritors. Meetings were held, and resolutions were actually passed, by which the persons on whom the assessments fell, refused to take the management of these assessments into their own hands, and insisted that the system of letting themselves be controlled and outvoted by parties naturally opposed to them, should be continued! It would be idle to ascribe this to any love of assessments, or to confidence in the elders, or to any other reasonable consideration. It was the result of mere ignorance, combined with that dread of innovation which rarely fails to signalize those select assemblages called Scotch County Meetings. The future prevention of assessments was opposed by many of those who have the practical management of the poor, and who, like other managers, never choose to have any part of their fund withdrawn, or to be disturbed in that particular practice to which they were accustomed, and which makes every man think his own little system by far the best that could be devised. It was further opposed by that considerable, but, we hope, decreasing class, whose eyes are not yet opened to the real effects of a compulsory provision for the poor.

To us it appears, that every part of this scheme was soundly and sagaciously conceived; and we perfectly agree with Dr Chalmers, who, though he opposed it in the General Assembly, because unfortunately the country was not prepared to receive it, declared publicly in his place, that this was the bill which, sooner or later, Scotland would be obliged to adopt, unless she wished to be altogether and irrecoverably overrun with poors-rates. The cutting off that right of appeal, which it has now been found that every pauper is vested with, and which virtually throws the administration of the poor-laws into the hands of Courts acting at a distance, and necessarily ignorant of the circumstances on which each claim should depend, is so plainly and absolutely necessary, that it is in vain to attempt any improvement, even in the administration of the present law,

so long as it is understood to exist. The putting the funds raised by assessment under the *exclusive* control of the heritors, seems to be the only device that can be fallen upon for compelling them to attend to their own interest, and to give them fair play when they do so; while the idea, that they would never assess themselves at all, is contradicted by the fact, that one of the mischiefs of the present system consists in its creating such a mass of pauperism, that they are always too eager to tax themselves in order to get quit of it for the moment. The propriety of the prohibition of providing for the new poor by compulsion hereafter, obviously depends upon the general question, whether the power of exercising such compulsion be expedient, or the reverse? If it be one of the greatest evils, especially as it affects the poor, that society has ever been subjected to, it is difficult to see why it should be in the power of five or six people to set it up in every parish. Some of the friends of these bills were of opinion that its provisions ought rather to have been permissive than imperative; that is, that they should only have been binding on those parishes which chose to declare their adoption of them, by a certain majority, and in a certain form. Although it be true that no scheme can be fairly tried by those who are unfavourable to it, we cannot see any propriety in this project. It would perhaps be unreasonable to prevent those who liked it to tax *themselves*. But why they should be permitted to tax their unwilling neighbours, if it be once settled that this compulsion injures society, we cannot discover. It seems to be very like first declaring that pestilence or foundling hospitals are bad things, and then providing that they might nevertheless be introduced into those parishes which chose to run the risk of them.

Some are afraid that if all compulsory provision were to be put down, the poor would often be left to starve. But Parliament, as has been already stated, may always interfere, for peculiar emergencies; and for ordinary poverty experience has shown that there are always abundant resources, whenever people are compelled to have recourse to them, by having no tax to rely upon. Those who are under the influence of this humane fear, are not aware how much the resources of nature are opened by those of art being closed. They are not aware that the sight of a human being expiring from want is a spectacle which no heart can endure; and that even the humblest of the people necessarily live in a manner which, wretched as it may seem to the rich, enables them to retrench, and to give to their brother when such a scene strikes their eye.

If we had wished for a demonstration of these truths, we could not have desired a more powerful one than what is

given in the pamphlet, of which the title is prefixed to this article. Soon after Dr Chalmers was removed to Glasgow, he seems to have been struck, as any person coming from a country parish might well have been, with the utter inadequacy of the means afforded for the instruction of the lower classes of people in towns, and for the prevention and maintenance of city pauperism; and, instead of merely seeing and lamenting this, he set himself about redressing it, with the sagacity of a philosopher, and the zeal of a Christian. For this purpose he published a periodical work, entituled 'The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns.' In this work he points out the leading imperfections of various parts of the system, by which the dense masses of our manufacturing population is governed. Among other subjects, he enters into a very full discussion of the causes and remedies of pauperism; and this pamphlet is a concentrated view of the result of his experience in attempting to reduce his principles to practice within his own parish. We are not sure that we know any thing that has been done in modern times more valuable for the lower orders than the conception and the execution of these works. They contain a clear and masterly examination of the errors which have made our manufacturing towns such sinks of vice and wretchedness; with suggestions for having these errors removed, equally admirable for their efficacy and their simplicity; and all this given in a style which, though somewhat cumbrous perhaps for precise details, glows, in its exposition of principle, with the powerful and peculiar eloquence which marks all the performances of this distinguished person. We have at present only to do with his treatment of pauperism; on which he has successfully tried as beautiful an experiment as was ever attempted on society, and one to which the praise of boldness might be given, were it not superseded by the far higher eulogy of its only showing his confidence in the laws of nature.

His parish of St John's, after deducting about 2000 inhabitants who were transferred to the new parish of St James's, contained a population of 8366. This made it above the average of the Glasgow parishes in population. But it was considerably beneath the average of them in wealth. It consisted almost entirely of poor labourers and weavers. In some of the parishes, the number of household servants is about one to every six persons; whereas in St John's it was only one to every thirty-three persons; and, on examining the different assessments for the poor, as levied from each parish according to the wealth of the inhabitants, it was found that St John's paid the smallest sum, both absolutely and relatively. Its pau-

perism accordingly had so long been relieved by the very worst species of compulsory provision, that the people were quite accustomed to it. So that it is impossible that any attempt to bring a parish back to right habits could be made in more formidable circumstances. Yet it was resolved to try it.

The Glasgow system was, that an institution called the Town Hospital, got all the assessments,—the collections at the church doors,—and certain other funds which, in general, are kept exclusively by each parish for itself. In return for this, the Hospital undertook the maintenance of the whole poor of the city; being enabled to make the superfluity of the wealthy parishes assist in relieving the distress of the poorer. This, though not an uncommon system in large towns, is the very worst form in which compulsory provision can appear; because it alienates the receivers in the greatest possible degree from the givers of the charity, and exhibits the relief afforded merely as the result of a public arrangement. It amounts to the establishment of a great bank, upon which the poor know, that though they put nothing into it, they are entitled to draw. The sum which it was found necessary to allot to St John's is thus stated: 'I was 'sure that its pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should 'have amounted,' says Dr Chalmers, 'to more than a tenth 'of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the 'rate of expenditure for some years, to upwards of 1400*l.* an-'nually.' There are some who would have delighted in this as a very handsome endowment for the parish. But it was in this annual donation that the Doctor saw the root of the whole evil. He accordingly proposed, that the town-hospital should keep its money to itself, and let his session alone to manage their own poor with their own collections at the church-door, without any assessment whatever, or at least without any of which their session should reap the benefit. The collections only amounted to 400*l.* a year; of which 225*l.* was already pledged for the support of a certain class of existing paupers. Thus, there was only 175*l.* remaining for the support of all the new poor in that crowded, increasing, and manufacturing, parish; for which a tenth part of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow had been requisite for some years. So that the import of the proposal may be thus expressed: 'It 'is the magnificence and the certainty of your legal provision 'that creates our pauperism. Keep your 1400*l.*, or whatever 'other sum you would give us, to yourselves, and let us have 'the management of the 400*l.* of charity collected at our 'own church-door; and although 225*l.* of this be already ap-'propriated, we shall, for ever, maintain all our own poor, 'and maintain them infinitely better than you used to do.'

This proposal was acceded to; but it is a memorable proof, how firmly the assessing principle takes possession of people's minds after they once yield to it, that it was not acceded to without the most obstinate opposition.

'We believe,' says Dr Chalmers, 'that of those who opposed it most keenly, and who anticipated its failure most sanguinely, no one dreamed of a failure from any other cause than a deficiency in our pecuniary means. It was never once imagined that we should be embarrassed by an excess; or, that, instead of having to give in, because of a shortcoming which had to be made good, as in other parishes, from the fund, by assessment, we should have to look about in quest of a safe and a right absorbent, for our yearly surplus.' Yet so it was. The old cases for which the 225*l.* was set apart in the first instance, were gradually diminished by death. There was an evening congregation, consisting of very poor people, which produced about 80*l.* a year. The day-collection which came from the wealthy congregation, 'was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor whom we found already on the roll at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of *the parish schools.* All the other applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection—and thus with a sum *not exceeding* 80*l. a year*, have we been able to provide for all the newly-admitted pauperism, both casual and regular.'

This singular result is accounted for by its being stated, that, notwithstanding the number of well-attested claims that used to weigh down the hospital, the total number of new paupers who were admitted on the fund, from the 1st of October 1819, to the 1st of July 1823, being a period of three years and nine months, amounted only to twenty, without a single one having ever been sent to the hospital, or made chargeable on any fund raised by assessment. The total expense of maintaining all these amounted to 66*l.* 6s. a year; for which pittance, says the author, '*we have wholly intercepted the flow of pauperism into the town-hospital from more than one-tenth of the poorest population in the city.*' Hence the surplus of 175*l.*, which had been set aside to meet the new cases, was not required. 'It turned out a most agreeable result when we found that this surplus was not called for. The more that our hopes were surpassed, the more have our principles been strengthened.' In this situation the session, in order to make this indeed an *experimentum crucis*, actually went back to the hospital, and voluntarily increased their burden. 'We extended our original of-

'fer, and requested the town-hospital to make out a list of all 'the cases that were actually upon their fund, and which they 'could trace to have been admitted by them from that territo-'rial district of the city, which forms the present parish of St 'John's.' This gave them the additional burden of thirty-four old people; and they maintained these too, and yet had a good deal over, and soon obliterated the compulsory system from the parish.

This result was beautiful; but the means by which it was accomplished were infinitely more so. The whole apparent miracle was wrought by simply removing the cause of the mischief. There was no witchcraft whatever employed. Nothing can be more honourable than the openness and sincerity with which the Doctor disclaims, for himself and his session, all merit —even that of industry or ingenuity—in what they did. He says that the thing was done the moment that it was known that the connection with the hospital was over, and that the legal provision was withdrawn. From that instant, the cause of the disease being removed, nature resumed her functions. Those who were conscious that they did not require, or did not deserve, relief, ceased to apply; and this of itself made the great swarm that used to hover over the carcase disappear. The remainder, having their idea of a legal right extinguished, never applied, except in extreme necessity; and when they did at last make an avowal of intolerable distress, they found that the relief that was given was the produce, not of a cold admission of right, grudgingly yielded, but of that humanity which cared for their characters and feelings as much as for their wants, and on which it was shameful to encroach one moment beyond what was absolutely necessary. And above all, before even this official humanity interfered, the claims arising from relationship and vicinage were always first exhausted; and the most delightful part of this process consisted in the almost uniform facility with which the sluices of private charity, which had been dammed back by the public reservoir, were re-opened in the hearts even of the very poorest of the people. In substance and effect indeed, it was the poor who maintained the poor.

Even after the success of this great and decisive experiment had been ascertainted to be permanent and complete, there were two assertions made, which tended to obscure its triumph. To both these a singularly satisfactory answer is given.

It was first said, that this system might do very well with Dr Chalmers, who was its inventor, and of course enthusiastic, and who, with his deacons and elders, did nothing else but attend to it. In order to refute this, certain queries were put to all the deacons, which, with the answers to them,

are given in the Doctor's statement. Two of the questions are, 'Could you state how much time you are required to sacrifice per week or per month, in making the requisite investigations that you are actually called to?' And, 'Do you think that a man in ordinary business would find the task of meeting the pauperism of such a district as yours, so laborious as to put him to any sensible inconvenience?' The answers to these questions, founded upon past experience, and of course not made to meet this objection, reduce the time to the merest trifle. One deacon says, that his labours had occupied about a quarter of an hour per week,—another says two hours in three months,—another one hour in five months,—another one hour in three months,—another twenty hours per annum,—and so on; not one of them making it amount to any thing worth mentioning. Indeed, they all concur in saying, that the recurrence to the natural system had been greatly recommended to them, by its giving them little to do, compared with the endless vexations to which every elder is subject, when his parish is suffering under the system of artificial corruption.

It was next stated, that the deacons led easy lives, because their poor were few; and that the poor were few because they found themselves either so utterly neglected, or so strictly dealt with, in St John's, that all of them who could left the parish, and became a burden upon other districts. In order to meet this, a correct account was taken of all the poor who had left the parish, and of all who had come into it; and the result was, that 'our imports exceeded our exports by fourteen.'—'We long for a law of residence that might protect us from the ingress which the poor have made upon us from the other parishes of Glasgow. The exchange is against us; and this we insist upon as a decisive refutation of the calumny, that the poor are either neglected or maltreated by us.' The session, in truth, seems to have anxiously sought out every proper case, for the very purpose of excluding an objection which was too obvious to be missed. How, indeed, could the genuine poor fail to be attached towards a parish which was managed under the operation of the following humane and judicious principle? 'I would have no fear,' says the Doctor, 'of a parish any where in Scotland, though all claims and all collections were done away. But I have great fear of there being much untold and unrelieved suffering in every parish, where the public charity hath attained a magnitude that overbears the charity of nature,—where it hath turned the one party into fierce and determined litigants, and put the other on a stout and stern defensive against their applications; where the imagination of

'a right, that most unseemly and heterogeneous element, which 'ought never to have been admitted into the business of human 'sympathy, hath set both gratitude and good will at abeyance. 'We greatly fear, that in these circumstances, there is many a 'desolate and declining family, who sink under the rigours of 'an artificial system, which they are too delicate to bear,—who, 'perhaps, of gentler mood, cannot brook the humiliations of a 'public scrutiny, and cannot fight their way through all those 'rude and repulsive obstacles by which the avenues of legal 'charity are guarded. They are unnoticed by neighbours, be-'cause a refuge is open to them, which they have not the hardi-'hood to enter. The feeling of private charity is suspended, 'and there is a frown in public charity that scareth them away.'

It is precisely because he is anxious for the relief of true poverty, that he records this to be the result of all his experience. 'I must not disguise my conviction here, that, apart from 'the support of education and of institutions for disease, pub-'lic charity, in any form, is an evil,—and that the Scottish 'method is only to be tolerated because of its insignificance, 'and the rooted establishment it hath gotten in all our parishes. 'But though I would tolerate it in practice, I cannot defend it 'in principle; and I speak according to my fair and experi-'mental impressions when I say, that a parish might be maintain-'ed in far greater comfort, and in a more soundly economic con-'dition, without it altogether.'

Dr Chalmers has since removed to another scene. It is the only confirmation his principles either required or admitted of, that under the guidance of a different clergyman, his system still attests the wisdom of him who conceived, and of him who continues it. There are other manufacturing parishes in Scotland, besides St Johns, where a retracing process of the same kind has either been attempted with the same success, or has been rendered unnecessary by compulsory provision having always been resisted. The parish of Gorbals is a conspicuous instance of the last of these, and Hawick of the first. After such examples, it is in vain to talk of the *necessity* of letting assessment be even permissive. Some will be inclined to say, that if the evil can be so easily eradicated, there is no need to change the law. But is it not a juster conclusion, that if assessments can be so safely dispensed with, the law is intolerable which allows their deep-rooted and wide-spreading mischief to be introduced, not according to legislative declarations of occasional necessity, but according to the ignorance or apathy of small and detached sets of individuals, who cannot corrupt their own little district, without corrupting the country at large?

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THE

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No. LXXXII.

ART. I. *Theodric, a Domestic Tale: With other Poems.* By THOMAS CAMPBELL. 12mo. pp. 150. London, 1824.

IF Mr Campbell's poetry was of a kind that could be forgotten, his long fits of silence would put him fairly in the way of that misfortune. But, in truth, he is safe enough;—and has even acquired, by virtue of his exemplary laziness, an assurance and pledge of immortality which he could scarcely have obtained without it. A writer who is still fresh in the mind and favour of the public, after twenty years' intermission, may reasonably expect to be remembered when death shall have finally sealed up the fountains of his inspiration, imposed silence on the cavils of envious rivals, and enhanced the value of those relics to which it excludes the possibility of any future addition. At all events, he has better proof of the permanent interest the public take in his productions, than those ever can have who are more diligent in their multiplication, and keep themselves in the recollection of their great patron by more frequent intimations of their existence. The experiment, too, though not without its hazards, is advantageous in another respect;—for the re-appearance of such an author, after those long periods of occultation, is naturally hailed as a novelty—and he receives the double welcome of a celebrated stranger and a remembered friend. There is, accordingly, no living poet, we believe, whose advertisement excites greater expectation than Mr Campbell's:—and a new poem from him is waited for with even more eagerness (as it is certainly for a much longer time) than a new novel from the author of Waverley. Like all other human felicities, however, this high expectation and prepared homage has its drawbacks and its dangers. A popular author, as we have been led to remark on former occasions, has no rival so formidable

as his former self—and no comparison to sustain half so dangerous as that which is always made between the average merit of his new work, and the remembered beauties—for little else is ever remembered—of his old ones.

How this comparison will result in the present instance, we do not presume to predict with confidence—but we doubt whether it will be, at least in the beginning, altogether in favour of the volume before us. The poems of this author, indeed, are generally more admired the more they are studied, and rise in our estimation in proportion as they become familiar. Their novelty, therefore, is always rather an obstruction than a help to their popularity;—and it may well be questioned, whether there be anything in the novelties now before us that can rival in our affections the long-remembered beauties of the Pleasures of Hope—of Gertrude—of O'Connor's Child—the song of Linden—the Mariners of England—and the many other enchanting melodies that are ever present to the minds of all lovers of poetry.

The leading piece in the present volume is an attempt at a very difficult kind of poetry; and one in which the most complete success can hardly ever be so splendid and striking as to make amends for the difficulty. It is entitled 'a Domestic Story,'—and it is so—turning upon few incidents—embracing few characters—dealing in no marvels and no terrors—displaying no stormy passions. Without complication of plot, in short, or hurry of action—with no atrocities to shudder at, or feats of noble daring to stir the spirits of the ambitious,—it passes quietly on, through the shaded paths of private life, conversing with gentle natures and patient sufferings—and unfolding, with serene pity and sober triumph, the pangs which are fated at times to wring the breast of innocence and generosity, and the courage and comfort which generosity and innocence can never fail to bestow. The taste and the feeling which led to the selection of such topics, could not but impress their character on the style in which they are treated. It is distinguished accordingly by a fine and tender finish, both of thought and of diction—by a chastened elegance of words and images—a mild dignity and tempered pathos in the sentiments, and a general tone of simplicity and directness in the conduct of the story, which, joined to its great brevity, tends at first perhaps to disguise both the richness and the force of the genius required for its production. But though not calculated to strike at once on the dull palled ear of an idle and occupied world, it is of all others perhaps the kind of poetry best fitted to win on our softer hours, and to sink deep into vacant bosoms—unlocking all the sources of fond recollection, and leading us gently on through the mazes of

deep and engrossing meditation—and thus ministering to a deeper enchantment and more lasting delight than can ever be inspired by the louder and more importunate strains of more ambitious authors.

There are no doubt peculiar and perhaps insuperable difficulties in the management of themes so delicate, and acquiring so fine and so restrained a hand—nor are we prepared to say that Mr Campbell has on this occasion entirely escaped them. There are passages that are somewhat *fade*:—there are expressions that are trivial:—But the prevailing character is sweetness and beauty; and it prevails over all that is opposed to it. The story, though abundantly simple, as our readers will immediately see, has two distinct compartments—one relating to the Swiss maiden, the other to the English wife. The former, with all its accompaniments, we think nearly perfect. It is full of tenderness, purity and pity; and finished with the most exquisite elegance, in few and simple touches. The other, which is the least considerable, has more decided blemishes. The diction is in many places too familiar, and the incidents too common—and the cause of distress has the double misfortune of being unpoetical in its nature, and improbable in its result. But the shortest way is to give our readers a slight account of the poem, with such specimens as may enable them to judge fairly of it for themselves.

It opens, poetically, with the description of a fine scene in Switzerland, and of a rustic church-yard, where the friend of the author points out to him the flowery grave of a maiden, who, though gentle and fair, had died of unrequited love—and so they proceed, between them, for the matter is left poetically obscure, to her history. Her fancy had been early captivated by the tales of heroic daring and chivalric pride, with which her country's annals abounded—and she disdained to give her love to one who was not graced with the virtues and glories of those heroic times. This exalted mood was unluckily fostered by her brother's youthful ardour in praise of the commander under whom he was serving abroad—by whom he was kindly tended when wounded, and whose picture he brought back with him on his return to his paternal home, to renew, and seemingly to realize, the day-dreams of his romantic sister. This picture, and the stories her brother told of the noble Theodric, completed the poor girl's fascination. Her heart was kindled by her fancy; and her love was already fixed on a being she had never seen! In the mean time, Theodric, who had promised a visit to his young protegé, passes over to England, and is betrothed to a lady of that country of

infinite worth and amiableness. He then repairs to Switzerland, where, after a little time, he discovers the love of Julia, which he gently but firmly rebukes—returns to England, and is married. His wife has uncomfortable relations—quarrelsome, selfish and envious; and her peace is sometimes wounded by their dissentions and unkindness. War breaks out too in Theodric's country; and as he is meditating a journey to that quarter, he is surprised by a visit from Julia's brother, who informs him, that, after a long struggle with her cherished love, her health had at last sunk under it, and that she now prayed only to see him once more before she died. His wife generously urges him to comply with this piteous request. He does so; and arrives, in the midst of wintry tempests, to see this pure victim of too warm an imagination expire in smiles of speechless gratitude and love. While mourning over her, he is appalled by tidings of the dangerous illness of his beloved Constance—hurries to England—and finds her dead,—her fate having been precipitated, if not occasioned by the harsh and violent treatment she had met with from her heartless relations. The piece closes with a very touching letter she had left for her husband—and an account of its soothing effects on his mind.

This, we confess, is slight enough, in the way of fable and incident: But it is not in those things that the merit of such poems consists; and what we have given is of course a mere naked outline, or argument rather, intended only to explain and connect our extracts.

For these, we cannot possibly do better than begin with the beginning.

> 'Twas sunset, and the Ranz des Vaches was sung,
> And lights were o'er th' Helvetian mountains flung,
> That gave the glacier tops their richest glow,
> And tinged the lakes like molten gold below.
> Warmth flush'd the wonted regions of the storm,
> Where, Phœnix-like, you saw the eagle's form,
> That high in Heav'n's vermilion wheel'd and soar'd.
> Woods nearer frown'd, and cataracts dash'd and roar'd,
> From heights brouzed by the bounding bouquetin;
> Herds tinkling roam'd the long-drawn vales between,
> And hamlets glitter'd white, and gardens flourish'd green.
> 'Twas transport to inhale the bright sweet air!
> The mountain-bee was revelling in its glare,
> And roving with his minstrelsy across
> The scented wild weeds, and enamell'd moss.
> Earth's features so harmoniously were link'd,
> She seem'd one great glad form, with life instinct,
> That felt Heav'n's ardent breath, and smiled below
> Its flush of love, with consentaneous glow.

A Gothic church was near; the spot around
Was beautiful, ev'n though sepulchral ground;
For there nor yew nor cypress spread their gloom,
But roses blossom'd by each rustic tomb.
Amidst them one of spotless marble shone—
A maiden's grave—and 'twas inscribed thereon,
That young and loved she died whose dust was there:

" Yes," said my comrade, " young she died, and fair!
Grace form'd her, and the soul of gladness play'd
Once in the blue eyes of that mountain-maid:
Her fingers witch'd the chords they pass'd along,
And her lips seem'd to kiss the soul in song:
Yet woo'd, and worship'd as she was, till few
Aspired to hope, 'twas sadly, strangely true,
That heart, the martyr of its fondness, burn'd
And died of love that could not be return'd.

Her father dwelt where yonder Castle shines
O'er clust'ring trees and terrace-mantling vines.
As gay as ever, the laburnum's pride
Waves o'er each walk where she was wont to glide,—
And still the garden whence she graced her brow,
As lovely blooms, though trode by strangers now.
How oft from yonder window o'er the lake,
Her song of wild Helvetian swell and shake,
Has made the rudest fisher bend his ear,
And rest enchanted on his oar to hear!
Thus bright, accomplish'd, spirited, and bland,
Well-born, and wealthy for that simple land,
Why had no gallant native youth the art
To win so warm—so exquisite a heart?
She, midst these rocks inspired with feeling strong
By mountain-freedom—music—fancy—song,
Herself descended from the brave in arms,
And conscious of romance-inspiring charms,
Dreamt of Heroic beings; hoped to find
Some extant spirit of chivalric kind;
And scorning wealth, look'd cold ev'n on the claim
Of manly worth, that lack'd the wreath of Fame.' pp. 3–7.

We pass over the animated picture of the brother's campaigns, and of the fame of Theodric, and the affectionate gratitude of parents and sister for his care and praises of their noble boy. We must make room, however, for this beautiful sketch of his return.

' In time, the stripling, vigorous and heal'd,
Resumed his barb and banner in the field,
And bore himself right soldier-like, till now

The third campaign had number bronzed his brow;
When peace, though but a scanty pause for breath,—
A curtain-drop between the acts of death,—
A check in frantic war's unfinish'd game,
Yet dearly bought, and direly welcome, came.
The camp broke up, and UDOLPH left his chief
As with a son's or younger brother's grief:
But journeying home, how rapt his spirits rose!
How light his footsteps crush'd St Gothard's snows!
How dear seem'd ev'n the waste and wild Shreckhorn,
Though wrapt in clouds, and frowning as in scorn
Upon a downward world of pastoral charms;
Where, by the very smell of dairy-farms,
And fragrance from the mountain-herbage blown,
Blindfold his native hills he could have known!

His coming down yon lake,—his boat in view
Of windows where love's fluttering kerchief flew,—
The arms spread out for him—the tears that burst,—
('Twas JULIA'S, 'twas his sister's met him first:)
Their pride to see war's medal at his breast,
And all their rapture's greeting, may be guessed.' pp. 12, 13.

At last the generous warrior appears in person among those innocent beings to whom he had so long furnished the grand theme of discourse and meditation.

'The boy was half beside himself,—the sire,
All frankness, honour, and Helvetian fire,
Of speedy parting would not hear him speak;
And tears bedew'd and brighten'd JULIA'S cheek.

Thus, loth to wound their hospitable pride,
A month he promised with them to abide;
As blithe he trode the mountain-sward as they,
And felt his joy make ev'n the young more gay.
How jocund was their breakfast parlour fann'd
By yon blue water's breath,—their walks how bland!
Fair JULIA seem'd her brother's soften'd sprite—
A gem reflecting Nature's purest light,—
And with her graceful wit there was inwrought
A wildly sweet unworldliness of thought,
That almost child-like to his kindness drew,
And twin with UDOLPH in his friendship grew.
But did his thoughts to love one moment range?—
No! he who had loved CONSTANCE could not change!
Besides, till grief betray'd her undesign'd,
Th' unlikely thought could scarcely reach his mind,
That eyes so young on years like his should beam
Unwoo'd devotion back for pure esteem.' pp. 17, 18.

Symptoms still more unequivocal, however, at last make explanation necessary; and he is obliged to disclose to her the secret of his love and engagement in England. The following passage, describing the effects of this disclosure, is full, we think, of feeling and eloquence, and contains in its brief simplicity the essence of many a page of elaborate pathos—though we are not quite sure that the fair sufferer's *instant* recourse to the piano, is strictly according to nature,—even in such circumstances.

'And yet with gracefully ingenuous power
Her spirit met th' explanatory hour;—
Ev'n conscious beauty brighten'd in her eyes,
That told she knew their love no vulgar prize;
And pride, like that of one more woman-grown,
Enlarged her mien, enrich'd her voice's tone.
'Twas then she struck the keys, and music made
That mock'd all skill her hand had e'er display'd:
Inspir'd and warbling, rapt from things around,
She look'd the very Muse of magic sound,
Painting in sound the forms of joy and woe,
Until the mind's eye saw them melt and glow.
Her closing strain composed and calm she play'd
And sang no words to give its pathos aid;
But grief seem'd ling'ring in its lengthen'd swell,
And like so many tears the trickling touches fell.
Of CONSTANCE then she heard THEODRIC speak,
And steadfast smoothness still possess'd her cheek;
But when he told her how he oft had plann'd
Of old a journey to their mountain-land
That might have brought him hither years before,
"Ah! then," she cried, "you knew not England's shore;
And, had you come,—and wherefore did you not?"
"Yes," he replied, "it would have changed our lot!"
Then burst her tears through pride's restraining bands
And with her handkerchief, and both her hands,
She hid her face and wept.—Contrition stung
THEODRIC for the tears his words had wrung.
"But no," she cried, "unsay not what you've said,
Nor grudge one prop on which my pride is stay'd;
To think I could have merited your faith,
Shall be my solace even unto death!"—pp. 19–21.

We must hasten now to the mournful close of this simple story. Theodric had been some months married in England, yet not unmindful of his beloved friends among the mountains.

'Twas long since he had heard from UDOLPH last,
And deep misgivings on his spirit fell,
That all with UDOLPH's household was not well.
'Twas that too true prophetic mood of fear
That augurs griefs inevitably near,

Yet makes them not less startling to the mind,
When come. Least look'd-for then of human kind.
His UDOLPH ('twas, he thought at first, his sprite)
With mournful joy that morn surprised his sight.
How changed was UDOLPH! Scarce THEODRIC durst
Inquire his tidings,—he reveal'd the worst,
"At first," he said, as JULIA bade me tell,
"She bore her fate high-mindedly and well,
"Resolved from common eyes her grief to hide,
"And from the world's compassion saved our pride;
"But still her health gave way to secret woe,
"And long she pined—for broken hearts die slow!
"Her reason went, but came returning, like
"The warning of her death-hour—soon to strike;
"And all for which she now, poor sufferer! sighs,
"Is once to see THEODRIC ere she dies.
"Why should I come to tell you this caprice?
"Forgive me! for my mind has lost its peace.
"I blame myself, and ne'er shall cease to blame,
"That my insane ambition for the name
"Of brother to THEODRIC, founded all
"Those high-built hopes that crush'd her by their fall.
"I made her slight a mother's counsel sage,
"But now my parents droop with grief and age;
"And though my sister's eyes mean no rebuke,
"They overwhelm me with their dying look!
"The journey's long, but you are full of ruth:
"And she who shares your heart, and knows its truth,
"Has faith in your affection, far above
"The fear of a poor dying object's love."—pp. 29–31.

They go accordingly; and the close of poor Julia's pure hearted romance is told with the same truth and tenderness as the rest of her story.

'That winter's eve how darkly Nature's brow
Scowl'd on the scenes it lights so lovely now!
The tempest, raging o'er the realms of ice,
Shook fragments from the rifted precipice;
And whilst their falling echoed to the wind,
The wolf's long howl in dismal discord join'd,
While white yon water's foam was raised in clouds
That whirl'd like spirits wailing in their shrouds;
Without was Nature's elemental din—
And beauty died, and friendship wept within!
'Sweet JULIA, though her fate was finish'd half,
Still knew him—smiled on him with feeble laugh—
And blest him, till she drew her latest sigh!
But lo! while UDOLPH's bursts of agony,

And age's tremulous wailings, round him rose,
What accents pierced him deeper yet than those!
'Twas tidings—by his English messenger
Of CONSTANCE—brief and terrible they were,' &c. pp. 35–86.

These must suffice as specimens of the Swiss part of the poem, which we have already said we consider as on the whole the most perfect. The English portion is undoubtedly liable to the imputation of being occupied with scenes too familiar, and events too trivial to admit of the higher embellishments of poetry. The occasion of Theodric's first seeing Constance —on the streets of London on a night of public rejoicing— certainly trespasses on the borders of this wilful stooping of the Muses' flight—though the scene itself is described with great force and beauty.

'Twas a glorious sight;
At eve stupendous London, clad in light,
Pour'd out triumphant multitudes to gaze;
Youth, age, wealth, penury, smiling in the blaze;
Th' illumin'd atmosphere was warm and bland,
And Beauty's groups, the fairest of the land,
Conspicuous, as in some wide festive room,
In open chariots pass'd with pearl and plume.
Amidst them he remark'd a lovelier mien, &c. p. 15.

The description of Constance himself, however, is not liable to this, or to any other objection.

—— 'And to know her well
Prolong'd, exalted, bound, enchantment's spell;
For with affections warm, intense, refined,
She mix'd such calm and holy strength of mind,
That, like Heav'n's image in the smiling brook,
Celestial peace was pictured in her look.
Hers was the brow, in trials unperplex'd,
That cheer'd the sad and tranquillized the vex'd
She studied not the meanest to eclipse,
And yet the wisest listen'd to her lips;
She sang not, knew not Music's magic skill,
But yet her voice had tones that sway'd the will. p. 16.

'To paint that being to a grovelling mind
Were like pourtraying pictures to the blind.
'Twas needful ev'n infectiously to feel
Her temper's fond and firm and gladsome zeal,
To share existence with her, and to gain
Sparks from her love's electrifying chain,
Of that pure pride, which, less'ning to her breast
Life's ills, gave all its joys a treble zest,
Before the mind completely understood
That mighty truth—how happy are the good!' p. 25.

All this, we think, is dignified enough for poetry of any description; but we really cannot extend the same indulgence to the small *tracassaries* of this noble creature's unworthy relations—their peevish quarrels, and her painful attempts to reconcile them—her husband's grudges at her absence on those errands—their teazing visits to him—and his vexation at their false reports that she was to spend 'yet a fortnight' away from him. We object equally to the substance and the diction of the passages to which we now refer. There is something questionable even in the fatal indications by which, on approaching his home, he was first made aware of the calamity which had befallen him,—though undoubtedly there is a terrible truth and impressive brevity in the passage.

'Nor hope left utterly his breast,
Till reaching home, terrific omen! there
The straw-laid street preluded his despair—
The servant's look—the table that reveal'd
His letter sent to CONSTANCE last, still seal'd,
Though speech and hearing left him, told too clear
That he had now to suffer—not to fear!' p. 37.

We shall only add the pathetic letter in which this noble spirit sought, from her deathbed, to soothe the beloved husband she was leaving with so much reluctance.

'"THEODRIC, this is destiny above
Our power to baffle; bear it then, my love!
Rave not to learn the usage I have borne,
For one true sister left me not forlorn;
And though you're absent in another land,
Sent from me by my own well-meant command,
Your soul, I know, as firm is knit to mine
As these clasp'd hands in blessing you now join:
Shape not imagined horrors in my fate—
Ev'n now my sufferings are not very great;
And when your grief's first transports shall subside,
I call upon your strength of soul and pride
To pay my memory, if 'tis worth the debt,
Love's glorying tribute—not forlorn regret:
I charge my name with power to conjure up
Reflection's balmy, not its bitter cup.
My pard'ning angel, at the gates of Heaven,
Shall look not more regard than you have given
To me: and our life's union has been clad
In smiles of bliss as sweet as life e'er had.
Shall gloom be from such bright remembrance cast?
Shall bitterness outflow from sweetness past?
No! imaged in the sanctuary of your breast,
There let me smile, amidst high thoughts at rest;

And let contentment on your spirit shine,
As if its peace were still a part of mine:
For if you war not proudly with your pain,
For you I shall have worse than lived in vain.
But I conjure your manliness to bear
My loss with noble spirit—not despair:
I ask you by our love to promise this,
And kiss these words, where I have left a kiss,—
The latest from my living lips for yours!" pp. 39—41.

The tone of this tender farewell must remind all our readers of the catastrophe of Gertrude; and certainly exposes the author to the charge of some poverty of invention in the structure of his pathetic narratives—a charge from which we are not at this moment particularly solicitous to defend him.

The minor poems which occupy the rest of the volume are of various character, and of course of unequal merit; though all of them are marked by that exquisite melody of versification, and general felicity of diction, which makes the mere recitation of their words a luxury to readers of taste, even when they pay but little attention to their sense. Most of them, we believe, have already appeared in occasional publications, though it is quite time that they should be collected and engrossed in a less perishable record. If they are less brilliant, on the whole, than the most exquisite productions of the author's earlier days, they are generally marked, we think, by greater solemnity and depth of thought, a vein of deeper reflection, and more intense sympathy with human feelings, and, if possible, by a more resolute and entire devotion to the cause of liberty. Mr Campbell is not among the number of those poets whose hatred of oppression has been chilled by the lapse of years, or allayed by the suggestions of a base self-interest. He has held on his course through good and through bad report, unseduced, unterrified, and is now found in his duty, testifying as fearlessly against the invaders of Spain, in the volume before us, as he did against the spoilers of Poland in the very first of his publications. It is a proud thing indeed for England, for poetry, and for mankind, that all the illustrious poets of the present day—Byron, Moore, Rogers, Campbell—are distinguished by their zeal for freedom, and their scorn for courtly adulation; while those who have deserted that manly and holy cause have, from that hour, felt their inspiration withdrawn, their harp-strings broken, and the fire quenched in their censers! Even the Laureate, since his unhappy Vision of Judgment, has ceased to sing, and fallen into undutiful as well as ignoble silence, even on court festivals. As a specimen

of the tone in which an unbought Muse can sing of public themes, we subjoin a few stanzas of a noble ode to the Memory of the Spanish Patriots who died in resisting the late atrocious invasion.

'Brave men who at the Trocadero fell
Beside your cannons, conquer'd not, though slain,
There is a victory in dying well
For Freedom,—and ye have not died in vain;
For come what may, there shall be hearts in Spain
To honour, ay embrace your martyr'd lot,
Cursing the Bigot's and the Bourbon's chain,
And looking on your graves, though trophied not,
As holier, hallow'd ground than priests could make the spot!'

'Yet laugh not in your carnival of crime
Too proudly, ye oppressors!—Spain was free,
Her soil has felt the foot-prints, and her clime
Been winnow'd by the wings of Liberty;
And these, even parting, scatter as they flee
Thoughts—influences, to live in hearts unborn,
Opinions that shall wrench the prison-key
From Persecution—shew her mask off-torn,
And tramp her bloated head beneath the foot of Scorn.

Glory to them that die in this great cause!
Kings, Bigots, can inflict no brand of shame,
Or shape of death, to shroud them from applause:—
No!—manglers of the martyr's earthly frame!
Your hangmen fingers cannot touch his fame.
Still in your prostrate land there shall be some
Proud hearts, the shrines of Freedom's vestal flame.
Long trains of ill may pass unheeded, dumb,
But Vengeance is behind, and Justice is to come.' pp. 78–81.

We add the concluding part of a war-song for the Greeks, conceived in the same noble spirit.

'This day shall ye blush for its story,
Or brighten your lives with its glory?
Our women, Oh, say, shall they shriek in despair,
Or embrace us from conquest with wreaths in their hair?
Accursed may his memory blacken,
If a coward there be that would slacken
Till we've trampled the turban and shown ourselves worth
Being sprung from and named for the godlike of earth.
Strike home, and the world shall revere us,
As heroes descended from heroes.

'Old Greece lightens up with emotion
Her inlands, her isles of the Ocean;
Fanes rebuilt and fair towns shall with jubilee ring,
And the Nine shall new-hallow their Helicon's spring:

Our hearths shall be kindled with gladness,
That were cold and extinguish'd in sadness;
Whilst our maidens shall dance with their white-waving arms,
Singing joy to the brave that deliver'd their charms,
When the blood of yon Mussulman cravens
Shall have purpled the beaks of our ravens.'—pp. 86, 87.

Mr Campbell's muse, however, is by no means habitually political; and the greater part of the pieces in this volume have a purely moral or poetical character. The exquisite stanzas to the Rainbow, we believe, are in every body's hands; but we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the latter part of them.

'And yet, fair bow, no fabling dreams,
But words of the Most High,
Have told why first thy robe of beams
Was woven in the sky.

When o'er the green undeluged earth
Heaven's covenant thou didst shine,
How came the world's grey fathers forth
To watch thy sacred sign?

And when its yellow lustre smiled
O'er mountains yet untrod,
Each mother held aloft her child
To bless the bow of God.

Methinks, thy jubilee to keep,
The first-made anthem rang
On earth deliver'd from the deep,
And the first poet sang.

Nor ever shall the Muse's eye
Unraptured greet thy beam:
Theme of primeval prophecy,
Be still the poet's theme!

The earth to thee her incense yields,
The lark thy welcome sings,
When glittering in the freshen'd fields
The snowy mushroom springs.

How glorious is thy girdle cast
O'er mountain, tower, and town,
Or mirror'd in the ocean vast,
A thousand fathom's down!

As fresh in yon horizon dark,
As young thy beauties seem,
As when the eagle from the ark
First sported in thy beam.

For, faithful to its sacred page,
Heaven still rebuilds thy span,
Nor lets the type grow pale with age
That first spoke peace to man.' pp. 52—55.

There is a very striking little poem entitled 'The Last Man,' the idea of which has probably been borrowed from a very powerful sketch of Lord Byron's, to which he gave, we think, the title of 'Darkness;' and the manner in which the awful subject is treated by those two great authors is very characteristic of the different turns of their genius. Lord Byron's has more variety of topics, more gloom and terror, and far more daring and misanthropy. Mr Campbell's has more sweetness, more reflection, more considerate loftiness, and more of the spirit of religion. We can afford to give but a part of it.

'The Sun's eye had a sickly glare,
The Earth with age was wan,
The skeletons of nations were
Around that lonely man!
Some had expired in fight,—the brands
Still rusted in their bony hands;
In plague and famine some!
Earth's cities had no sound nor tread;
And ships were drifting with the dead
To shores where all was dumb!

Yet, prophet-like, that lone one stood,
With dauntless words and high,
That shook the sere leaves from the wood
As if a storm pass'd by,
Saying, We are twins in death, proud Sun,
Thy face is cold, thy race is run,' &c.

'Go, let oblivion's curtain fall
Upon the stage of men,
Nor with thy rising beams recall
Life's tragedy again.
Its piteous pageants bring not back,
Nor waken flesh, upon the rack
Of pain anew to writhe;
Stretch'd in disease's shapes abhorr'd,
Or mown in battle by the sword,
Like grass beneath the scythe.

Ev'n I am weary in yon skies
To watch thy fading fire;
Test of all sumless agonies,
Behold not me expire.
My lips that speak thy dirge of death—
Their rounded gasp and gurgling breath

To see thou shalt not boast.
The eclipse of Nature spreads my pall,—
The majesty of Darkness shall
Receive my parting ghost!

This spirit shall return to Him
That gave its heavenly spark;
Yet think not, Sun, it shall be dim
When thou thyself art dark!
No! it shall live again, and shine
In bliss unknown to beams of thine,
By Him recall'd to breath,
Who captive led captivity,
Who robb'd the grave of Victory,—
And took the sting from Death!' pp. 108—111.

The beautiful verses on Mr Kemble's retirement from the stage, afford a very remarkable illustration of the tendency of Mr Campbell's genius to raise ordinary themes into occasions of pathetic poetry, and to invest trivial occurrences with the mantle of solemn thought. We add a few of the stanzas.

'His was the spell o'er hearts
Which only acting lends,—
The youngest of the sister Arts,
Where all their beauty blends:
For ill can Poetry express
Full many a tone of thought sublime,
And Painting, mute and motionless,
Steals but a glance of time.
But by the mighty actor brought,
Illusion's perfect triumphs come,—
Verse ceases to be airy thought,
And Sculpture to be dumb.'

'High were the task—too high,
Ye conscious bosoms here!
In words to paint your memory
Of Kemble and of Lear;
But who forgets that white discrowned head,
Those bursts of Reason's half-extinguished glare—
Those tears upon Cordelia's bosom shed,
In doubt more touching than despair,
If 'twas reality he felt?'

'And there was many an hour
Of blended kindred fame,
When Siddons's auxiliar power
And sister magick came.
Together at the Muse's side
The tragick paragons had grown—

They were the children of her pride,
The columns of her throne,
And undivided favour ran
From heart to heart in their applause,
Save for the gallantry of man,
In lovelier woman's cause.' pp. 64—67.

We have great difficulty in resisting the temptation to go on: But in conscience we must stop here. We are ashamed, indeed, to think how considerable a proportion of this little volume we have already transferred into our extracts. Nor have we much to say of the poems we have not extracted. 'The Ritter Bann' and 'Reullura' are the two longest pieces, after Theodric—but we think not the most successful. Some of the songs are exquisite—and most of the occasional poems too good for occasions.

The volume is very small—and it contains all that the distinguished author has written for many years. We regret this certainly:—but we do not presume to complain of it. The service of the Muses is a free service—and all that we receive from their votaries is a free gift, for which we are bound to them in gratitude—not a tribute, for the tardy rendering of which they are to be threatened or distreined. They stand to the public in the relation of benefactors, not of debtors. They shower their largesses on unthankful heads, and disclaim the trammels of any sordid contract. They are not articled clerks, in short, whom we are entitled to scold for their idleness, but the liberal donors of immortal possessions, for which they require only the easy quitrent of our praise. If Mr Campbell is lazy, therefore, he has a right to enjoy his laziness, unmolested by our importunities. If, as we rather presume is the case, he prefer other employments to the feverish occupation of poetry, he has a right surely to choose his employments,—and is more likely to choose well, than the herd of his officious advisers. For our own parts, we are ready at all times to hail his appearances with delight—but we wait for them with respect and patience; and conceive that we have no title to accelerate them by our reproaches.

Before concluding, we would wish also to protect him against another kind of injustice. Comparing the small bulk of his publications with the length of time that elapses between them, people are apt to wonder that so little has been produced after so long an incubation, and that poems are not better which are the work of so many years—absurdly supposing, that the ingenious author is actually labouring all the while at what he at last produces, and has been diligently at work during the whole interval in perfecting that which is at last discovered to fall

short of perfection. To those who know the habits of literary men, nothing however can be more ridiculous than this supposition. Your true drudges, with whom all that is intellectual moves most wretchedly slow, are the quickest and most regular with their publications; while men of genius, whose thoughts play with the ease and rapidity of lightning, often seem tardy to the public, because there are long intervals between the flashes! We are far from undervaluing that care and labour without which no finished performance can ever be produced by mortals, and still farther from thinking it a reproach to any author, that he takes pains to render his works worthy of his fame. But when the slowness and the size of his publications are invidiously put together in order to depreciate their merits, or to raise a doubt as to the force of the genius that produced them, we think it right to enter our caveat against a conclusion, which is as rash as it is ungenerous, and indicates a spirit rather of detraction than of sound judgment.

ART. II. *Memoires sur la Cour de Louis XIV. et de la Régence. Extraits de la Correspondance Allemande de Madame Elisabeth-Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orleans, Mère du Régent; précédés d'un Notice sur cette Princesse, et Accompagnés de Notes.* 8vo. pp. 390. Paris. Ponthieu, 1823.

WHEN about twelve years ago the celebrated Memoirs of the Princess of Bareuth were given to the world, we heartily joined with the rest of the publick in expressing our satisfaction at an acquisition equally curious for amusement, and edifying for instruction. So near and so correct a view of the interior of palaces, was calculated to show the bulk of mankind how little reason they have for envying the lot of their masters, or being discontented with their own. And it was also well fitted to abate that feeling of romantic devotion to mere royalty, which some feel from folly and thoughtlessness, some cherish from base and interested motives, but which neither the one could feel, nor the other profess, if great ignorance of the real facts did not very generally prevail. Since her Serene Highness's private life, and that of her august relatives, was before the publick, no one has taken it for granted, as a matter of course, that every thing which the walls of a palace conceals, must of necessity be elegant and refined, or even that we can be sure to find, in the private intercourse of its inmates among themselves, the propriety of demeanour which marks the better classes of society; or, indeed, that they observe those rules of decorum to

which all but the very lowest of the people ordinarily submit themselves; while the security has appeared to be yet more slender, against finding within those precincts, hitherto fondly deemed sacred to luxury and ease, a degree of squalid wretchedness at once piteous and ridiculous, when contrasted with the trappings that outwardly cover it, the lofty pretensions and contemptuous airs with which it is allied, and the intolerable expense which it entails upon the people, so as to make their misery the price paid for the misery of their masters.

The Margravine's Memoirs, however, were in one respect defective; at least they required to be followed by other examples taken from different situations. She had been born and bred in the court of a monarch whose ferocity of character might be supposed to give a peculiar taint to all under his influence, and she was married into one of the smaller German families. Coarseness and meanness might, therefore, be thought to come from the Prussian crimp and the German petty principality. But whatever her Serene Highness left undone to complete our initiation into the mysteries of *legitimacy*—whatever defects remained in our collection of Royal specimens—have now been kindly supplied by an illustrious kinswoman of her own, who derives her origin from one of the first stocks in the Empire, and flourished in the court of the most polished and magnificent sovereign of his day. We are now, therefore, to make the reader acquainted with some further traits in the manners of foreign sovereigns,—some further samples of the consequences of uncontrolled power; that is, of those who are in truth but mere men and mere women being placed in circumstances for which humanity was never intended, and allowed to do exactly as they please, because they are called princes and princesses. The picture, too, which we are about to present is the more instructive, because the principal personage is distinguished for a good deal of sense, and appears to have preserved a fair reputation, notwithstanding the licentious court she lived in, and the impurity of the ideas and the language that were familiar to herself and all her correspondents.

The work before us consists of extracts from the very voluminous correspondence of the Princess Palatine, great-granddaughter of James I., niece of the Electress Sophia, and consequently cousin of George I. Her father, the Elector Palatine, Charles-Louis, beside his lawful wife, a princess of Hesse-Cassel, was graciously pleased to have a mistress, or a left-handed wife, as it is technically termed. This species of marriage, we believe, is of two kinds—either where the obstacle to the regular marriage is the want of a due number of

quarters, or where the difficulty arises from another wife being in existence. The Elector's was this latter case, or what we may be permitted to call the left-handed marriage improper. The mistress treated the regular wife in a very harsh and imperious fashion, and was joined in so doing by the husband. One day, at a grand entertainment, the poor Princess being asked why she seemed so disconsolate, unfortunately indulged in a repartee, perhaps the only offence of the sort she ever committed. She said she was afflicted at seeing the servant preferred to the mistress of the house. The most Serene Prince forthwith used the right hand with which he had married her, in giving his illustrious consort a box on the ear, and revenged himself by a divorce for his ill treatment of her. She was sent to her own country, and soon after died, leaving one son and a daughter, Charlotte Elizabeth, the author of these Memoirs. She was sent while yet a child to her aunt the Electress Sophia, who placed her under an excellent governess, and gave her an education rare in those times for persons of her rank. When she grew up, the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., having lost his wife (daughter of Charles I., and cousin of the Elector) by poison, a mode of dying in those days extremely common at the French court, it was thought a good speculation to marry him to the Princess, and take the chance of her brother's death to unite the Palatinate with France—possibly the empire itself. Accordingly, she was espoused to him at the age of nineteen, in the year 1671; but the etiquette of the French court requiring that all its members should be Catholics, and the Princess being born and bred a Protestant, and a Protestant of the most genuine school, that of the Electress Sophia herself, some process was indispensably necessary to remove this obstacle of heresy; and a detachment consisting of three bishops, was moved upon the frontier by which she was to enter France. They began their operations at Metz, and, relieving one another, continued to harass her upon her whole line of march, till she surrendered and became a good Catholic. Her own account of the matter is, that she quickly perceived that they who came to convert her were not at all agreed among themselves, and that, therefore, taking a little of the doctrine of each, she compounded a faith of her own. She afterwards conformed outwardly to the Romish Church: 'I observe,' says she, 'all the external ceremonies; I go every 'week to mass with the king; but I do not the less on that account edify myself with the Lutheran prayer books.' Now, see the language held respecting her by the holy parasites of the French court; and it is no less a man than Massillon who thus speaks in her funeral sermon. '"Jamais de retour sur la

'foi qu'elle avait quittée, parce qu'elle l'avait quittée volontaire-
'ment! jamais de doute sur le parti qu'elle avait pris, parce
'qu'elle l'avait pris par conviction!.. Les préjugés de l'erreur,
'qui avaient présidé à son éducation, ne paraissaient plus en
'elle, que par une docilité plus religieuse aux mystères de la
'foi."'

The life she led in France during fifty years, was one continued correspondence. Every day in the week was devoted to writing letters to her relatives in Germany, Italy, England, and Spain; and those letters filled volumes rather than sheets of paper. She sometimes filled as many as fifty sheets in one day. The language was a bad provincial German, mingled with Gallicisms; the subject, every thing that passed at and near the court of Versailles, but treated with a plainness and, indeed, coarseness of expression to be found certainly in no other female writer of any rank, even the most humble, and in the letters of no man of the most ordinary delicacy or breeding. About eight hundred of these epistles were found in the repositories of the Dutchess of Brunswick in 1767, addressed to the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, * and the prince Ulric of Brunswick. From these a selection was made by order of the court, who confided the work to the privy councillor Praun; and this was printed at Strasburgh in 1789, with no other alteration than 'correcting the bad spelling of the Dutch-'ess.' In 1791 a selection from the letters written by her Highness to her former governess Madame de Karling, was published at Dantzic; the letters themselves being above four hundred in number. The volume before us contains principally the materials furnished by the Strasburgh publication, with corrections of the French names and quotations, and a suppression of two letters, which M. Praun had inserted, one from the Dutchess herself, and the other, we grieve to say, from the Electress Sophia; 'toutes deux' (says the present Editor) 'si or-'durieres, qu'on les prendrait pour un assaut.' Considering what has been left in almost every page, we confess our imagination can hardly reach the depths to which these illustrious females must have descended in order to shock the worthy publisher.

As it is always agreeable to form an idea of the outward ap-

* The Editor calls her Wilhelmina-Charlotte, Princess of Wales; but the Dutchess of Orleans died in 1722, and there was no other Princess of Wales (except of the Pretender's family) but Queen Caroline, who became Princess of Wales on George I.'s accession. Her name was Caroline Wilhelmina Dorothea.

pearance of any person whose history we are pursuing, we begin with the following sketch of the Dutchess, drawn by herself, with a very honest pencil; indeed she flatters herself quite as little as she does others; and it is fair to add, that the Duc de St Simon gives a far more pleasing account of her figure, with at least as much praise of her goodness of disposition and the strength of her capacity.

'Je suis née à Heidelberg (1652) dans le septième mois. Il faut bien que je sois laide: je n'ai point de traits; de petits yeux, un nez court et gros, des lèvres longues et plates; tout cela ne peut former une physionomie; j'ai de grandes joues pendantes, et un grand visage, cependant je suis très-petite de taille, courte et grosse; j'ai le corps et les cuisses courtes: somme totale, je suis vraiment un petit laideron. Si je n'avais pas bon cœur, on ne me supporterait nulle part. Pour savoir si mes yeux annoncent de l'esprit, il faudrait les examiner au microscope ou avec des conserves; autrement il serait difficile d'en juger. On ne trouverait probablement pas sur toute la terre des mains plus vilaines que les miennes. Le roi m'en a souvent fait l'observation, et m'a fait rire de bon cœur; car n'ayant pu me flatter en conscience d'avoir quelque chose de joli, j'ai pris le parti de rire la première de ma laideur; cela m'a très-bien réussi, et j'ai souvent trouvé de quoi rire. Je suis de mon naturel un peu mélancolique; lorsque quelque chose m'afflige, le côté gauche enfle chez moi comme si j'avais une boule d'eau. Rester couchée n'est pas mon fait; dès que je m'éveille, il faut que je sorte du lit. Je déjeune rarement, et seulement avec du pain et de beurre. Je ne prends ni chocolat, ni café, ni thé, ne pouvant souffrir ces drogues étrangères; je suis en tout les habitudes allemandes, et ne trouve bon, dans le manger et le boire, que ce qui est conforme à nos vieux usages. Je ne mange de soupe que celle qui est accommodée au lai, à la bierre ou au vin; je ne puis supporter le bouillon; lorsque je mange des mets où il y en a, je tombe aussitot malade, le corps m'enfle et j'éprouve des coliques; et quand je prends du bouillon tout pur, je suis forcée de vomir jusqu'au sang; il n'y a que le jambon et les saucisses qui me rétablissent l'estomac.' pp. 2, 3.

The good Dutchess appears to have been all her life, like the fair dame in one of Count Hamilton's romances, 'd'une curio-'sité que rien n'a jamais pu satisfaire.' When only eight years of age, hearing the cries of a female relation who was in labour in the palace, and exceedingly distrusting the story the gossips told her, though illustrated by an experiment of placing a doll in a bunch of rosemary, she contrived to glide unperceived into the bed-chamber, and hide herself behind a screen near the chimney; from whence she came forth, to the exceeding consternation of the court and the medical staff, at the moment that the new born infant was brought to the fire to be bathed. She was sentenced to be whipt; but the punishment was com-

muted into a severe reprimand, in honour of the happy event, when it was ascertained that the child was a young Elector; for this 'auspicious babe,' whom she had seen unworthily represented by the doll, proved to be none other than George I., by the grace of God, king of England, Defender of the Faith, and so forth. Her waggeries upon the church exposed her to more immediate retaliation. Having informed the abbot of a convent that some of the holy fathers had fished in a forbidden part of the waters, the delicate revenge they took upon her was to mix white wine in her tumbler, instead of water; which speedily made her so tipsy that she was carried to bed.

Upon her establishment in France as Dutchess of Orleans, a great heiress, and wife of the richest subject in the state, her whole allowance of pocket money was one hundred Louis a year; which was generously increased to two hundred, when upon her mother's death her large portion was paid. Afterwards her husband overcame the repugnance towards her, which, she says, he very 'naturally felt, owing to her ugliness,' and he gave her a thousand; to which Louis XIV., who always took her part, added as much more, until, upon her differing with him respecting her son's marriage, he was pleased to punish her by taking away this allowance; a kind of spite which we presume no private gentleman would have been capable of exercising. Nevertheless, she proves her sense of Louis's general kindness towards her, by giving the most favourable account of all his actions; and as her hatred of his mistress was still greater than her love of him, she readily imputes to Montespan and Maintenon, especially the latter, all his errors and his crimes, affirming, that but for them he would have been 'one of the 'most perfect kings in the world.' Some instances of this tendency to perfection, she has, indeed, recorded. When he held a court on his Queen's death, in order to have the ceremony quickly despatched, he 'ordered that there should 'be no speechifying, and that all who attended should enter by 'one door and go out at another, as smartly as they could 'move, pellmell, and without distinction.' A certain Bishop having come prepared with a flood of tears for the occasion, and composed his countenance accordingly, found himself hurried along, weeping, by the crowd; and could not resist smiling at his grotesque position, which gave his face so absurd an aspect, that the Dauphiness and the Dutchess burst out a laughing, as did the king himself and the rest of the circle. His return from Holland, which he had just occupied, was ascribed by his courtiers to a generous magnanimity, but was wholly owing, according to our author, to his desire of being near

Mad. de Montespan; and the following is her explanation of his persecutions, including the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

'On avait fait tellement peur au roi, de l'enfer, qu'il croyait que tous ceux qui n'avaient pas été instruits par les jésuites étaient damnés, et qu'il craignait d'être damné aussi en les fréquentant. Quand on voulait perdre quelqu'un, il suffisait de dire: *Il est huguenot* ou *janséniste;* alors son affaire était fait. Mon fils voulut prendre à son service un gentilhomme dont la mère était janséniste déclarée. Les jésuites, pour faire une affaire à mon fils auprès du roi, lui dirent que le prince voulait prendre un janséniste à son service. Le roi, ayant envoyé chercher mon fils, lui dit: Comment, mon neveu, de quoi vous avisez-vous, de prendre un janséniste à votre service? Mon fils repondit en riant: Je puis assurer votre majesté qu'il n'est sûrement pas janséniste; il est même plus à craindre qu'il ne croie pas bien en Dieu. Oh! dit le roi, si ce n'est que cela, et que vous m'assuriez bien qu'il n'est pas janséniste, vous pouvez le prendre. On ne saurait être plus ignorant en matière de religion que n'était le roi. Je ne puis comprendre comment la reine, sa mère, l'a laissé élever dans cette ignorance. Il croyait tout ce que lui disaient les prêtres, comme si cela venait de Dieu même. La vieille Maintenon et le père La Chaise lui avaient persuadé que tous les péchés qu'il avait commis avec la Montespan lui seraient remis s'il tourmentait et chassait les réformés, et que c'était la voie du ciel! C'est ce que le pauvre roi a cru fermement, car de sa vie il n'a lu la Bible; et d'après cela la persécution a commencé. Il ne connaissait de la religion que ce que ses confesseurs lui en disaient; ils lui avaient fait accroire qu'il n'était pas permis de raisonner sur des matières de religion, et qu'il fallait soumettre la raison pour gagner le ciel. Il était du moins de bonne foi; et ce n'était pas du tout sa faute que sa cour fût hypocrite; la vieille Maintenon avait forcé les gens à l'être.' pp. 36, 37.

This ignorance, indeed, was of a kind to satisfy even the most sturdy enemies of mental improvement; the Holiest of the Allies could, we should think, desire no more than that all sovereigns and all subjects should be as ill educated as the monarch whose name has been attached to 'the brightest era of modern Europe,' by the flattery of his courtiers. 'Louis and all his family,' says his sister-in-law, 'excepting my son, hated reading. 'Neither himself nor his brother had been taught any thing; they 'hardly could read and write.' In other accomplishments, however, this august family seem not to have been deficient. They were all, even in the eyes of our Germanic authoress, prodigious feeders. 'I have often,' says her Serene Highness, 'seen the 'king eat (*qu.* at dinner?) four plates of different soups, a whole 'pheasant, a partride, a huge plate of salad, mutton with garlick, 'two good slices of ham, a plate of pastry, and fruit and sweet-'meats after all.' We know not if the taste has descended in the

family, but his Majesty and his brother were extremely and sincerely attached to hard eggs. The Dutchess, in speaking of the propensities of the court (from which she wholly exculpates the king, but leaves the matter doubtful as to her husband *), enters into some details so shocking, that we cannot pollute our pages with even a mention of the subject they refer to.

A certain nobleness of mind, as far as bearing reverses with composure, and an imposing dignity of personal demeanour, seem really to be all Louis XIV. claims to the title of great. Whether it arose from levity or magnanimity, his reception of Marshal Villeroi after the rout of Ramillies (for battle it could scarcely be called), must be admitted to be very happy. 'Mons. le Marechal, on ne gagne pas des batailles à notre age.' The Duc de St Simon is in extacies with a 'grand coup de pinceau,' which he has preserved of him, and which, able as he thought him, he fairly owns far exceeded any thing he had deemed him equal to. They were talking of his nephew, the Duke of Orleans, and the king said (we cite from memory), 'Sui—mon neveu est tout cela—et encore, c'est un faufaron 'de crimes qu'il ne commet pas.' The Duke of Berwick is, as might be expected of a Stuart, Louis's warm eulogist. 'There never was a more *humane* king since the commence-'ment of the monarchy.' So that the ravaging of the Palatinate was an innocent, if not a kindly action! 'There was (his 'Grace adds, we suppose by way of explanation) no blood spilt '*among the great* during the course of his reign, except that of 'the Chevalier de Rohan; and he lost his life only because no 'one had the friendship or courage to solicit his pardon; for 'the king, in going to, and returning from, mass in the morn-'ing of the execution, *turned himself round on every side, to see* '*if* there were not some of his relations or friends ready to 'throw themselves at his feet.' We fancy no man of common feeling, or indeed judgment, would think so well of the Prince who allowed an innocent person to suffer, through regard to etiquette, as of one who put him to death from motives of policy or passion.

Towards the singular woman of whom this 'Great Monarch' was the dupe, whom he privately married in her old age, and by whom he was governed for the last 35 years of his life, the Dutchess appears to have entertained a hatred amounting to habitual fury. She never mentions her without some abusive name; '*la vieille*'—'*la vieille sorcière*'—'*cette me-*

* The officious Editor supplies this defect, and to the great disadvantage of the Duke's character.

chante bête,' &c. Of those who were connected with her, one is a '*creature infernal;*' another a '*méchante diablesse;*' and all crimes that can be committed by a woman, (and some which perhaps cannot) murder included, are freely imputed to her, or insinuated in terms as plain as they are often indelicate. That without being so wicked, she was vile and hateful enough, there can be little doubt, and that her influence, and that of her priests proved lamentably injurious to France, is now a matter of certain history, and conveys a most instructive lesson upon the incalculable evils of an absolute government.—What crimes have ever been charged upon democracy, what mischief ascribed to republicks themselves, equal to the misery and the national degradation of thirty years misgovernment in church and state, to gratify the caprice and the bigotry of an intriguing old woman, of the worst heart and most depraved morals? Such was not, indeed, the language used respecting her while the king lived. His physician used to say, that the only thing he disliked in the Christian religion, was its preventing him from building a temple and an altar to Madam de Maintenon, where he might worship her! The only person who durst venture to thwart her, if we are to believe our authoress, was herself; and of this among other traits, she has preserved the following, which also exemplifies her own fury, upon whatever touched the dignities of her family.

'Je crois que la vieille n'a pas voulu procurer un tabouret à madame Dangeau, parce que cette dame était Allemande et de bonne naissance; la vieille s'est fait un plaisir de l'opprimer. Elle avait aussi fait venir une fois deux filles de Strasbourg, et les faisait passer pour des comtesses palatines; elle les avait placées en qualité de suivantes chez ses nièces. Je n'en savais pas un mot: madame la dauphine vint me l'annoncer les larmes aux yeux. Je lui dis: Ne vous inquiétez pas, laissez-moi faire; quand j'ai raison, je me moque de la vieille sorcière. Ayant vu par mes croisées la nièce se promener avec les filles allemandes, je descendis au jardin et je fis en sorte de les rencontrer. J'appelai l'une des filles, et lui demandai qui elle était. Elle me dit en face qu'elle était une comtesse palatine de Lutzelstein.—De la main guache?—Non, répondit-elle; je ne suis point bâtarde; le jeune comte palatin a épousé ma mère, qui est de la maison de Gehlen.—Je lui dis: En ce cas, vous ne pouvez être comtesse palatine; car, chez nous autres comtes palatins, les mésalliances ne sont d'aucune valeur; je dirai encore plus: tu mens en disant que le comte palatin a épousé ta mère; c'est une p..... avec laquelle le comte palatin peut avoir couché comme tant d'autres; je sais qui est son véritable mari, c'est un hautbois. Si à l'avenir tu te fais passer pour une comtesse palatine, je te ferai couper les jupes *au ras du cul;* que je n'entende plus parler de cela de ma vie; mais

si tu suis mon conseil, et que tu reprennes ton véritable nom, je ne te reprocherai jamais ta vie; ainsi, vois ce que tu as à faire.—La fille prit cela si vivement à cœur qu'elle en mourut quelques jours après. Quant à la seconde, on l'envoya en pension à Paris; elle est devenue aussi grande coquine que sa mère, mais elle a changé de nom; aussi, je l'ai laissée courir. J'allai trouver la dauphine pour lui raconter ce qui venait de se passer; elle m'en témoigna sa satisfaction, en m'avouant que pour elle, le courage lui aurait manqué, pour faire cette démarche. Elle crut que le roi me gronderait, mais il ne m'en dit pas un mot; seulement, en plaisantant, il me disait quelquefois: Il ne fait pas bon se jouer à vous sur la chapitre de votre maison; la vie en dépend. Je répondais: Je n'aime pas les menteries.' pp. 81, 82.

Louis XIV.'s queen is sketched with a free, and, no doubt, not a faithful pencil. She was the most ignorant of womankind, it seems, but had a great talent for holding a court; she was good natured and virtuous, and believed implicitly whatever the king told her. She was short and fat, with a fair skin, and ugly black and rotten teeth; constantly drinking chocolate; often eating garlick; making long and frequent meals; but eating in small bits like a bullfinch. Her manners were Spanish, her passion was play; and, having no notion of any game, she always lost. It appears, however, not to have been her only passion; for, as the Dutchess delicately expresses it—and far be it from us to translate her words—'Elle se réjouissait que le roi couchât 'avec elle, car, en bonne espagnole, elle ne haïssait pas ce mé-'tier; elle en devenait si gaie qu'on le remarquait chaque fois. 'Elle n'était pas fâchée qu'on la raillât à ce sujet; alors elle riait, 'clignotait, et se frottait ses petites mains.'—Our author, finding that her Majesty died after being bled by the king's physician, against the advice of his surgeon, sets it down for certain, that she was put out of the way to make room for Madam Maintenon, 'exprès pour consolider la fortune de la vieille drôlesse.'

One of the most insignificant characters whom the Dutchess commemorates, even in the Bourbon family, is her husband, the brother of Louis XIV. It seems Cardinal Mazarin, perceiving that he was naturally somewhat more lively than the king, took the alarm lest he might become better informed; and gave positive instructions to his preceptor, to make him pass his time in amusing himself, and not to let him pursue his studies. 'What are you about, M. la Motte le Vayer?' said the wily old priest, 'Is it any business of yours to make the King's bro-'ther a man of talent? Why, if he becomes more knowing than 'the King, he can no longer obey him blindly.'—The orders of his Eminence were religiously attended to, and the prince was

brought up as silly, ignorant, and effeminate, as any ruler of mankind needs to be.—The following anecdote deserves a place; but we are compelled to break off in the middle of the last sentence, as the illustrious author's language is far too obscene for an extract.

'Monsieur a toujours fait le dévot. Il m'a fait rire une fois de bien bon cœur. Il apportait toujours au lit un chapelet auquel était attachée une quantité de médailles; il lui servait à faire ses prières avant de s'endormir. Quand cela était fini, j'entendais un gros fracas causé par les médailles, comme s'il les promenait sous la couverture. Je lui dis: Dieu me le pardonne; mais je soupçonne que vous faites promener vos reliques et vos images de la Vierge dans un pays qui leur est inconnu. Monsieur répondit: Taisez-vous, dormez; vous ne savez ce que vous dites. Une nuit je me levai tout doucement, je plaçai la lumière de manière à éclairer tout le lit; et au moment où il promenait ses médailles sous la couverture, je le saisis par le bras, et lui dis en riant: Pour le coup, vous ne sauriez plus me le nier. Monsieur se mit aussi à rire, et dit: Vous qui avez été huguenote, vous ne savez pas le pouvoir des reliques et des images de la sainte Vierge. Elles garantissent de tout mal les parties qu'on en frotte. Je répondis: Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur; mais vous ne me persuaderez point que c'est honorer la Vierge, que de promener son image sur' - - - - p. 94.

To such personages as this Prince, and indeed his far-famed brother and all the rest of his race, with one or two exceptions, the Regent his son presents a truly singular contrast, in every thing but the profligacy of manners, which they all seem to have had in an ample, and nearly equal proportion. A more accomplished man has perhaps never sat upon a throne; and few have surpassed him in the greater talents of a statesman. At once witty and learned, his conversation had all the charms which natural sprightliness and varied information could impart. His knowledge of languages was extensive; his reading, both for amusement and instruction was proportioned to that knowledge; his acquaintance with history excelled that of even most princes, and yet it was less remarkable than his familiarity with the more severe sciences; while in the fine arts he was so great an adept, that his compositions in music were esteemed by the most competent judges, and his paintings surpassed those of the masters of his age. His courage in war, and his talents, while he had the command of the army, were undisputed; his political courage, the promptitude and firmness which he displayed in most trying emergences, and the vast resources which he brought to the most hopeless task that ruler ever had cast upon him, the government of France, after the folly and the profligacy of Louis XIV. had exhausted or well nigh

ruined her, are the theme of just admiration to all who calmly contemplate the history of the last age, and do not suffer their disgust at the vicious excesses of his private life, to beget a contempt of his great qualities as a ruler. His mother (from whom he inherited both his talents and his coarseness) does ample justice to his rare endowments, and to that frankness of disposition, and easy forgiving temper, which he united with all the libertinism, and a good deal of the crooked policy, of the times he lived in. As for the worst crimes laid to his charge, the death of the Dauphin and Dauphiness, no rational man gave credit to the story even at the time; and it is now admitted on all hands, to have been the malicious invention of Mademoiselle Maintenon, and the rest of the party attached to the Duc de Maine, and the other illegitimate children of Louis XIV. Indeed, the perfect safety of Louis XV.'s person, during the many years of infancy he passed under the entire control of the Regent, is of itself the most conclusive answer to all such calumnies. So cool and courageous was he when threatened himself daily with plots, and nightly with assassination, that he refused to alter in the least his manner of living, or to take any precautions for his personal safety; so forgiving, that those whom he had detected attempting his life, and habitually defaming his character, he could never bring himself * to hate.

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* Voltaire thus speaks of the Regent. 'C'etait un Prince à qui 'on ne pouvoit reprocher que son gout ardent pour les plaisirs et 'pour les nouveautés. De toute la race de Henri IV. il fut celui 'qui lui ressembla le plus; il en avait la valeur, la bonté, l'indul-'gence, la gaieté, la facilité, la franchise, avec un esprit plus culture. 'Sa physionomie, incomparablement plus gracieuse, était cependant 'celle de Henri IV.' (*Siecle de Louis XV. ch.* 3.) It must be recollected, that Voltaire shows no partiality to the Regent's party; on the contrary, he gives the most favourable turn that the facts made possible to every thing which concerns Mad. Maintenon, and even the Duc du Maine—and his admiration of Louis XIV. hardly knows any bounds.

The Regent's military talents in the Spanish campaign have never been questioned; and, without making any formal panegyrick upon them, the Duke of Berwick, in his Memoirs, gives them a more substantial testimony, by the respectful manner in which he always mentions the plans and movements of that Prince, towards whom he cannot be supposed to have felt any great partiality, either as the person sent to supersede him after his great victory at Almansor, or as having, when charged with the government of France, taken part against his family, and in favour of the House of Hanover. More

'Ce qui me' (says his mother) 'paraît étrange, c'est qu'il ne 'hait point le beaufrère boiteux, qui pourtant voudrait le savoir 'mort et déshonoré. Je ne crois pas qu'on ait jamais vu son 'pareil: il n'a point de fiel dans le corps; jamais de la vie je 'ne l'ai vu haïr quelqu'un.'

The first Dauphin, son of Louis XIV., is represented as of a character extremely different from his kinsman in all but profligacy of manners; and even in that he seems far to have surpassed him. It is not easy to conceive any thing more hateful at once, and more despicable than this prince. What little good he had, our author ascribes to his preceptor, the celebrated Bossuet; and all his bad qualities belonged to his own evil nature.

'Il n'a jamais bien aimé ni bien haï personne; cependant il était méchant; son plus grand plaisir était de faire du chagrin à quelqu'un, et lorsqu'ensuite il pouvait faire un plaisir à la même personne, il s'y prêtait de bonne grâce; en tout point il était de l'humeur la plus inconcevable qu'on ait jamais vue; quand on le croyait bien disposé, il était fâché; quand on le supposait de mauvaise humeur, on le trou-

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doubt may be said to exist respecting his share of blame in the disastrous battle of Turin; but the received opinion, and the one recorded by all historians, throws almost the whole responsibility on the Cabinet and on Marsin, to whom the decisive voice was given by express, secret orders. We find, indeed, that the Emperor Napoleon, in some most able commentaries upon this famous battle (*Memoirs*, vol. iv.), regards the common account of this matter as unfounded; and adds a censure of the Duke of Orleans, admitting that the secret orders overruled his opinion. It may be quite true that he was to blame for allowing his army to be defeated by pursuing a course which he saw must have this effect, out of deference to any orders; yet Napoleon's whole argument (for it is a general position respecting the duty of a general in chief, that he is illustrating) omits the consideration, that a general cannot, in a critical moment, resign his command. Is he then to disobey the positive orders of his government? We apprehend, that if Napoleon himself had committed the indiscretion of sending from Paris such a command, the general upon the spot who disobeyed it would have been told that his duty was to leave the responsibility on him who sent the order; though certainly the case would be very different, if circumstances allowed of the alternative of resigning. That the plan of receiving Prince Eugene's attack in the lines, instead of marching out and attacking, was any body's rather than the Duke's, seems to be admitted by all except Napoleon, although it is possible that Marsin himself may have been against it, and bound by special, and not discretionary instructions.

vait en bonne disposition ; jamais on ne devinait juste : personne ne l'a bien connu, et je ne crois pas qu'il ait jamais eu son semblable, ni qu'il en naisse jamais un pareil. On ne pouvait pas dire qu'il eût de l'esprit, mais il n'était pas non plus sot ; personne au monde ne saisissait mieux les ridicules, tant les siens que ceux des autres ; il racontait plaisamment, il remarquait tout, et ne craignait rien au monde tant que d'être un jour roi, moins par tendresse pour son père, qu'à cause de la peine de gouverner ; car il était d'une paresse extrême, qui lui faisait tout négliger : il aurait préféré ses aises à tous les empires et royaumes. Il pouvait rester couché tout une journée sur le canapé ou dans une chaise à bras, et frapper avec la canne contre les souliers, sans dire un mot ; jamais de la vie il n'a voulu donner son opinion sur rien ; mais lorsqu'une fois dans l'année il parlait, il s'exprimait en termes assez nobles.

' Il ne s'est pas affligé un quart d'heure de la mort de son épouse, ni de celle de sa mère ; quand il s'affubla de son long manteau de deuil, il faillit étouffer de rire.' pp. 173–8.

Of his Royal Highness's wit, we have a very refined specimen.

' Je ne puis suffrir que l'on me touche au derrière, cela me fait enrager au point que je ne sais plus ce que je fais. Aussi, j'ai manqué de donner un soufflet au dauphin qui avait la mauvaise habitude de venir, par plaisanterie, avancer le poing avec le pouce étendu sur la chaise où l'on voulait s'asseoir. Je le priai, pour l'amour de Dieu, de cesser ce jeu qui me déplaisait tellement que je ne répondais pas de ne pas lui donner un soufflet avant d'y penser. Depuis lors, il m'a laissée tranquille.' p. 80.

Of his delicacy, and that of his serene aunt, the following trait may possibly rather more than suffice.

' Il aimait qu'on s'entretînt avec lui pendant qu'il était sur la chaise percée ; mais cela se passait modestement, car pendant l'entretien on lui tournait le dos. Je me suis souvent entretenue avec lui de la sorte dans le cabinet de son épouse, qui m'en chargeait et en riait.' p. 178.

What follows is yet more disgusting, and, as usual, we are compelled to break off.

The anecdotes of Henrietta, the first Dutchess of Orleans, sister of our Charles II., are extremely scandalous; and to some of them we cannot even make any allusion. But our author is by no means an indiscriminate believer of all that is said against that unfortunate Princess. She discredits the story of her intrigue with her brother-in-law, Louis XIV., and seems to throw some doubt upon others, but admits that with the Count de Guiche, and, the most shameful of the whole, with her own nephew, the Duke of Monmouth. The details of her murder by poison are given with some incredible particulars. The following anecdote is of a less serious cast, and has the advantage, by no means frequent with the Dutchess's stories, of being one that can be repeated without any great violation of decency.

'Monsieur a été lui-même la cause de l'intrigue que Madame a eue avec le comte de Guiche. C'était un des favoris de feu Monsieur, et l'on dit qu'il était beau alors. Monsieur pria instamment Madame d'avoir de l'affection pour le comte de Guiche, et de trouver bon qu'il fût à toute heure auprès d'elle. Le comte, brutal envers tout le monde, mais plein de vanité, mit tous ses soins à plaire à Madame, et à s'en faire aimer. Il réussit en effet, étant secondé par sa tante, madame de Chaumont, qui était gouvernante des enfans de Madame. Un jour Madame se rendit dans la chambre de cette dame, sous prétexte de voir ses enfans, mais dans le fait pour avoir une entrevue avec le comte de Guiche. Elle avait un valet de chambre appelé Launois, que j'ai encore vu chez Monsieur : celui-là reçut ordre de se mettre en faction sur l'escalier pour avertir dans le cas où Monsieur viendrait. Tout à coup ce Launois accourt, en disant : Voici Monsieur qui descend. Les amans furent effrayés ; le comte ne pouvait se sauver par l'antichambre, à cause des gens de Monsieur qui s'y trouvaient. Launois dit : Je ne sais qu'un moyen, et j'en ferai usage sur-le-camp ; cachez-vous, dit-il au comte derrière la porte ; puis il court au-devant de Monsieur, lui heurte avec sa tête le nez, au point que Monsieur commença de saigner fort. En même temps il s'écria : Monseigneur, je vous demande pardon et grâce, je ne vous croyais pas si près ; je voulais courir vite pour ouvrir la porte. Madame et madame de Chaumont accoururent tout effrayées, avec des mouchoirs qu'elles placèrent sur la figure de Monsieur, en l'entourant si bien que le comte de Guiche eut le temps de s'esquiver de la chambre, et de gagner l'escalier ; Monsieur avait vu fuir quelqu'un, mais il s'était imaginé que c'était Launois qui se sauvait de peur. Il n'a jamais appris la vérité.' pp. 187, 188.

Constant intrigues, as might be supposed, form a large proportion of the Dutchess's intelligence communicated to her Royal correspondents. Nor are these confined to the married females of the Royal race. It seems an ordinary occurrence, when a match is settled for any of the young ladies with some foreign sovereign, to mention some previous connexion which the illustrious maid has had with a courtier, while living under her father's roof. Not that the good Dutchess is always aware of the secret history of events which she sees passing even in her own family. One of her grand-daughters, for example, is seized with a vehement desire to take the veil; our author expresses much wonder at her choosing a kind of life of which she has herself such a horror, that she cannot talk of '*ce maudit cloître*,' and '*ce projet diabolique*,' the more especially because the poor girl is not only by far the most beautiful of the family, but has all the tastes of a young man; loves nothing but dogs and horses and guns, and is all day long either amusing herself with these, or with firing pistols. Nevertheless to the nunnery

she is sent in good earnest, and takes the veil under the name of Sœur Bathilde. A note of the Editor, however, informs us, that one night at the opera a very tender exclamation escaped the fair devotee, addressed to a famous singer, which alarmed the mother, and soon produced the 'projet diabolique.' But debauchery of a more vulgar cast appears not to have been uncommon among the ladies of the most refined court in the world. We are frequently told of the inordinate eating of some of these beauties; of one who attached one of the Royal family to her by her 'gourmandise,' and the resources which he found in so congenial a propensity; of another who drank both wine and spirits most freely; and of a third, a Dutchess of Bourbon, who could drink hard without being affected by it, but whose daughters, wishing to imitate so glorious an example, and not having her Royal Highness's strength of head, got drunk and misbehaved themselves. 'Ses filles veulent l'imiter; 'mais elles sont bientot ivres, et ne savent pas se gouverner 'comme leur mère.' The delicacy with which all love affairs were managed, and talked of among these 'lights of the world,' merits our admiration. We take the following passage, almost at random; it relates chiefly to the Duke of Bourbon.

'La princesse de Conti s'est plainte auprès de moi de ce qu'au bal, M. le duc est allé derrière elle, en chantant à haute voix: "Maman çà, maman là, maman carogne," et qu'alors des masques se sont écriés dans tous les coins de la salle: Non, ce n'est pas celle-là, c'est l'autre qui est la carogne.

'M. le prince est amoureux de la Polignac, mais celle-ci aime M. le duc, qui ne peut pas encore oublier madame de Nesle, quoiqu'elle lui ait donné son congé, pour le remplacer par ce grand veau, le prince de Soubise. On prétend que celui-ci dit: De quoi se fâche M. le duc: n'ai-je donc pas permis à madame de Nesle de coucher avec M. le duc, quand il voudra? Voilà la délicatesse qu'on a ici en amours!

'M. le duc est très-passionné. Quand madame de Nesle lui donna son congé, il faillit mourir de chagrin; il avait l'air de la mort en personne, et pendant plus de six mois il n'a pas su prendre son parti.

'Le marquis de Villequier, fils du duc d'Aumont, fit un jour une visite à la marquise de Nesle. Il vint dans la tête de celle-ci de lui demander s'il était vrai qu'il était amoureux de sa femme. Villequier répondit: Je n'en suis pas amoureux; je la vois même fort peu; nos humeurs different beaucoup. Elle est sérieuse, et moi j'aime la gaîté et les plaisirs. Je l'aime d'une amitié fondée sur l'estime; car c'est une des plus honnêtes femmes de France. Madame de Nesle, de qui on n'en peut pas dire autant, prit ce propos pour une insulte, et s'en plaignit à M. le duc, qui lui promit de la venger. Quelques jours après, il invita le jeune Villequier à diner chez le marquis de Nesle

même; il y avait, outre madame de Nesle, le marquis de Gèvres madame de Coligny, et d'autres. Pendant le dîner, M. le duc commence tout-à-coup ainsi: " Bien des gens croient être à couvert du cocuage; mais c'est une erreur. J'ai cru me mettre à l'abri, en épousant un monstre: cela ne m'a servi de rien; car un vilain du Challar, plus laid que moi me fait cocu. Pour le marquis de Gèvres, il ne le deviendra point, parce qu'étant impuissant, il ne saurait se marier; mais vous (à M. de Nesle), vous l'êtes de tel et tel, etc." Nesle qui ne pouvait le croire, quoique cela soit vrai, se mit à rire tout de bon; puis s'adressant à Villequier, il lui demanda: Et vous, ne croyez-vous pas l'être, Villequier? Celui-ci se tut. M. le duc continua: vous l'êtes du chevalier de Pesay. Villequier rougit; cependant il dit: " J'avoue que, jusqu'à présent, je n'ai pas cru l'être; mais, puisque vous me mettez en si bonne compagnie, je n'ose m'en fâcher." Je trouvai que madame de Nesle n'avait pas été bien vengée.' pp. 231–233.

It is generally remarked, that when the odious and corrupting propensity of gaming takes possession of the female mind, its ravages are still more unsparing than upon the character and feelings of men. The mania which seized all ranks at the time of Law's famous Mississippi project, seems to have raged with the least controul among the women of the court at Paris. Our author relates of one Dutchess, that she kissed Law's hand in publick, and adds, 'Je crois que, s'il voulait, les Françaises lui baiseraient, sauf 'respect, le derrière!'—wherewithal she relates a very indelicate story of some of those ladies, which seems fully to justify this conjecture, but which we cannot further allude to. One lady, in order to obtain an interview with him, drove to the hotel where she had ascertained that he dined, and had insisted on being invited, but in vain; she then made her servants raise a cry of fire, which brought the company to the window, and as soon as Law appeared she leapt from her carriage; but he being warned by the hostess, made his escape. Another ordered her coachman to overturn her before the projector's door, who ran out at the alarm of the accident, and thus she obtained an interview. A Dutchess being wanted to accompany the Regent's daughter into Italy upon her marriage, some one said, 'Si vous vouler avoir le choix des duchesses, envoyez chez Ma-'dame Law; vous les y trouverer toutes rassemblées.'

'La princesse de Léon s'étant transportée à la banque, fit crier par ses laquais: Place pour madame la princesse de Léon. Pendant ce temps, elle qui est trés-petite, se glissa dans la piece où les banquiers se tenaient avec leurs commis. Je veux des actions, dit-elle. Le commis répondit: Prenez patience, on les vend selon l'ordre des demandes; ainsi il faut que d'autres soient servis avant vous, madam. En même temps il ouvrit le tiroir où les actions

étaient renfermées; la princesse se jeta dessus: le commis voulut l'en empêcher: il s'ensuivit une bataille. Compendant le commis, effrayé d'avoir battu une femme de qualité, courut dehors, et demanda: Que est donc cette princesse de Léon? Un des laquais répondit: C'est une dame de grande qualité, jeune et aimable. Eh bien, dit le commis, ce n'est donc pas celle-la? Un autre laquais s'écrie: La princesse de Léon est une petite femme, bossue par-devant et par-derrière, et qui a les bras si longs, qu'ils pendent à terre. Oh bien, s'écria le commis, c'est celle-là.' pp. 256-7.

Next to Law—perhaps more prominently—the Abbé Dubois figured in the Regency; and a more infamous creature was never bestowed by the church as a curse upon the state. To him, beyond all doubt, must the Regent's vices and errors be chiefly ascribed; he was his tutor, and had the care of his education from his earliest years, and availed himself of his pupil's inexhaustible kindness of disposition, to maintain an influence over him, fatal to a character in other respects so brilliant, and even amiable. That it was naturally so, and that the seeds of cruelty and treachery could find in it no soil in which to take root, there can be no stronger proof, than that the lessons, the example, and the intimacy of such an accomplished master of every base art, failed to pervert the frankness, and even gentleness, of his nature. The Dutchess speaks of this wretch with the execration and contempt which he deserved; but almost the whole ground of these feelings seems to have been her discovery that he secretly joined Madame Maintenon in promoting the Regent's marriage with one of the King's natural daughters,—the act of his life which she uniformly speaks of with the greatest horror, and which she plainly regards as by far the most serious misfortune of her own. Compared with being the cause of *a mesalliance*, his having contributed mainly to introduce the hateful debauchery of manners which formed the great stain upon the Regent's administration, appears as nothing in the eyes of our truly legitimate author. What signifies the corruption of publick morals, in comparison with a Prince of the Blood marrying a person deficient in the just number of quarters, nay, one who actually has the cross-bar in her blazon?

It must be confessed, that the Dutchess's belief of slander had become extremely easy during her long residence at so profligate a court, where she daily saw quite enough to convince the most charitably incredulous of the prevailing laxity of morals. We take for granted that she is generally in the right; but one remarkable and very inexcusable mistake which she falls into, deserves to be corrected. She may do little harm by

retailing the scandal of the day against the contemptible crew that composed the court of Versailles; but a character like that of Queen Mary (King William's Mary) is sacred ground in this country, and ought to be so wherever liberty and public virtue are respected. The Dutchess thinks proper to charge that illustrious Princess with levity of conduct while she lived in Holland, and upon the worst possible authority, that of a man dishonourable enough to have boasted of enjoying her favours. The Count D'Avaux, it seems, French ambassador at the Hague, informed our author that he had himself had secret interviews with her in the apartment of Mrs Treslaine (*qu.* Trelawney?), one of her maids of honour. Happily this man added another invention to this, and thereby has enabled us easily and surely to detect both. The Prince of Orange, he said, having received information of the intimacy, dismissed the maid of honour, under some pretext, to conceal the true cause of her disgrace. Now, were we to cite the strong general testimony to the Princess's unsullied purity of conduct, to her extraordinary private as well as public virtue in all the relations of life, as borne by an historian who knew her long and well, and had lived constantly in her society in Holland as well as England, it might be said that the stories of the ambassador were true, although Bishop Burnett knew nothing of them. But those stories *cannot possibly be true* if the Bishop has not invented the words which he relates King William to have used when in the agony of his grief for her loss: He showed feelings 'greater than 'those who knew him best thought his temper capable of,'— 'fainting often, and breaking out into most violent lamenta-'tions.' This vehemence of feeling is of itself enough to make the Frenchman's account most improbable; but what passed renders it impossible. 'He burst into tears, and cried out 'that there was no hope of the Queen; and that, from being 'the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature 'upon earth. He said, that, *during the whole course of their* 'marriage, *he had never known one single fault in her.* There 'was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself.' (*Burnett, II.* 137.) No one will suspect King William, of all the men who ever lived, of having acted this scene, had there been the least foundation for the vile calumny of D'Avaux. We are therefore left to choose between these two alternatives, either that D'Avaux deceived the Dutchess of Orleans, or that Burnett invented this scene, and made this speech for the King. Nor is the choice a matter of much difficulty. We confess, however, that even for the purpose of vindicating their memory, we feel some repugnance to introducing among the

princes and courtiers who composed the group of Louis XIV.'s court, any mention of those exalted personages, the illustrious patterns of all royal virtues, to whom the constitution of this country owes a debt of gratitude, rarely indeed due from any nation to its sovereigns.

We venture to hope, that much of the scandal which the Dutchess so freely retails against some great men, rests on no better foundation;—we allude more especially to the foul charge which she is so fond of bringing, and often in the most coarse language, of propensities not fit to be named. She hardly excepts one of the French generals in Louis XIV.'s reign. Not only Villars, by far the most distinguished during the war of the Spanish succession, but even the great Condé, and Prince Eugene himself, are sacrificed to this love of scandal, as if to show that the abomination was not confined to the French armies. It seems as if, aware of the more ordinary debaucheries of which her son was but too justly accused, she was anxious to show how many great men had fallen into excesses of a kind infinitely worse than any imputed to him. Her odious accusations are not confined to men. Our Queen Anne, Christina Queen of Sweden, and numberless others, are, we trust, calumniated by her in terms nowise fit to be cited. Indeed, we may apply to herself what she says of Christina—'Elle pouvait parler de choses qui ne sont connues que 'des plus grands débauchés;' but we can by no means add what one of her relations said of the same royal personage. 'Le duc Frédéric Auguste de Brunswick était charmé de 'Christine; il disait que de sa vie il n'avait vu de femme qui eût 'autant d'esprit, et dont la conversation fût aussi divertissante; 'il ajoutait qu'il n'y avait pas moyen de s'ennuyer une minute 'avec elle. Je lui fis observer qu'on disait que cette reine tennait 'frequemment des propos orduriers. Cela est vrai, me répondit-'il; mait elle voile les choses de maniere à leur faire perdre tout 'leur dégout.'

It really is a very painful circumstance to reflect, that the indecency and filth which stain so many of these pages must all have been written to and read by a Princess hitherto supposed to be so great a pattern of propriety as Queen Caroline; one who certainly devoted some portion of her time to the conversation of the greatest philosophers of the age, and who was even understood to have a taste for the study of their immortal writings. That she should have permitted any one to tell, and still more to write to her familiarly, and it should seem habitually, stories like those which fill this volume, which are in general only remarkable for their coarseness and indelicacy, and

hardly one of which we have been able to quote to an end, cannot be easily accounted for upon any supposition consistent with the respect due to her character and station. We must therefore rest satisfied with expressing a hope, that the manners of the age were a good deal less refined than we had supposed, even after all we had seen preserved of them; and that her Majesty was obliged to bear with much from a person a great deal older than herself, and who stood in so near a relation to one always favourably disposed towards the House of Hanover, and of very extensive influence in political affairs.

We have remarked already the exemplary impartiality with which the Dutchess dispenses her anecdotes, without any regard either to the station or the sex of those against whom she has any thing to record; and certainly if nobles and kings fare ill under her hand, the priests have not much reason to congratulate themselves on their escape. She has, indeed, a very manifest horror of the whole tribe, founded probably upon her experience of their unprincipled lusts, their hard-hearted cruelty and pride, and their endless frauds and intrigues at the French Courts. 'C'est un malheur,' says she, 'que de grands seigneurs, tels que l'électeur palatin, Jean-Guillaume, se fassent gouverner par la prêtraille; il n'en peut résulter que des calamités. Il ferait mieux de suivre le conseil des habiles hommes d'état: laisser ses sujets en repos, et jeter son pretre dans le Necker. Voilà le conseil que je lui donnerais, et je croirais qu'il ne serait pas mouvais.'

Some of her most curious anecdotes indeed concern this *sacred* order. The marriage of the Queen Mother, widow of Louis XIII., with Cardinal Mazarin, who had before been her paramour, is well known; but the old priest's treatment of her is not so familiar.

'Il se lassa terriblement de la bonne reine et la traita durement, ce qui est la suite ordinaire de pareils marriages; mais c'était l'usage du temps de contracter des mariages clandestins. La reine-mère d'Angleterre, veuve de Charles Ier, en avait contracté également un, en épousant son chevalier d'honneur, qui la traitait aussi fort mal. Tandis que cette pauvre reine manquait de bois et de nourriture, il avait dans son appartement bon feu, et donnait de grands repas. Il s'appelait my lord German, comte de Saint-Albain: il n'adressait pas une parole douce à la reine. Quant au mariage de la reine-mère de France, on en connait maintenant toutes les circonstances. Le chemin secret par lequel il se rendait chaque nuit chez elle, se voit encore au Palais-Royal. Lorsqu'elle venait le voir, il disait toujours, à ce qu'on prétend: Que me veut cette femme! Il était amoureux d'une dame qui était chez la reine. Je l'ai connue, elle logeait au Palais-Royal, et on la nommait madame de Brégie. Etant très-

belle, elle a fait naître bien des passions; mais c'était une honnête femme qui a servi fidélement la reine, et qui a fait que le cardinal a mieux vécu avec la reine qu'auparavant.' p. 320.

This crafty churchman had been libelled in every form that was most atrocious,—though probably without any violation of truth. He pretended to be extremely incensed, and had the publications all collected, for the purpose of having them burnt; but he had them *sold* underhand, and as if unknown to him, and pocketed, says the Dutchess, ten thousand crowns, by thus speculating on his own reputation. The beastly anecdotes of Alberoni's rise have been related by other writers of memoirs; by none are the details given so disgustingly as by this fair author. But the true history of the origin of St Francis de Sales, the founder of the Order of Filles de Sainte-Marie, is less known. It seems this devout personage was a sharper in his youth.

'Il avait été dans sa jeunesse lié d'amitié avec le maréchal de Villeroi, père du maréchal actuel. Aussi le maréchal ne pouvait-il jamais s'habituer à l'appeler saint. Quand on parlait devant lui de saint François de Sales, il disait: J'ai été ravi quand j'ai vu M. de Sales un saint; il aimait à dire des gravelures et trompait au jeu; le meilleur gentilhomme du monde, au reste, mais le plus sot.'* p. 339.

It matters not to our author that the priesthood and the highest rank should be found united; or peradventure both combined in the softer sex. She tells us of a daughter of Frederick V., elector Palatine, who was Abbess of Maubuisson, and whose constant oath when she swore, was (with reference to the number of bastards whom she had born), '*Par ce ventre qui a porté quatorze enfans.*' The following anecdote is more in the ordinary manner of the priestly nobility.

'Il y a un évêque de qualité, assez jeune mais laid, qui était d'abord si dévot qu'il voulait se mettre à la Trappe; il portait les cheveux plats, et n'osait pas regarder une femme. Ayant appris que dans la ville où il siégeait, il y avait une pécheresse dont les galanteries étaient fameuses, il eut envie de la convertir, et la faire aller à confesse. C'était, dit-on, une très-jolie femme, ayant de plus beaucoup d'esprit. A peine l'évêque avait-il commencé de la fré-

* 'M. de Cosnac, archevêque d'Aix, était très-vieux, quand il apprit que l'on venait de canoniser saint François de Sales. Quoi! s'écria-t-il, M. de Genève, mon ancien ami? Je suis charmé de la fortune qu'il vient de faire: c'était un galant homme, un aimable homme, et même un honnête homme, quoiqu'il trichât au piquet, où nous avons souvent joué ensemble. Mais, monseigneur, lui dit-on, est-il possible qu'un saint friponne au jeu? Ho! répliqua l'archevêque, il disait, pour ses raisons, que ce qu'il gagnait était pour les pauvres.!'

quenter, qu'il prit soin de ses cheveux. D'abord il y mit de la poudre, puis il les frisa, et à la fin il mordit si bien à l'hameçon qu'il ne quitta plus la jolie pécheresse, ni jour ni nuit. Son clergé osa l'exhorter de faire cesser le scandale; mais il répondit que si le clergé ne cessait de lui faire des remontrances, il lui ferait donner des coups. A la fin il se promena en voiture dans la ville avec sa pénitente. Le peuple en devint si furieux qu'il lui jeta des pierres; à ces nouvelles, ses parens se sont rendus dans son diocèse, pour l'exhorter à leur tour; mais il n'a voulu recevoir que sa mère, encore n'a-t-il point écouté ses avis. Alors les parens se sont adressés au régent, pour qu'il fit venir la femme à Paris: ce qui a eu lieu. Mais l'amant l'a suivie pas à pas, et l'a reprise; il a fallu la lui enlever par une lettre de cachet. On dit que l'exempt les a trouvés couchés ensemble: on a conduit la femme dans une maison de correction. L'évêque est désespéré, et déclare qu'il ne pardonnera jamais à ses parens l'affront qu'ils lui ont fait.' pp. 325, 326.

The considerate and unprejudiced reader of this volume, cannot fail to rise from the perusal with an increased respect for the most important, the most virtuous, and, we may now safely say, not the least refined class of society—that which occupies the middle rank, approaching more nearly, and connected more intimately, with the lower than the higher orders. It is at least abundantly evident, that, in grossness of idea, in coarseness of expression, in a familiarity with thoughts which are impure, and a proneness to make those thoughts the subject of conversation, in language alike degrading to the speaker and the hearer—the very highest class of all approaches most closely to the lowest of the vulgar. We will suppose a young woman taken, not from the best educated ranks of society, those which are placed above all pecuniary difficulty, without being above the controul of publick opinion—taken not even from the better parts of the middle class, where ease of circumstances is to be found without the highest refinement—but taken from those classes which know few of the luxuries of life, and not many of its comforts—we might descend still lower, to the class which, with a moderate share of comfort, is not always above the fear of want—and suppose a young woman of this class leaving her home, and marrying into a family of her own rank, whose adventures form the subject of her correspondence with the relatives whom she has left behind—in the first place, we have the testimony of the Editor, who saw the originals of the Dutchess's letters, that, in language and spelling, our yeoman's or mechanic's daughter could not fall short of the Princess—and in every thing that deserves the name of purity and refinement, can a comparison for a moment be instituted? Ideas which the peasant would reject with loathing, not from igno-

rance; but natural and virtuous disgust, are selected for constant meditation and sedulous handling by the dame of three score and twelve quarters;—expressions which neither she could, nor her brother would use, are habitually bandied about by the grandee, to women and to men indiscriminately; and the superior refinement which the atmosphere of a palace has given its inhabitants, resolves itself into the learning of not a few things so odious, so far removed from the course of nature, that the tenants of the workshop and the farm-house live and die in a happy ignorance of their existence, or, when taught them by the writings of their superiors, disbelieve their possibility. We are now leaving altogether out of view the contrast which the two stations present of hardheartedness, selfishness and fraud, with kindness and tenderness and honesty; and indeed we have nothing, in respect of these mightier matters, of which to accuse the author whose letters lie before us. Few in her station can be named, who, to great natural sagacity, united so much frankness of disposition, and so much real kindness, without affectation or cant; but we speak merely of the coarseness of her and her connexions, which is to the full as remarkable as the gross profligacy and criminal indulgence of all kinds in which the court she lived in rioted without restraint. When we find such want of propriety and delicacy in this quarter, let it further be borne in mind, that we are speaking of one of the very greatest ladies in all Europe; the niece of the Electress Sophia by birth, and sister of Louis XIV. by marriage. We are speaking, too, of the most polished court, at the most polished period of modern times—the Augustan age of France.

That what is properly termed refinement, the utmost delicacy of sentiment and feeling, may exist in very humble life, is a truth which every day's experience will tend more and more to inculcate. In proportion as even the lowest classes of society learn to withdraw their affections from the vulgar enjoyments of the senses and to fix them upon intellectual gratification, their thoughts will be more exalted, and their words and actions become more pure. Whoever has read one of the most delightful pieces of biography that exists, the early life of Marmontel, written by himself, must long ago have come to the important conclusion that a delicacy of mind, and an elegance of taste almost romantic, are perfectly compatible with a state of poverty hardly to be envied by the poorest of our peasantry; and there is not a cottage in the whole kingdom where equal refinement and equal happiness might not be naturalized, by banishing ardent spirits, infusing a taste for books, and teaching children from their youth upwards to place half their enjoyment on the prosperity

and the affection of those around them. This is the point at which society may arrive, and to which it is tending—in spite of the interested efforts of its deceivers and oppressors: But we have digressed from our purpose, which was to show how much better the middle classes now are, even in their unimproved state, than the highest of all, in the very delicacies which these have been wont to claim as peculiarly their own. We are not thoughtless enough, or prejudiced enough, or ignorant enough, to institute any such comparison with the ranks immediately above them, and below the highest; because in these, until corruption has destroyed it, refinement must always be expected to prevail in its purest state. But these too would swiftly feel the debasing effects of exaltation, if the wholesome checks under which they lived were removed.

We cannot dismiss this work without adding a few words upon the kind of publications which have lately issued from the press both of France and England, under the title of Memoirs. The Dutchess of Orleans, no doubt, wrote without the least expectation that her memorable Letters would ever see the light; but as they disclose nothing which affects any person living for near a century past, and as they almost exclusively regard sovereigns, their immediate connexions, and persons in great offices about their courts, the offence of giving them publicity is of inferior moment, and of less bad example. But some details and some letters have of late been made publick which affect many private individuals, many of whom are still living, and all of whom have their nearest and dearest relatives alive to feel the cruel effects of such an unwarrantable license. The infamous Memoirs of M. de Lauzûn stand at the head of this class. A wretch having been base enough to chronicle his own intrigues, there were found tradesmen so abandoned as to print them, without the disguise of a single name, and hundreds, of course, so thoughtless, or rather so neglectful of their duty, as to encourage this outrage upon society by buying and reading the book. It must be some satisfaction, at least, to those who are foully calumniated in its pages, that so much of it is manifestly, and on a cursory perusal, perceived to be wholly false, (some things being plainly impossible to be true), that all authority is taken away from its statements generally. But the guilt of the author and the publisher is hardly increased by the falsehood which is every where mingled with the details; the crime against society consists in the scandalous breach of all confidence to which the work owes its origin, and more especially the foul dishonour of divulging secrets, of which, as far as the details are true, the writer could only become possessed

through the frailty of persons whose affections he had seduced. The example of the Frenchman, though not in its worst feature, has been followed more recently by some of our own countrymen, to whose works we purposely abstain from making any more particular allusion,—desirous to do nothing which, by increasing their publicity, might aggravate the great mischief, of which, in common with every rational person, we complain. It is impossible, however, to omit the opportunity of reprobating both the recent increase of such publications, and the tacit encouragement that is given to them, by their purchase and perusal, even by those who most cordially disapprove of the practice.

Lord Byron, it seems, had amused his leisure hours by writing memoirs of his own life. In these he appears to have set down many things which ought never to have met the publick eye; and not a few which should have been confined for ever to himself and the other parties immediately concerned. He made a present of the manuscript to Mr Moore, whose honourable feelings decided against making it publick, and it was destroyed. By this act of strict propriety he sacrificed, as is understood, a large sum of money which had been offered for the copy-right.

Nothing can be more absurd than the clamour that was raised, especially by some of the newspapers, upon this suppression. They represented the publick as *defrauded of its rights*;—as if the publick had a title to that which it would be a violation of all decorum—an offence against the most sacred laws of society—an outrage upon every honourable feeling to divulge; as if, because Lord Byron had written what he had no right to put upon paper, another was bound to preserve it for ever;—as if Lord Byron's intention, at some time, to print what he was bound never to have even told, gave a right to, nay, imposed a duty upon, his surviving friend, instantly to have it circulated in a book, and copied into every newspaper in the three kingdoms! As well might an unfeeling mob contend, that the keepers of a madman defrauded them of their sport. The meaning of all this outcry, however, was plain enough: The public have, especially of late years, become voracious of all gossip respecting individuals: if it be mixed up with slander, the relish is higher; but mere idle gossip is thankfully received. They knew the memoirs must contain abundance of this plain matter at the least, and they thought it probably might have the seasoning also. They and the newspapers, therefore (which but too often degrade themselves from their important functions of instructing the country, and assume the office of pandering

to its most silly, or most hateful propensities), were disappointed of an expected gratification, and gave plain indications how thankfully it would have been received.

This demand was speedily supplied, and in a manner infinitely more reprehensible than by the publication of Lord Byron's Memoirs. Persons who had enjoyed the honour of Lord Byron's intimate acquaintance,—who had been admitted to his most private society,—who had (some of them, we believe) been fed by his liberal charities, set down whatever had passed in the most unguarded moments of their unreserved intercourse, and sell the whole to booksellers, by whom they are published! This is their own statement; and supposing it to be scrupulously true, * and that such a proceeding is to be not only borne, but encouraged and rewarded by the community, we shall only say, that those who tolerate and patronize, by purchasing such works, and suffering them to lie on their tables, have themselves alone to blame if another step be speedily made in the process of universal publicity, and their servants led to disclose all the details of their most private affairs and most unguarded conversations to some bookmaker, who may put them in shape for some bookseller to publish. We presume the 'publick' would then be put in full possession of its 'rights;' and the addition of '*Pièces justificatives*,'—'*Proofs and Illustrations*,' in the form of Letters and Notes, picked up as they were dropt occasionally, would complete the '*Art d'ecrire l'Histoire*,'—the Art of writing Domestic History!

We are now speaking of the most authentick statements that can be given of matters free from any slander. The conversations shall be all correctly given, and contain nothing but unquestionable facts, and no crime, nor even any impropriety of conduct, shall be imputed to the persons whose secret lives are dragged forth, and whose domestic talk is thus put on record during their lifetime, or that of their immediate relations. We might even admit that it should be so contrived as that no *ridicule* could attach to the individuals named—still a gross outrage is committed, and such proceedings utterly destroy the whole comforts of society.

But what classes in the community have the deepest interest in putting down such practices? Undeniably those classes which have encouraged, if not created them,—the upper classes of society. There is little fear of the lives and colloquies of ploughmen and milkmaids, footmen and waiting

* Much has been published with a view to show that the statements are untrue; but, in our view of the case, this question is of secondary importance, and we abstain from entering into it.

women, or even yeomen and tradesmen, becoming food for the curiosity of the reading world; and if they were all chronicled, little or no pain would be inflicted. The demand is confined to the concerns of the higher orders; they are sure to furnish matter which will interest every reader; while its publication is hurtful chiefly to them, because it destroys that intercourse of private society, which is to all a great source of enjoyment, to many the only object of life. Is it not marvellous, then, that *they* should be the persons who promote beyond all others, an evil which themselves alone are menaced with—nay, which is an evil only to them? Assuming them to be the real encouragers of such reprehensible publications as we are alluding to, we would remind them very seriously of the risk they are running, nay, of the danger into which they have already gotten themselves. We suppose the booksellers may have given five hundred pounds for some of those works. The waiting-maid of a woman of fashion has perhaps forty pounds a year; and if she loses one place, she may change her name and find another. What a temptation to such a female would a fortune of 500*l.* be! and can the bookseller be hard to find who will give this for all the secrets of some distinguished family, when there has not been wanting avarice shameless enough to buy and sell the disgusting anecdotes that have lately polluted the press;—including, among others, as we are credibly informed, for we have not read it, the letter of a husband describing his marriage night? Yet, what right would any woman of fashion have to complain of publicity given to her most private life, who has either purchased such books, or laid on her tables newspapers filled with extracts from them, and accompanied with no one comment or even hint, of disapprobation—and how indeed can they condemn the publication of that which they are in the act of making still more public?

We submit these reflexions to the publick generally, but especially to the higher classes, warning them, that if they do not at once set their faces against practices so pernicious, the mischief must of necessity go on, increasing, until either all social intercourse is destroyed, or all feeling eradicated of delicacy, propriety, and shame. We have no manner of doubt that the classes of society to which we allude will join loudly enough in the reprobation of what has been done, will feel all the alarm which the risk they run so fully justifies,—and will, as usual, vent their spleen upon the newspapers and the press! Let them reflect, however, who alone it is that encourages the mischief they reprehend, and they will find that the danger which they dread is of their own creating, and that they are the only persons who have no right to complain.

ART. III. *Plans for the Government and Liberal Instruction of Boys in large Numbers, drawn from Experience.* 8vo. pp. 238, London, 1823.

THIS is a remarkably clever and sensible little book, on the principles and theory of Education,—illustrated by a very clear and interesting account of a large experimental establishment which has been maintained, with constantly increasing success, at Hazelwood, in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, for nearly ten years. The soundness, manliness, and modesty of the views that are taken in the theoretical part, incline us to defer very much to the practical suggestions to which the author has been conducted; and give us at all events the most implicit confidence not only in the substantial truth, but in the absolute accuracy of the statement he has recorded of the result. We must add, however, that we do not go along with him in the importance he ascribes to all these suggestions; and suspect that he has fallen into the common error of imputing to some favourite device or contrivance, in itself altogether inoperative, or worse, that success which is truly due to the general spirit of diligence and good sense with which the undertaking is practically conducted, and which would have been equally conspicuous under any other harmless scheme of forms and observances. Such forms, we are disposed to think, are often in education of no more value than rites and ceremonies are in religion—sometimes disturbing the true spirit of rational devotion, and sometimes slightly promoting it—but never essential to its support, and capable of being infinitely varied, without prejudice or benefit to the cause.

Our readers, however, will be better able to judge of the value of our scepticism in those particulars, when they know the extent of it on the whole subject of education; and, as we could not well explain our opinion of the improvements suggested in the volume before us, without explaining our notions as to the necessary limit of all such improvements, we shall take the liberty of premising a few words on this subject, before giving any particular account of the establishment at Hazelwood, and the doctrines of its able conductors.

It is impossible for any persons to have a deeper conviction than we have of the infinite importance of extending the means of instruction to as large a portion of the population as possible, and consequently of the value of those arrangements by which the time and the money necessary for such instruction

may be best economized. Upon these points we have no doubt or hesitation; and the whole tenor of our speculations has shown, we trust, that we have no want of confidence or zeal. But we profess, in the first place, an entire unbelief in all projects for regenerating mankind, and giving a new character to future generations, by certain trite or fantastic schemes of education. In the next place, we have great doubts whether any thing material can be done towards the formation of moral character or habits, by any course of early or elementary instruction, or any thing, in short, that depends on schools and preceptors; And finally, we consider it as of no very great importance, even as to the culture of the understanding, what the studies are to which the time of the pupils is preferably devoted in such seminaries,—or in pursuit of what acquirements they acquire habits of attention, self-command, and reflection. On the first of these articles of unbelief we suppose we need say nothing, as we do not find that the extravagances of Mr Owen are making much way in the world. But as to the other two, we wish to be indulged with a few words of explanation.

Moral character, principles, or character in general, are not formed by precepts inculcated at school, or by observations made, or experience collected in that narrow and artificial society,—but by the unconscious adoption of the maxims and practices that prevail among the free agents around us, and the spontaneous assimilation of manners and sentiments which results from this contagion. The true measure of morality, to which every man is primarily and passively trained, is that of the age and country in which he lives, and the class and circle of society to which he belongs. He may improve upon this, or degenerate from it, according to the strength of his reason, his passions, or temptations; but this is the fixed point, from which these variations are calculated, and from which, in the great majority of cases, they never recede very widely. The *society* of a school may have a little share in the adjustment of this standard,—but its discipline and training scarcely any. The habitual sentiments and habits of the boys, in their idle and unrestrained intercourse with each other, will no doubt form a part of it, and it may even be affected by the master's habits and conduct in private life, in so far as these come under their observation: But all the intercourse that is regulated, all the training that is imposed, will go nearly for nothing as to the formation either of habits or of opinions.

All children, at every school,—and we may almost say in every home,—are taught the same precepts of morality,—warned against

lying, and thieving, and gluttony, and quarrelling,—and exhorted to be industrious, obedient, and obliging. Nay, they are not only taught these doctrines, but they are all aware, generally, of their truth. They know well enough what is right and what is wrong—and why things are called the one or the other. What they do *not* know, is the true practical *extent* of the penalties which would be incurred by doing wrong—and the advantages that may be secured by doing right. But it is entirely according to their views of these, that their power or disposition to resist temptation can be measured,—or, in other words, their moral character and moral conduct. Now, under the artificial discipline and arrangements of a school, these penalties and advantages never exist in the same proportion as in the natural world; and, in spite of all the cunning contrivances that may be resorted to, are known all the while to the boys not to exist in that proportion. Wrong, on the whole, is much more certainly and severely punished, and merit much more certainly and signally rewarded, in these seminaries than out of them;—and though the conduct of the boys, while subjected to this discipline, may consequently be accommodated to its severer rules, they know perfectly well that a greater latitude is habitually assumed by those who are not subject to it, and square their notions of morality and purposes of general conduct by the standard of the *free* agents, and not of the subjects to authority around them. Even if it could be supposed that they were kept under any delusion in this respect while at school, and really believed that there was no other practical standard of morality than that which was there established, it is plain that this illusion would be dissipated as soon as they entered the world, and that the discovery would probably tend to discredit rather than to confirm that part of their early training which was in conformity with more natural maxims.

Some few men, of bold and vigorous understanding, may found their morality on reflection, and regulate their conduct by principles which they have thoroughly weighed and digested into a system. This, however, can never happen in early life—and by far the greater number never give themselves any trouble about the matter; but are guided, in their notions and their actions, by that practical standard, of the general opinion of their equals and their own experience of consequences, to which we have already referred. Men, in point of fact, always follow their inclinations, and yield to their passions, as far as it is safe, or not plainly dangerous to do so; the only real check being that fear of consequences, that anticipation of the ultimate pains of indulgence, which this standard supplies. It is quite

plain, however, that these consequences and these deterring pains are quite different, both in amount and in certainty, in the artificial society of the best regulated school, and in the common world—that world from which the boys came when they went to school, to which they must return when they leave it, and of which they have all the time such glimpses and specimens as to keep them perfectly in mind that it is the only real world by which their conduct is to be judged, and their place among their fellows determined.

While this is the case, it really seems quite idle to expect that any permanent effect on the moral character will ever be produced, either by the precepts or the constrained practices of a school. In so far as those are merely coincident with the great course of training, which the general opinions and practices of the world is imposing on all who live in it, they may be regarded as merely indifferent. In so far as they differ from, or outgo that general training, it seems impossible to suppose that they should produce either habits or sentiments that will outlast the constraint in which they originate;—and we might as reasonably expect the pupils of such seminaries, to go on all their lives rising at five, and going to bed at nine, as to find them generally adhering to a more rigid and exact observance of morality than prevails among their natural associates in the world, in virtue of any doctrines or practices that had been imposed on them at school.

On these and on other grounds, we profess to set the least possible value on the effects of institutes and arrangements for teaching a patent morality at schools; and are persuaded that the best that can be said of the elaborate contrivances and ingenious machinery that have been resorted to for this purpose, is that they do no harm, and produce no permanent effect whatsoever;—so that the year after the boy has left the school, he will be precisely in the same state, as to actual and prospective vice and virtue, as if he had been all the time at home, or in the hands of some old fashioned preceptor, who used no contrivances at all, and adopted no precautions but such as common sense and common affection must prompt to every one in his situation.

So much for our scepticism as to the effects of *moral* training in schools. As to *intellectual* culture again, it goes this length,—that all that is really worth caring about in early education being the regular exercise of the faculties, it is no great matter in the acquisition of what kinds of knowledge they are so exercised; and that it is scarcely worth while to dispute about the relative value and utility of any one study that can be adopted among rational men, as compared with any other. Systems

of education, it should always be remembered, can be of use only to ordinary minds, and in ordinary situations: For, not only will Genius always develope itself, but wherever strong motives exist for the cultivation of any branch of knowledge, it will infallibly be cultivated,—and that whether this motive consist in a peculiar natural propensity for the study, or in some accidental circumstance that has made it a requisite for professional advancement, or a necessary tool for the work of ambition, cupidity, or any other strong passion. These motives, however, can scarcely have much force in very early life; and if there be an habitual course of education established in any country, it must obviously be independent of such considerations. Now, after reading and writing, about the precedency of which rational men will *not* dispute, we profess to hold it as a matter of great indifference to what branch of study the attention of boys is primarily directed,—and think Greek and Latin really as good as any thing else.

It is very true that the knowledge of those languages is not of itself indispensable, or very certainly useful for most of the important pursuits or enjoyments of life; and it is also true, that more than half of those whose chief occupation they form for five or six years, never acquire any comfortable use of them, and have apparently but little pleasure or profit from the knowledge they have been trying to acquire. But then, in the course of these laborious and apparently unprosperous attempts, they have almost infallibly acquired those habits of spontaneous and continued attention—of methodical observation and memory—of abstraction and generalization, and even in some degree of taste, judgment, and invention, which are not only useful, but in reality indispensable for any serious occupation—and that in all probability as easily and quickly as they could have been acquired by any other course of application. It is plain, however, that it is in the acquisition of these habits that the main benefit of education consists; and, whatever teaches them most effectually, is the best course of education.

Without entering at all into the idle dispute as to the uses and advantages of classical learning in general, it is but fair to state, that it can never be justly considered as limited to a mere acquaintance with the words of a foreign language, but necessarily imports the acquisition of a good deal of historical and geographical knowledge, and a pretty extensive acquaintance with some of the best specimens of eloquence, reasoning and anecdote, that are yet to be found in the world. It is quite absurd, too, to suppose that, in any modern scheme of education, the attention of the pupil is *exclusively* directed to the study of those languages, or that there is not, in

reality, time enough for the simultaneous acquisition of any other accomplishment. There is no seminary, we believe, in these kingdoms, public or private, where the classical tongues now possess any such monopoly; and it is matter of notoriety, that they are almost always conjoined with the study of arithmetic, French, mathematics, and drawing, and generally with some history, natural philosophy and metaphysics, or theology, besides a sufficient institution in the accomplishments of dancing, horsemanship, fencing, and other gymnastics. There is time enough, we find, for making a reasonable proficiency in all those studies, languages included, between that period of life when mere play begins to become irksome to the expanding intellect, and the period when the task of instruction and the duty of superintendance can be safely brought to a close. For those who are not obliged to earn their subsistence by bodily labour as soon as their physical strength is at all matured, it is plainly expedient that all this interval should be devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, or rather of good intellectual habits and exercises—and it has always appeared to us, that any occupation which led to the cultivation of such habits, was nearly as good as any other; and that the choice might safely be left either to the restlessness of the present, or the wisdom of the last generation.

The study of the ancient languages, as now conducted in all good schools, seems to us quite as fit to exercise the attention, the memory, and the powers of analysis, combination and taste, as any other study that can be suggested. In itself, indeed, we do not know that it is entitled to a preference over many other studies. But so long as a certain knowledge of these tongues is generally considered as the badge of a liberal education, we apprehend that *it is entitled* to a preference. The error, if it be an error, is not in those who originally planned or now persist in that mode of education, but in the body of intelligent society, which requires from all well bred persons a knowledge which no other education can supply. In this sense, no knowledge is so truly useful and indispensable as that of Greek and Latin; since, without it, a man can scarcely take his place in the ranks of polite and intelligent society, or, at least, must be continually exposed to mortifications of the most awkward description. Accompanied and diversified as the classical training of our youth now is with so many other pursuits, what is there, we would ask, that we could substitute for it with advantage as the staple of the complex education? Would it really do any good to leave out our grammars and dictionaries, and teach boys of 13 to parrot over the names of plants or minerals—or to go through the foppery of landsurveying or astronomical ob-

servation? Is it at all more likely that a greater part of boys so educated would turn out botanists and geologists—than our schools now turn out of Greek scholars? Would their knowledge be more likely to fall in with their after occupations in life? Would it be half so producible in society? Would it not be much more likely to make them awkward from the feeling of its uselessness, or conceited from a notion of its rarity? And is it not true, on the whole, that most of those acquisitions, depending in great part on mere memory or manual dexterity, do, in point of fact, give less exercise to the intellectual faculties, and cultivate less effectually those habits that lead to their *social* development, than the old, monkish, traditionary study of the classics, which the *Chrestomaths* of the present day hold in so slender reverence? We have no sort of horror at innovation, and rather like trying experiments:—But we have a considerable distrust of all who pretend to make discoveries in morals and education. We suspect vehemently that the faculties will develope themselves, with nearly equal rapidity and sureness, under *any* rational system of training from boyhood to manhood; and are very much tempted to believe, that all the real improvements that have been made in education amount only to this, not that the boys become sooner men, or wiser men, but that they have more play, or less useless suffering, in the course of the transition.

In our view of the matter, then, the only material improvements in Education will be found to resolve into saving of money,—saving of time,—and saving of suffering, to the children, or to their teachers. The first two branches, and they are in that view of incalculable importance, relate chiefly to the lower classes of society; but it is curious to see how they all run into each other. The *expense* of education is saved chiefly by saving the *time* employed in it; and as the great source of *suffering* is in the prolongation of irksome and useless restraints, this also is relieved by the same contrivance. Considered abstractly, however, the objects of the three classes of improvements are no doubt distinct, and the means taken to attain them may be shortly described as follows. Money is saved mainly by teaching faster, but in no small degree also by enabling one master effectually to teach a greater number of children,—an end which is accomplished by making the more advanced and intelligent of the children teach the rest,—by their distribution into classes, and by an enlightened system of reports by the monitors, and constant inspection by the master. The object is farther promoted, by great saving in the use of books and other implements, as by writing the lessons on slates, or black boards, —forming letters in sand, or with chalk,—and other ingenious

contrivances. The economy of time is chiefly effected by making the pupils really work all the time they are in school, instead of sitting idle and wretched, to learn habits of inattention while the others are employed,—by making their tasks short, and the changes of employment frequent,—and by reducing the elementary instruction to the greatest possible simplicity, and making the progress to more complicated operations at once gradual and incessant. The diminution of suffering, however, is the most important, and was, till very lately, the most necessary of all those improvements; for, in spite of the sentimental sayings we constantly meet with about the felicity of schoolboys, we are persuaded that there was a great deal of misery most unnecessarily inflicted in that course of education. The abominable practice of keeping boys shut up in school for five or six hours, who had often learned and said all they had to learn or say in as many minutes, was almost universal; and, taken together with the cruel and degrading punishments, and the fear of them,—the cumbrous uniformity of progress imposed on a large body, alike distressing to the clever by its slowness, and to the dull by its rapidity,—the long-continued monotony of the leading occupations,—the despotic authority of the master, unbroken by any intermediate body, and naturally aggravated, therefore, by the existence or the suspicions of favouritism and antipathy, and the absurd system of formal at least, and apparent tyranny, often established among the boys themselves, which, though generally innoxious, was unspeakably grievous to many gentle spirits,—made altogether a sad inroad on the enjoyments of this naturally happy period of existence, and threw some deep shades across the brightness of this boyish Elysium.

Most of these evils, however, have been greatly mitigated, and many of them entirely cured, in the recent practice of most of our respectable seminaries. But we must say, that we have neither seen any where so good a system of suggestions for their entire abolition, nor heard of any actual establishment where they have been so thoroughly excluded, as in the observations that are made, and the practices that are described, in the volume before us. We ought perhaps to follow the example of the ingenious author, in beginning with a clear account of the practice; but we think it is fairer to him to premise the few following observations, in which he sets forth his claim to a candid hearing and a favourable interpretation, in a manner which we are confident will bespeak the respect and attention of all intelligent readers.

'No topic of complaint is more common among professional men, than that of ignorant interference. The physician inveighs against

quacks; the attorney ironically thanks the author of "Every Man his own Lawyer," for the increase of litigation; and the public teacher, when pestered with hints and objections, sighs at the recollection of the implicit confidence with which parents of the last generation intrusted their offspring to the experience of his predecessors.

'But professional men should not forget that some of the most eminent of their number were intruders;—that John Hunter did not sit down to study anatomy, until he had passed many years at the carpenter's bench;—that Erskine had served both in the army and the navy, before he became a lawyer;—and that Joseph Lancaster, who has so much improved the machinery of elementary education, long exercised the trade of a basket-maker.

'Still the professional man, though not bound to follow implicitly the suggestions of his friends, ought by no means to turn a deaf ear to them; for a valuable hint may be thrown out by one who would in vain attempt to form a system. Long familiarity will ever tend to render us insensible to many imperfections, which are at once detected by the unpractised; and the bystander's want of skill is often more than compensated by his freedom from prejudice. Mental habitudes are at least as powerful as those of the body, and not at all more visible to their possessors. If Sir Joshua Reynolds carefully listened to the criticisms of children, few men, we conceive, would be degraded by giving some moments of their attention to even the casual remarks of those whose opinions are unfettered by system.'

'We claim no praise for the candour of our opinions, as we have in some degree taken them "upon compulsion;" for we have found, that while few have hitherto presumed to discuss with their physician the correctness of his prescriptions, and still fewer to follow their legal adviser through all the mazes of his practice, every one considers himself, as a matter of course, a complete adept in the science of education; and it has been for some time held as an axiom, that the only good reason for sending children to school, is want of time on the part of the parent for their instruction at home. We doubt if a man could be found in the three kingdoms, sufficiently vain to make a similar avowal with respect to the repair of his old shoes. Such being the state of public opinion, we have found it convenient to bring our own ideas on the subject as near to it as possible; but although, as we have shown, something has been accomplished in this way, much remains to be done; for we have never succeeded in ridding ourselves of the prejudice, that it is one thing to have learnt, and another to be able to teach; that it is very possible to possess vast stores of knowledge without being able to impart them, even to the willing and anxious pupil; and that to fix the volatile, stimulate the sluggish, and overcome the obstinate, demands an acquaintance with the human mind, not quite innate, nor likely to be gained without some experience.' pp. 70–73.

'We are told (and, after what we have said, we ought not perhaps to deny the position,) that the bystander sees most of the game;

but we venture humbly to suggest, that he cannot possess this superiority, unless he be so placed as to see the whole board; for if his view of part of it be intercepted by a head or an elbow, he will be very likely to form erroneous conclusions. A good player will sacrifice many a choice move, because he cannot spare a particular piece from its place; but if the spectator be so situated that he cannot see the reason of the detention, he will be very likely to attribute to inadvertence, that which is the result of deeper investigation than his own. In like manner, we have often had parts of our plan the subject of criticism, from which we could readily have defended them, if we could have entered into an examination of the whole system; but this is not to be done in the short time which a teacher can subtract from his labours for the purpose of oral explanation. This full investigation we are about to commence: we have already laid before our readers an exposition of our means.' pp. 75–76.

The school, which contains about 100 boys from nine to seventeen years of age, has been established since 1815 under the charge of Mr T. W. Hill, the head master, assisted by three of his sons and four other teachers. The most remarkable, and perhaps the most questionable feature in its constitution, is the admission of the boys themselves into a share of the government, and the creation of an elective legislature, judiciary, and executive among them, in all the forms of law. The laws, which extend to every thing but the hours and species of teaching, are enacted by a committee elected by the boys themselves, but are not finally of authority till they obtain the assent of the head master. This same committee also appoints a chairman, and secretary, and keeper of the records;—and then a judge and magistrate, an attorney-general, a sheriff, a clerk, and two constables. In order to maintain these officers in a due dependence on their constituents, the founders of the Hazelwood constitution have gone even beyond the advocates of annual parliaments, and limited the endurance, both of the legislative committee and all the judicial officers, to one month. All offences are tried by a jury of six boys, presided by the judge; and a regular record is kept of the proceeding. The constables and magistrate are bound to give information of every delinquency, and to carry the sentences—which the master, however, can always mitigate or remit—into execution. The punishments consist occasionally in a short imprisonment, but chiefly in the forfeiture of certain counters which form the currency of the school, and are earned by various sorts of merit, and by voluntary labour.

This system of currency may be said to form the second great peculiarity of this institution. They are originally issued by the different teachers as rewards, either for general excel-

lence, or more commonly for spontaneous exercises, or work done for the express purpose of earning them; and their use is to enable those who incur penalties to discharge them, in this way, out of the fruits of their former deservings; or, if not exhausted in that less creditable way, to purchase general rank in school, or even holidays, and half holidays, in certain situations. The work by which this valuable currency is to be acquired, is left entirely to the choice of the boys themselves; every proof of voluntary exertion, in any way within the line of their studies, being thus rewarded to some extent or other—though the value set upon it is left to the discretion of the teacher—subject, however, to an appeal to the legislative committee. The desire to obtain these counters, or marks, as they are called, is said by Mr Hill to be very great—prudent boys, he assures us, are never without several hundreds of them, and some can even count their riches by thousands. The number to be forfeited for any common fault or negligence is settled by the law; the mulct for any offence tried by jury, is of course assessed by their verdict. Delinquents who have no marks to liquidate their fines, are detained in the school-room, and obliged to rise earlier in the morning than the rest. If they seem hardened or desperate in their insolvency, they are handed over to some of the elder boys, who urge and help them to work, till their affairs are somewhat retrieved. Besides this vulgar currency, which is chiefly of use to measure and pay off the consequences of transgressions, there is another, which is used only and purely for the reward of merit, though capable, like the other, of accumulation, and conversion into all kinds of advantages.—This is the author's account of it.

'Besides the counters already mentioned, rewards of another description are given, which we call premial marks: these can only be obtained by productions of the very best quality, and, unlike the penal marks, are strictly personal; that is, they cannot be transferred from one boy to another: with a certain number of them, a boy may purchase for himself an additional holiday, which can be obtained by no other means; and in the payment of penalties, they may be commuted at an established rate for penal marks. To prevent unnecessary interference in the arrangements of the school, the purchase of holiday with premial marks is confined to a certain afternoon in each week, when any one who is able may obtain his liberty. But an inducement to save their premial marks is offered to the boys by making them the means of procuring rank. Thus once and sometimes twice in every half year, (according to the number of weeks from vacation to vacation), the first place is put up to auction, and given to the boy who is willing to sacrifice for it the greatest number of premial marks: the second place is then sold in the same manner, and so on. By these means the possession of premial marks is

made to bear upon the determination of the prizes; and so powerful is the motive thus created, that we find, on an examination of the accounts, that a boy of fourteen, now in the school, although constantly in the possession of marks amply sufficient to obtain a holiday per week, has bought but three quarters of a day's relaxation during the whole of the last year. The same boy, at a late arrangement, purchased his place on the list by a sacrifice of marks, sufficient to have obtained for him twenty-six half days' exemption from the labour and confinement of the school.' pp. 28, 29.

Upon this part of the system we have not a great deal to say. At first sight we were disposed to treat this popular legislature, in which one of the teachers is always entitled to sit, and these solemn jury-trials, where the *veto* of the master can always render the verdict inoperative, as but feeble and puerile attempts to disguise that actual despotism which seems inseparable from all such establishments. We begin, however, to have other thoughts when we are assured, that the teacher has often been left in a minority in the legislative committee; that though almost all the laws, and changes in the laws, have originated with the boys, the master has never once had occasion to interpose his *veto*, or even to hesitate about his assent; and that, in the innumerable verdicts that have been submitted to him in the last seven years, there have not been more than five or six from which he was inclined to dissent. There is something childish, no doubt, in the fine names of Legislators, Judges, and Attorneys-General, under the sanction of which, boys of thirteen or fourteen proceed to investigate into the delinquency of coming too late into school, pocketing a stray pencil, or breaking an associate's bat; and we confess we do not much believe either that offences are more effectually prevented by this splendid apparatus, or that the performers in these masquerades are either trained by them to any extraordinary perfection of morality, or fitted for the exercise of such high functions as are here anticipated, in actual life. In these respects, we must take leave to consider Mr Hill's judicial establishments as little better than harmless pageants, with which the boys may be very innocently amused, and at which grown men may very well be permitted to smile. In another view, however—(though we could wish at all events to see the ridicule of the fine names done away)—his contrivances may be of higher utility. By softening the rigour of the master's authority, and giving the boys an interest in the maintenance of that discipline against which they are naturally inclined to murmur, they probably render the situation of both more comfortable; and remove all that suffering which arises from dread of severity or belief of partiality on the one part, and from consciousness of unpopularity

on the other. It is one splendid testimony in favour of this new system of discipline, that under it all corporal, and indeed all degrading punishments, have been found unnecessary; and that perfect order and regularity have been maintained without any other infliction than a very little *extra* confinement, temporary incapacity from offices of honour, and the forfeiture of certain sums of the currency we have already described.

As to the establishment of that currency, or the coining into permanent and exchangeable tokens the whole value of all kinds of school merit, the idea, we confess, appears to us extremely ingenious; and as we are here assured that it works admirably in practice, we are inclined to give Mr Hill great credit for the invention. It has no doubt, at first sight, the air of being too troublesome and artificial; but this, we are aware, is an impression that the description of any new method for accomplishing a familiar object is always apt to create. As it tends to equalize, and indeed to confound, in the ultimate results, all the different kinds of excellence that may be aimed at, it has been found proper to keep an exact register of every boy's failures and successes in every different branch of study, from inspection of which his friends can at once ascertain in what departments he has made most proficiency, and in what he is defective.

The boys perform all the different movements which the changes of their occupations require, in a regular step, to the sound of music, which they themselves perform. There is some foppery, we think, in this, though it is harmless enough; and if it amuse the boys, better than harmless. They are taught English Grammar—Latin and Greek—French—Arithmetic—Mathematics and Surveying—Geography—Elocution—Composition and History—and the method of teaching in all these seems to us excellent. The system of monitors, and division into classes, is carried fully into practice, and with many original observances. The tasks are all short, and changed with singular frequency. They are seldom half an hour at any one work—and such as attend all the classes seem to change their occupations twelve or fifteen times in the course of the day. They have abundance of play-time—and all manner of exercises and amusements. There is a printing press, at which they print a magazine of their own composition, and various other little things;—such of them as chuse are instructed in music—though they seldom practise many minutes at a time. There is an excellent account, in the volume before us, of the particular process of instruction in each of these departments. But we cannot now afford to abstract it. The

author is very zealous for what he terms 'the natural method' of teaching languages, by translations and exact repetitions, synthetically,—instead of the analytical method of grammars and vocabularies. But though zealous, he is perfectly reasonable, and does not ascribe to this method the miraculous powers that are claimed for it, we find, by Mr Hamilton and Mr Hall—of whose pretensions, as well as M. Dufief's, we hope soon to be able to give a more particular account. At present, we think it better to place before our readers a few extracts from our author's excellent observations on the *motives* by which boys may be induced voluntarily to prosecute their studies.

'Leaving out of consideration,' he observes, 'the motive of sympathy, of which we have already spoken, they may be arranged under five heads: Love of knowledge—love of employment—emulation—hope of reward—and fear of punishment. We have placed them in what appears to us to be the order of their excellence. Some of our readers may perhaps think that emulation stands too low in the scale; for it is common and very natural to suppose, before a trial of the experiment, that emulation alone is a motive sufficient to overcome all obstacles, and carry the student to the goal of his destination without suffering him ever to flag in his course. But emulation is a stimulus, and it is in the very nature of stimuli to lose their power when constantly employed. Indeed such a state of excitement, as in the absence of all other motives would be sufficient to produce the desired effect, would be too powerful for the human mind to bear for any length of time. It may be very useful as a temporary expedient, and the skilful instructor may sometimes find it accord with his views to blow up a vivid flame for a particular purpose, but he must be aware that extraordinary exertion is always followed by extraordinary languor.' pp. 92, 93.

After some very judicious remarks on the effects of rewards and punishments, he proceeds—

'The best means of exciting a love of knowledge will be readily discovered, if we reflect a few moments on the origin of knowledge itself. Every acquisition would at first be made from an immediate view of utility. No man would undergo the trouble of investigating the nature of plants, unless he, or his friends, stood in need of their medicinal virtues. The motions of the heavenly bodies were first observed by sailors and husbandmen. As mankind became civilized, a prospect of advantage more and more distant sufficed to induce their exertions; still that prospect, though remote, was visible, and beguiled the toilsomenesss of the road. But in the present state of education, the young traveller is expected to set out without having the most distant idea of the end of his journey, or the cause for which he travels; for how can he, by any vigour of intuition, even imagine the future fund of pleasure and profit which is to accrue to him from committing to memory "*Propria quæ mari-*

bus:" or from poring into the mysteries of long division, with a dirty slate before him, and the *frustum* of a pencil, half an inch long, in his fingers, heaping one set of figures upon the ghosts of their predecessors?

'We commence arithmetic with easy questions, the scope and utility of which the little pupil can readily comprehend. Every child at once feels that he has made an important and valuable acquisition, when he has learned how to calculate all the various little problems which may be constructed respecting his tops and marbles, their prices and their comparative value. It is of little consequence whether these questions are carefully arranged or not; their being miscellaneous will only more agreeably exercise the mind of the scholar, if care is taken that the simple operations, the multiplying and dividing, the subtracting and adding, are not of themselves too difficult.

'There is almost always a reason for every custom, which renders it eligible at the time of its establishment. That of commencing with mechanical operations partly arose, we conceive, from the difficulty which instructors found in teaching their pupils to extract the numbers from a question, and to place them so as to be worked by the arithmetical machinery. With the assistance of our chalking-boards and classes, we have conquered this difficulty. If no boy of the class can state the question, the master does that without loss of time, which by the common mode is done after a period of idleness—he goes through the statement himself. By united efforts the problem is answered before the meaning of the question, and the curiosity excited by it, have faded from the mind of the learner. Another question is immediately given; practice soon presents every difficulty in every variety; the young scholar begins gradually to see the use and value of signs, and daily exercise renders the increasing lines of numbers easily manageable.' pp. 100, 101.

'All the operations of Surveying are, by the same feeling of utility, joined to the love of imitation, rendered extremely pleasant to boys; nor is their enjoyment lessened by the necessity of performing their labours in the open air. Thus engaged, they feel that they are employed in real business, and have an opportunity of measuring their attainments with those of men. Many of their former studies are at once brought into use; they now see the reason for an accurate acquaintance with the laws of numbers and spaces. To a familiarity with arithmetic, mensuration, and trigonometry, they must join the manual facility of constructing maps and plans; they exercise their discretion, in choosing points of observation; they learn expertness in the use, and care in the preservation of instruments; and, above all, from this feeling that they are really *at work*, they acquire that sobriety and steadiness of conduct, in which the elder schoolboy is so often inferior to his less fortunate neighbour, who has been removed at an early age to the accompting house.' pp. 103, 104.

'From this very simple and well known truth, the teacher may derive an important lesson. He may learn the advantage of practical

illustration: he will find that his time is well employed in showing his pupils many things which they might otherwise think they would as well imagine for themselves. We should advise him to provide himself with the various weights, commonly spoken of, and the measures of content and of length. Let him portion off upon his play-ground with a land-chain, a rood, and, if the extent be sufficient, an acre. Let his pupils, when they read history, be furnished with maps to trace the *routes* of armies; let them be shown plans of towns; plates exhibiting the variations of costume which distinguish one people from another; or at least let them have access to these latter documents (as they might very justly be called) in the library of the School; and then so very delightful is it to boys to fix and verify their ideas by means of the senses, that much knowledge will be gained in this way by the pupil, without any other care on the part of the master, than to furnish him with the requisite opportunity. Indeed, we have sometimes wondered that instructors have not more fully availed themselves of the multiplicity of little works which the press almost daily issues, to furnish their scholars with a fund of entertainment and useful general information; which has so great a recommendation as that of diffusing itself among them, without calling for exertion on the part of the master.' pp. 118, 119.

These citations may suffice to give our readers a notion of the spirit of sagacity and practical wisdom in which the book is written; and we can now scarcely afford to extend them. The author discusses very largely the question of public and private education; and decides, on the whole, in favour of the former, on grounds which are frequently original, and always stated with equal candour and force. In the case of domestic education, he observes, that it is always more difficult to enforce obedience to any rule,—

'Because the child perceives that no one but himself is subjected to its coercion. How much more easy is the obedience of the schoolboy? Instead of finding himself alone—set apart from the family for submission to rules, to which others pay no attention,—he is a member of a large community, governed by one law, partaking of the same pleasures, and subjected to the same privations; and if, in addition to that undeviating regularity which governs the schoolboy by the power of association, and that obedience of numbers which impels him by the love of imitation, we add the recollection, that he and his comrades enact their own laws, and that they have no force but by the consent of those who obey them,—their gall and bitterness evaporate, and the young legislator feels himself called upon for "a proud submission," and "a dignified obedience." We have often had boys brought to us with a character for rebellion worthy of a Wat Tyler, who, upon being put into the school, have submitted to the regulations, not only without a struggle against them, but apparently without a struggle with their own feelings.' pp. 196, 197.

In like manner he states, with equal truth and acuteness, that

'To cut off children from all intercourse with servants is considered by some authors a very important object; and so it is, if it can be done without teaching them to despise their servants, or to consider them as an inferior race of beings; of which we think there must be great danger in a private family. In a school, if the buildings are well arranged, opportunities for private communication may be readily prevented; indeed the comparative smallness of their number, and their full employment, necessarily preclude any great degree of intercourse, especially when the occupations of the pupils themselves are sufficient to fill up their time, and supply their minds with subjects of interest. It is from the idle, and consequently dissolute, servants of the rich, that bad morals are learnt. The laborious domestics of a school have neither leisure nor inclination for the work of corruption.

'The undue ideas of self-importance which a child must gain in a course of private education form a very powerful objection against it in our minds. To be the object of constant attention, as the Emilius of Rousseau must have been, would, without any vanity on his part, lead him into the error of supposing that himself and his education were the great business of the world; especially if we take into account the cumbrous conspiracies (for we can call them by no other name) that were formed against him; some of which the boy, unless he had been an idiot, must have discovered. In one instance, all the neighbours and the *boys of the street* are trained to act against the little urchin, who wanders out of his father's house unaccompanied by his tutor.' pp. 200–202.

We shall finish our extracts with the following very just, and, to us, original observations.

'Parents often mistake with regard to the powers of children; sometimes they expect them to do what no child ought to be expected to do, and sometimes they consider them quite incapable of performing tasks to which they are fully competent. The disposition which they have to consider their own offspring as prodigies is often a source of great misfortune to the poor children; and the parent, in the bitterness of disappointment, frequently places his child as far below the just estimate of his talent as he had fondly raised him above it. Godwin well remarks, that the intense interest which a parent feels in the improvement of his offspring frequently renders him totally unfit for the office of teacher. In fact, extreme attention is almost sure to counteract itself; children cannot be *manufactured* into scholars. Education rather resembles *agriculture*, and the tutor must take care that he does not fall into the error of plucking up the sprigs of knowledge which he has planted, in his anxiety to ascertain if they have taken root.

'In a school, a boy naturally dull may, by remaining for a very

long time in the lower classes, acquire a great deal of real information. We have seen instances of boys, who entered with the reputation of being idiots, and who were almost so in reality, rise in the course of time, by dint of an uninterrupted study of elements, to a very respectable station among their companions. We firmly believe that the patience of no individual on earth could have held out against the stupidity of these unfortunate children, if he had had no other objects to engage his attention: and if the boys themselves had attended their studies under the feeling that their teacher's anxious eye was always watching their movements, we feel but little doubt that their minds would not have been in that state of perfect calmness, so necessary to the correct performance of any mental exercise by persons of weak intellect. By studying with their juniors, they always had the advantage of companionship; occasionally they found opportunities of distinguishing themselves, and of tasting the pleasure of success.' pp. 208–210.

On the whole, we think very favourably of this work—and are inclined to augur well of the establishment, under the charge of its very intelligent author. On this point, indeed, our own theoretical conclusions have been powerfully confirmed by the report of a very intelligent friend, who lately inspected the whole establishment in the most careful manner, and has kindly allowed us to see the note he made of his impressions at the time. By his permission, we are enabled to lay a part of this interesting document before our readers. After observing, generally, that he has no hesitation in saying that the scheme 'works admirably in practice,' he proceeds—

'The most striking circumstance, perhaps, is the universal cheerfulness, and the kindly terms which they are on with the masters. I had abundant opportunity of satisfying myself that this was sincere. There was also an air of hearty attention to their business, which I never saw in any other school—no langour—no yawning—but all activity, and abstraction from every thing but the lesson. They all seemed to go about their work like persons who knew their business, and had no doubts about success; and the frequent changes from topic to topic, kept this degree of animation always afloat. The various musterings, ringing of bells, music and marching, which certainly in the book appear a little like trifling and loss of time, are in practice excellently adapted to maintain good order, and are all performed so rapidly, that, although I was quite familiar with the description, and was warned by the master from time to time what was going to be done, I could not, sometimes with the closest attention, follow these movements. In a written description, it will sometimes happen that what in fact is the work of a moment, and must be performed in some manner at every school, occupies as much space, and is as prominently put forward, as the essential instruction which these mere forms are but the preparation for. And I think it right to state, that after seeing the whole pro-

ceedings of a day, I am not aware that any of those musterings, and other arrangements, having punctuality as their object, could be dispensed with without harm. The music consists of a band of twelve boys; their instruments are the same as those used by military bands; and they play extremely well. The study of music, of drawing, of fencing, and several other similar accomplishments, is quite voluntary. The play hours of the boys is occupied partly in mere play, but chiefly in objects having some useful end in view. They have a printing press of their own, and publish a monthly magazine, embellished with etchings on copper, and lithographic prints, all executed by the boys. Reports of their trials are given at length—the school discipline is canvassed—accounts of the expenditure of their funds are drawn up in a business-like manner, and, in short, the whole system is a curious epitome of real life. It is extremely important to remark, that all this, being quite general, the every-day business of their lives, produces no coxcombry amongst the boys. They are not converted, as I had apprehended they would be, into little men. They are still boys, but boys with heads and hands fully employed on topics they like.

'They were all very neatly dressed, and remarkably clean and tidy—all rosy and healthy looking, and merry as any children could be at home. The house is thoroughly ventilated—their library is well arranged and catalogued. It is managed, like every thing else, exclusively by the boys. Every body is allowed to propose any book for purchase, and the name is submitted to a committee, who decide.'

Since the preceding pages were sent to the press, we have had an opportunity of seeing a very interesting letter from Mr R. Hill to the gentleman whose notes we have just been extracting, in which, in answer to his inquiries, he communicates several pieces of information which we think it material to lay before our readers, as supplementary to the slight sketch we have already given of the constitution of this academy. The following extract is characteristic, we think, of the true spirit of the system; and is well calculated to show it, in its strength to those who are disposed to admire—and in its weakness to those who incline to distrust.

'The titular division of the school has been much improved since we wrote. A boy, at entering the school, takes the name of Ward, and stands at the zero point in the scale of rank. A certain time of freedom from tasks is allowed him, in order that, by voluntary labour, he may entitle himself to a fund of marks to enable him to pay the fines to which he may become liable by the breach of the school regulations. The fund is always increased by the donations, which it is the established custom for the boys in the school to make to a new comer. This custom is not grounded upon any law; each individual gives what he pleases, without any concert or

collection. These advantages being given, the pupil is expected ever after to pay every fine the moment it is demanded; and if he should fall into a state of insolvency, he is degraded into a Defector, and is obliged to work while other boys are at play, until the rewards for the labour so performed have enabled him to pay off his debts, and furnished him with a certain stock of marks to begin the world again with credit. This being accomplished, he again becomes a Ward. If the new comer keeps his wardship unbroken for three months, he is raised to the title of Frank; but a ward having once become a defector, must keep his wardship unbroken for six months before he arrives at this honour. The privileges of a Frank are, *first*, that, under certain restrictions, he is entitled to take a short credit for the liquidation of his fines. *Secondly*, He is admitted to a superior playground, which the wards and defectors are precluded from entering. *Thirdly*, The Franks have four holidays in the year, on each of which they take some pleasant excursion, the particular day and the route being determined by the majority. A Frank may lose his title, and become a defector, by insolvency, and must work up again, through the *grade* of Ward; but in consideration of his having been once a Frank, his wardship is limited to three months. Frankship unbroken for the space of a whole year creates the boy a Veteran Frank. His privileges are, exemption from bounds, and from several other restrictions to which all below him are subjected. A Frank having made certain acquisitions, may be raised to the rank of Autarch. The election lies with the Conference, the Committee, and the previous Autarchs, either of which bodies has a *veto*. An Autarch, in addition to the rights of the Veteran Frank, is privileged from all fines; but he receives no reward. The institution of Veteran Franks and Autarchs is very recent. At the close of the last session, among the 102 boys of which the school was composed, there were 62 Franks, of whom, I believe, 25 were veterans, and two Autarchs. The average number of defectors has been about three. The proportion of Franks has regularly increased for some years. A boy being convicted before the Court of Justice, whatever his rank, becomes instantly a defector, and must work his way back to honours in the manner I have described.

'The Court of Justice takes cognizance only of bad *acts*; but it has appeared to us that bad *habits* are a fair object of attack; and now, whenever a boy is found to have acquired vicious habits of speaking, either with regard to grammar or accent, habits of slovenliness, trifling, talkativeness, &c. he is summoned before the Committee, and the charge being proved, a weekly tax of marks is imposed upon him, which is levied until he is able to show, to the satisfaction of the Committee, that he is reformed. On the other hand, there is a list of boys who have acquired a character for great personal neatness, and for their care of property. These boys, who are called *Mundi*, and are appointed by the Committee, are alone intrusted with the more valuable works of the library, and are exempted from the daily inspection as to personal appearance.'

We shall add only the following short passage, in which the sanguine views of the author unfold themselves, in no unworthy emulation of Milton's noble 'Tractate of Education,' as accommodated to a large and generous instruction of the better orders.

'The only modification of the system as regards its adaptation to pupils from the *higher* or *lower* classes of society, would grow out of the different expenditure which might be made in the one case or the other. This expenditure might be applied in two ways; *first*, in increasing the number and rank of the teachers; and, *secondly*, in furnishing the means of self instruction in great abundance. This department of education seems to be generally under the curse of pauperism. If it were placed on the liberal footing on which a gentleman puts his stables and dog-kennel, there would be little to wish for! Every school worthy of the name ought to have an ample library; there should be a good collection of philosophical apparatus. As this is eminently a manufacturing country, there ought to be a work-shop well supplied with tools and materials; and a laboratory. There should also be a gymnasium; and for the purposes of our system, where so much of the knowledge which the boys gain of language is obtained through the drama, a permanent theatre would be a most useful addition to the usual buildings. There should be opportunities for learning to ride, to swim, to row, to guide the sail-boat. In short, no means of developing the human powers ought to be overlooked; and all this might be accomplished at an expense perfectly contemptible, if the numbers of the school were large. A thousand boys would command every advantage of this kind which the wildest imagination could wish for, at a cost per boy much less than the direct charges of any of our great schools, to say nothing of those indirect expenses into which boys are almost driven for want of less costly and more rational means of relaxation.'

To some of our readers we may seem to have dwelt too long on so humble a subject. But the reach and vigour of Mr Hill's speculations entitle his practice to no common attention;—and we conceive we have done no more than our duty in endeavouring to fix the public attention on an experiment which, if eminently successful, must lead to most important consequences, and cannot now fail, whatever be its issue, to furnish valuable hints to all those engaged in the arduous business of Education.

ART. IV. 1. *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee.* By JOSEPH DUPUIS, Esq. late his Britannic Majesty's Envoy and Consul for that Kingdom. *To which is prefixed, An Account of the Origin and Causes of the present War.* 4to. London, 1824.

2. *A Voyage to Africa; including a Narrative of an Embassy to one of the Interior Kingdoms, in the Year* 1820. By WILLIAM HUTTON, late Acting Consul for Ashantee. 8vo. 1821.

WITHIN these few years, a new power has appeared on the coast of Africa, and has recently begun to act a more conspicuous part than had formerly been ventured on by any of the native states. We communicated some time ago to our readers the information respecting it, obtained by the mission of Mr Bowdich; and expressed our opinion that its growing power, though attended with the usual features of violence and ambition, was, on the whole, a promising circumstance for the improvement of Western Africa. This opinion remains unaltered, by the deplorable events of which that coast has since been the theatre. The publications before us prove, we think, completely, that this dreadful war was entirely of our own seeking—that the disasters which have lately befallen us—the temporary extinction of British commerce, and suspension of all plans for the improvement and civilization of this part of Africa,—have been the result of the erroneous system adopted by our own African administration. We have no idea, however, that this system was recommended by the Government at home; who are entitled to great credit for having sent out a person of so much talent and discretion as Mr Dupuis. But they have not been equally lucky, we fear, in the choice of their other functionaries,—and were not perhaps aware of the temptations to which men, intrusted with a little local, half mercantile half military authority, are exposed in such situations.

It must be owned, that there is scarcely any position so difficult to maintain with discretion as that of a commercial factory on a barbarous coast. A fatal and almost irresistible necessity constantly urges it beyond its original and legitimate limits. Occasionally exposed to insult, plunder and outrage, a fortified position, protected by a body of troops, becomes of plausible, and perhaps real necessity. This fort must have a governor, and the governor must have a council. These functionaries soon begin to imagine themselves bound to maintain not only the interests, but the dignity of the empire. This disposition

is not long of generating quarrels with a rude race, wholly insensible of this dignity, and disinclined to admit in these strangers a right even to the spot which they occupy. The first issues of such a contest, usually displaying an immense military superiority on the part of Europeans, are too apt to inspire further projects, and gradually open a wide vista to their ambition. Hostile feelings soon become rooted on both sides, under the influence of which no alternative is left but either to be victors or vanquished—either entire expulsion from the territory, or extensive and burdensome conquest.

Let us now observe the actual operation of these principles on our African concerns. The two works at the head of this article contain a narrative of the last mission to Ashantee, and of some subsequent transactions, which laid the foundation of our rupture with that kingdom. Mr Dupuis's work is that of a man of considerable talent, and impressed with the soundest political views; and that of Mr Hutton, though the product of an inferior intellect, affords some additional information, particularly in the shape of public documents. The train of events is then continued downwards, by several letters communicated to the public prints by Captain Laing, an officer of merit, who fought with distinction in the commencement of the war. In order to form a connected view of the politics of the Gold Coast, we must also look back to Mr Meredith's plain and valuable account of it, published in 1812, and to the copious evidence collected in 1816 by the Committee of the House of Commons on the African forts.

The many small conflicting powers between whom the Gold Coast was formerly divided, have, by recent events, been condensed into two great interests. One is that of the interior kingdom of Ashantee, whose armies, within the last fifteen years, have repeatedly overrun, and reduced to a tributary and dependent state, all the nations of the coast. The opposite interest is that of those nations now rallied under the leading standard of Fantee, and eagerly seeking the opportunity to shake off the yoke. Britain, in plunging into the vortex of African politics, has attached herself to this last confederacy, and is now following its fortunes. Let us examine if there was any thing in the character of the two parties such as, if a choice was to be made, rendered this a happy one.

It is remarkable, that, in the early narratives and descriptions of the Gold Coast, which are copious, the name of Ashantee should very rarely occur. When named, indeed, it is as 'very powerful;' but its immediate influence was not then felt. In fact, a range of considerable kingdoms, Dinkira, Akanni, Assin,

and Aquamboe, then intervened, and received the first shock of its hostility. It was not till the commencement of the present century that Ashantee finally burst this barrier of interposed states; and, having reduced them all to vassalage, came into immediate contact with the maritime districts.

It is not very easy to fix the place which Ashantee holds in the scale of civilization. Even in regard to population, we are involved in extreme perplexity by the two narratives of the last mission. All the estimates of Mr Dupuis are three, four, but most usually ten times larger than those of Mr Hutton. Coomassie, the capital, is by the one given at 15,000, by the other at 200,000. Although Mr Dupuis be the most intelligent of the two, we suspect he is the farthest wrong here. His usual expression, 'it is said,' seems to imply that he listened to the boasting report of the natives, while Mr H. seems to have consulted only his own eyes. From some hints of Mr Bowdich, we imagine, that Africans include in their idea of a town a crowd of little surrounding villages, where the serfs and inferior orders carry on a sort of garden cultivation, for the supply of the principal men, who alone occupy the body of the place. Perhaps the ancient πολις and *civitas* had a somewhat similar import. Upon the whole, Mr Bowdich's estimate of a million for the kingdom, does not seem likely to be overrated. But this applies only to the original Ashantee, not including the numerous states which now pay tribute in peace, and follow its standard in war, and amount probably to double the number.

The feature which peculiarly degrades Ashantee, and throws it back almost into savage existence, is the extent of human sacrifice, accompanied with circumstances of deep horror. Civilization, however, does not always advance with uniform steps; and peculiar circumstances often maintain among a people institutions which belong to their earlier stages, and are out of harmony with their actual attainments. The usages of a despotic court, especially when combined with superstition, acquire a sacred character, which tends to prolong them beyond their natural period. * To the same cause we may probably refer the very rude welcome, by weapons brandished in menacing attitudes, with which visitors are first admitted to the court of Coomassie. Still less of elegance appears in the parting mark of kindness which the King bestowed on Mr Dupuis. In considering,

* It would seem, by representations found in the tombs of the ancient Egyptians, that human sacrifices existed among that people, at a time when they could raise the mighty structures of Thebes.

however, these unfavourable specimens of Ashantee etiquette as the relics of former barbarism, we seem justified by the dignity, politeness, and even grace, which are described as marking their general manners. Mr Swanzey, in his examination before the Committee, says, 'It is a singular thing, that these people, who 'had never seen a white man, nor the sea, were the most civil and 'well bred people whom I have seen in Africa.' Mr Meredith, in treating of the people of Accra, imputes it to their intercourse with the Ashantees, that their manners are more polished, and that they are better acquainted with the rules of decency and morality, than any other people on the coast. The king evidently studied to model his whole demeanour on a standard of dignified courtesy; and though the barbarian worked pretty strongly within him, and broke out sometimes in gusts of ungovernable passion, he was always ashamed immediately afterwards, and made even humble apologies. The laws of victory are dreadful; but upon this ground, no nation of the ancient world, however civilized, could have had any right to reproach the Ashantee. There is evidently among them a regard to international law, a respect for treaties, and for the persons of ambassadors, to which the neighbouring states are strangers. The military establishment is in a highly effective and disciplined state; and, notwithstanding the distance and imperfect communication with the coast, the troops appeared from the first completely armed and equipped after the European model. It is needless to add, that their valour is such as to render them formidable adversaries, even to British regular troops.

There are no *letters* in native interior Africa, not even a hieroglyphic or symbol of any description. The only reading class are the Mahometans, whose austere bigotry is scarcely compatible with any communication of their knowledge, unless accompanied by the Koran. The Ashantees, high and low, neither read nor write. Sai Tootoo Quanim, *his mark*, is the only guarantee of the most solemn treaties. This illiterate condition, however, is not incompatible with a considerable development of intellect and fancy. All the nations on the coast have a great memory, a fluent and graceful oratory, with some talent at improvisatory poetry; and in all these finer arts, the Ashantees display a superiority. The language, with the exception of a few terms, is original, and very inartificial. There are no articles, no inflexions of nouns and pronouns, no derivative adverbs. All the languages are fundamentally one; but the Ashantee is considered by Mr Bowdich as the Attic among the dialects of Western Africa. Their habitations, though still rude, are decidedly superior in cleanliness, neatness, and a

certain degree of comfort, to those on the coast. Their cloths, woven of cotton mixed with silk, and some other ornamental articles, are positively fine; though their manufacturing industry is on the whole inferior, not only to that of Europe, but of some countries on the Niger.

Upon the whole, the main ground of hope with regard to this kingdom, arises from the display of an active and improving spirit, not to be found elsewhere in this, or perhaps any other part of the continent. The empire appears to have reached nearly the utmost extension, in point of conquest, which circumstances admit; and the ambition of its rulers is now chiefly directed to the increase of its interior splendour, which they can only effect by the introduction of arts, commerce, and civilization. Sensible of the superiority of Europeans in all these respects, intercourse with, and imitation of these, are viewed as affording the main hope of converting Ashantee into a splendid and polished region. All testimonies agree on this subject. Mr Swanzey says, 'The King 'of Ashantee was exceedingly desirous to have and to keep open 'a further communication with the British;' and he elsewhere mentions, that the monarch early applied to the governor of Cape Coast Castle for an English resident to be sent to his court. Although the Dutch have cultivated his favour much more carefully, he seems justly impressed with higher ideas of the power and magnificence of 'King George.' This love, indeed, seems somewhat tinctured with fear. A party at court remonstrated on the danger of allowing to the English the opportunity of acting as spies; and once when, inquiring about Buonaparte, he was told, that, on account of his ambition, the English had dethroned him, and sent him to an island in the Atlantic, Mr Hutton thought he perceived on the countenance of his Majesty a very peculiar expression. This mixture of feeling, however, seems on the whole to have produced no other effect, but to increase his anxiety to avoid a rupture with so powerful a nation. When the last mission was at Coomassie, the king was busily engaged in erecting a palace in the European style, destined, consequently, to eclipse every thing yet seen in Western Africa. His account of it to Mr Dupuis shows evidently the working of the impulses above alluded to. 'Do you know,' said he, 'Captain, why I sent for you? That building you see is 'to be made very grand. The inside shall be gold, ivory, and 'brass pan; so you must tell my great master, I do it for his 'sake, to honour him, that the people may know it was a great 'day when I saw your face, and that all the Black countries 'may know that I am a great king here. Now White men 'know me, I must live in a great house as White kings do;

'then I shall not be ashamed when White people come.' He had procured workmen from El Mina, under whose direction his own subjects laboured, but in so awkward a manner as excited the ridicule of the monarch himself, who exclaimed, 'Ashantees fools at work!' They made up, however, in numbers, what was wanting in skill; and suggested to Mr Dupuis the singular image of 'a legion of demons attempting in mock-'ery a Babel of modern invention.' On another occasion, the King's views were still more fully expressed by his saying, 'I must have every thing suitable, and live like a White king.'

It is upon Ashantee that the commerce of this coast rests almost exclusively. A remarkable circumstance is, that the first notice of its importance in this respect, was derived from the opposite extremity of Africa. Mr Lucas, in 1792, heard it mentioned at Tripoli as the goal of a caravan route of more than two thousand miles, across the broadest diagonal of the continent. The earlier accounts from the coast, indeed, describe the gold and ivory, which form its staples, as drawn from Dinkira, and other intermediate countries; but it is now ascertained, that the bulk of these articles come from beyond even Ashantee, though without its being possible to avoid passing through that kingdom, in its present extended state. Palm oil also, an article of growing importance, is chiefly furnished from the immense forest extending from the frontier to Coomassie.

Having thus surveyed one side of the African political world, let us turn to the other, comprehending the Fantees, and the other tribes on the coast, with whose cause we have had the wisdom to identify our own. Respecting the general character of these tribes, inquiries were made by the Committee of all the Governors of the British forts. The tenor of their reply was uniform. Governor Smith, then of Commenda, says, 'They are capable of every vice; guilty of theft, ex-'tortion, imposition, and notorious for being a quarrelsome 'set. Europeans cannot place the least confidence in them.' —White of Cape Coast Castle: 'They are deceitful, and great-'ly addicted to stealing; they are superstitious in an uncom-'mon degree. Instances of their being remarkable for fidelity 'to each other in times of danger, have not come to my know-'ledge.'—Mollan of Succondee: 'Like the inhabitants of all 'barbarous countries, the natives here are addicted to many 'vices; and their character as liars, thieves, and cheats, is no-'toriously known. If they possess any virtues, I must confess 'they have entirely escaped my notice.'—Mr Swanzey: 'They 'were a very shrewd, intelligent, and lively race, but very

'much given to drinking, and possessed very few good moral 'qualities.'—The slave trade, indeed, could scarcely be carried on so long, and to such an extent, as on this coast, without demoralizing effects, which cannot be soon removed. It had given birth to a peculiar refinement of guilt. As the punishment of almost every offence was the sale of the criminal, the scheme of decoying men into crime, with a view to this issue, had become most extensively practised. Profligate females, not excepting the wives and daughters of the chiefs, are said to have been deeply concerned in it.

Anxious inquiries were made by the Committee as to any means or prospect that might exist of inducing the natives to extend cultivation, particularly of articles suited to the market of Europe. All the replies were most unfavourable. Smith, Mollan and Dawson, declared, almost in the same words, that the oldest resident had scarcely a recollection of a single change in dress, building, or mode of living, made in imitation of Europeans. Their habitual indolence, and bigotted attachment to old customs, appeared to leave only the faintest hope of their ever being induced to betake themselves to new branches of industry, and especially of cultivation. Mr Mollan saw as little prospect of their being induced to exchange the cottons of India for British manufactures.

As the Fantee tribes thus neither do, nor are likely to yield any commodities valuable in commerce, so the testimonies are equally unanimous, that they use the utmost efforts to prevent Europeans from reaching those nations in the interior, from whose intercourse greater benefits might be derived. Captain Irby mentioned to the Committee a singular manœuvre which they sometimes employ for this purpose. When they see an European obstinately bent on such an expedition, they undertake to be his guides; but, instead of acting faithfully as such, they lead him into by-paths, through morasses and entangled thickets, till, overcome with fatigue and despondence, he is glad to seek his way back. It appears, then, that the conquest of the coast by the Ashantees, instead of being an evil to us, was a most important advantage, affording the only means by which we could enjoy the benefit of a direct intercourse with that people.

If the commercial benefit to be drawn from the Fantees be so slender, as little reason is there to fear or hope from their military prowess. On the contrary, though a turbulent spirit makes them always ready to rush into the field, they display, when brought into it, a smaller portion of heroism than almost any other existing race. Mr Meredith states it as their usual

practice, ' to creep into some concealed hole when cannon or ' musket shot are heard to whiz among them.' Captain Laing indeed saw them on one occasion, when covered with woods, discharge a few shots, but in so irregular and ill directed a manner, as merely to bring down upon their adversaries a shower of leaves. We may finally quote the recent despatch of Colonel Sutherland, who states, that when called upon to defend Cape Coast, they were to be driven every morning to their post at the point of the bayonet. The reader is left to judge, whether Britain is likely to reach a very commanding position, by placing herself at the head of such allies.

From the series of plain facts now stated, it can scarcely, we think, be denied, that if Britain was to make a choice between the hostile powers of Africa, there could not be a moment's room to hesitate between her present enemy, and the confederates, with whom her evil destiny has combined her. Let us now examine, whether, in the steps which led to this dreadful rupture, there was any thing tending to compel, or even to tempt, her African rulers into the adoption of so unfortunate a policy.

In the beginning of the present century, the monarchs of Ashantee, as formerly observed, had reduced to vassalage all the kingdoms formerly interposed between their territory and that on the Gold Coast. The chiefs of Assin, one of these kingdoms, revolted, and being totally defeated, sought refuge in the Fantee territory. The king followed, sending at the same time assurances, that he entertained no hostile intentions against the Fantees; notwithstanding which, that people not only received, but joined the revolted chiefs. They proved wholly unable, however, to contend with the invaders, and were vanquished in repeated battles. The victors came first in contact with the British at Anamaboe, a large seaport, the inhabitants of which were so imprudent as to follow the example of their countrymen. Confident in their numbers, they rejected the offer of mediation made by Governor White. They were unable, however, to stand the first shock, and were seen flying in wild confusion, and the shore strewed with their dead bodies. In this terrible extremity, the fort was opened to receive as many of the women and children as its area could contain; an interference in favour of humanity, and to mitigate the horrors of savage war, which, on whatever side exercised, must always be approved. It was a much more doubtful policy which induced him to keep up a constant fire on the enemy, while engaged in the work of destruction; and the consequence was, that when the latter had satiated their vengeance on the

Anamaboes, they immediately directed their arms against the fort. The English, who had calculated on meeting in their new adversaries a prowess somewhat on a level with that of the maritime negroes, were exceedingly astonished at seeing them rush to the very muzzle of the great guns, and fire with such precision, that not a man could appear at an embrazure, without being instantly brought down. In these circumstances, where only musketry could be used, a defence by 30 men, in a little old fort, against 15,000, must be considered highly creditable. It was not a situation, however, that could last long; and Colonel Torrane, then chief governor, hastened to send a reinforcement, and also to take measures for conciliating the power which was now destined to rule over the coast. With this view, he obtained possession of Cheboo, one of the revolted chiefs, then concealed near the castle, and sent him to the king, by whom he was immediately beheaded. Although this measure was probably demanded by the exigency of the time, we cannot, as Britons, but lament that it should have been thought necessary. The seizure and delivery of Cheboo was, we fear, somewhat of a base action, which even Mr Dupuis, however much disposed to *Ashanteeize*, and notwithstanding the veneration in which he found the name of Torrane held at Coomassie, cannot bring himself to applaud. However, even before the arrival of Cheboo, when a flag of truce was displayed from the walls, it was received with acclamations of joy. Two messengers returned with it, and made a long *expose* of the king's grounds of war against the Fantees, declaring that against the British he did not entertain the slightest enmity, but was anxious to cultivate their intercourse and alliance. Colonel Torrane having repaired to Anamaboe, made a formal visit to the camp. Our countrymen then beheld a splendid and imposing array, very much surpassing any thing that they had hitherto seen in Africa. The rich dresses and golden ornaments, the dignity and order of the ceremonial, the courteous and intelligent conversation of the chiefs; all gave the idea of a superior people. They were now indeed seen in their holiday attitude; yet this impression was by no means devoid of foundation.

Notwithstanding the disastrous character of this war, the Fantees grasped at the earliest opportunity of shaking off the yoke. The Ashantees, in 1811, made a second inroad, and, as before, carried all before them in the first instance; but the revolt of some of their eastern vassals prevented them from making much permanent impression. In 1816, another campaign took place, the result of which was still more disastrous to

the Fantees. Cape Coast was held in long blockade; and but for supplies afforded by the Castle, a great part of its inhabitants must have perished by famine. The final result appears clearly to have been, an entire acknowledgment, over the whole coast, of the sovereignty of Ashantee.

Under these circumstances, the British African Government felt more than ever the importance of cultivating the friendship of this great potentate. The mission was therefore sent, from Mr Bowdich's narrative of which we derived our first detailed notices of this interior kingdom. The cry seems general in Africa, and is even joined by Mr Dupuis, that his representations are very much coloured and exaggerated; but really this appears to arise very much from prejudice and jealousy; for one can scarcely find any specific point in which he is contradicted by the new mission, except that they consider the colours in his architectural plates as somewhat too bright. One point in particular is clearly made out by the official documents inserted in his work, which is the full acknowledgment, by the British Government, of the King's sovereignty over the Gold Coast. In his letter to Mr Smith, now governor of Cape Coast, he uses the following expressions: 'The King of A-'shantee has made war against all the people of the water side, 'and all the Black men all about, and taken all their towns. 'All Fantee is his; all the Black man's country is his.' Smith, in his reply, instead of controverting these assertions, expresses himself thus: 'I observe by your letter, that the notes of '*conquered* countries have been transferred to your ancestors; 'therefore it shall be the same on the present occasion.' The notes were for rent which had been paid to the surrounding Fantee princes, for the ground on which the castle stood. Smith now agrees to pay them henceforth, with some additions, to the King of Ashantee. Was it possible to make a clearer admission, that the whole of the coast on which these forts stood was conquered by, and subject to, the King of Ashantee? Mr Bowdich concluded a treaty, in which the same was implied; he parted on the best terms; and the British relations in Africa seemed established on the most satisfactory foundation.

The government at home showed at this time an equal anxiety to cultivate a good understanding with this new potentate. They determined to send out a permanent resident, under the title of Consul, to the court of Coomassie. To this situation they appointed Mr Dupuis, who had long held that situation at Mogadore, and is known by some very judicious notes appended to Adams's Narrative of Interior Africa. The choice apppears to have been judicious. Mr Dupuis was pe-

culiarly intimate with African manners, and is evidently a man of considerable talents, information, and address. His instructions, drawn up by Mr Cook, secretary to the African Company, direct that he should give full assurance of the determination of Britain sacredly to observe the treaty concluded by Mr Bowdich; that he should cultivate by every proper means the confidence of the King, with a view to forwarding commercial intercourse, and promoting measures that might advance the civilization of Africa; that he should also make any inquiries, and open any connexion that might be possible with the interior of the Continent.

The new consul, on his arrival, found matters already beginning to wear an inauspicious aspect. The King was engaged in suppressing an insurrection that had arisen in the subject state of Gaman, which, being supported by the powerful western kingdom of Kong, afforded full employment to his arms. The inhabitants of Cape Coast began to rear their heads; and here let it be understood, that, unless in the matter of prudence, we do not blame *them*, because they were impatient to shake off a foreign yoke so recently imposed upon them. This disposition led them to catch with a greedy ear disastrous rumours which arose, respecting the state of the King's affairs. The misfortune was, that the same rumours and feelings began to prevail in the Castle, and were finally embraced by Mr Smith the governor. Mr Dupuis in vain interposed his warning voice, and showed the slender foundation on which they were built. He even repaired to the Dutch settlement of El Mina, where he was assured that they were born, and expired within the precincts of Cape Coast, and that everywhere else, it was expected that the King would meet with his usual success. Unfortunately Mr Dupuis stood already in a hostile attitude to the governor and council. His instructions, in directing him to *appear* subject to them, had left an ambiguity whether he was to be really subject or not. This was interpreted by each party in their own favour;—the one claiming full jurisdiction, while the other insisted that he was, 'to all intents 'and purposes, plenipotent.' Indeed, while we admire the firmness with which this gentleman stood for the right cause, it appears doubtful whether he bore his faculties quite so meekly as so delicate a situation would have required. This suspicion springs from some epistolary documents presented by Mr Hutton, in which he is found charging the council with 'unjustifiable con-'duct,'—'insidious dealing,' and warning them against supposing that he considers their approbation as any thing respectable. In short, animosities rose to that pitch, which renders

it sufficient that an opinion be embraced by one party to fix the other in its opposite. Mr Dupuis was left to prophesy like another Cassandra; the governor and council entered into all the feelings of the natives, encouraged them in despising the authority of the King, and in showing contempt, and even insult to his subjects who were residents or visitors in the town.

At length it was announced, in a manner no longer admitting of doubt, that the King was returning triumphant from the conquest of Gaman, and that he and his chiefs were vowing vengeance on the Cape Coast inhabitants, of whose outrages in word and deed they had been duly advertised. The courage of the natives instantly fell; but Mr Smith, who had committed himself to the government at home, made a defying answer to the first messengers. It is understood that the King was then strongly urged by his military council to march direct upon Cape Coast, and destroy it. That desire, however, which he appears to have always cherished, of being on good terms with the English, made him resolve to exhaust, in the first instance, every pacific resourse. A messenger of high rank was despatched, who, demanding an audience of the council, produced from a little Morocco trunk the treaty concluded by Mr Bowdich, and, causing it to be read over, article by article, made repeated appeals to the governor, whether it had not been violated. Mr Smith was thrown into a good deal of confusion; and, in this posture of affairs, Mr Dupuis so far prevailed as to have his mission mentioned, and its fulfilment offered. The messenger was pleased, and agreed to pause till he could learn the King's views on the subject. Soon after it was announced, that either an embassy or an army was approaching Cape Coast. This equivocal rumour was naturally enough excited by the approach of twelve hundred men, chiefly armed; but, on their coming nearer, a mixture of boys and girls was descried, and it proved a mere pacific array, escorting a nephew of the king, who came in solemn embassy. This great personage, being introduced to the council, made a long *palaver*, enumerating all the wrongs sustained by the king, and concluding for a large sum to be paid in compensation, both by the Castle and the town. It was ultimately found, however, that he brought a cordial welcome to Mr Dupuis, and an assurance that arrangements had been made for his conveyance and reception. The Council then, notwithstanding evident symptoms of reluctance, could no longer decline forwarding him to his destination.

The mission was well conducted, and prosperous. The king renewed, in the fullest manner, all his professions of a desire to maintain amicable relations with the British. He withdrew al-

together his inadmissible demand of money from the fort, and intimated his willingness to accept a very moderate composition for his claim upon the town. He even assumed the title of vassal to the King of England, and professed a readiness to lead 10,000 men to any part of the continent where their services might be wanted by him. At the same time, he asserted his own full dominion over all the countries on the coast, consenting, however, that the English should exercise jurisdiction over the natives, and even, to a certain degree, over his own subjects, in the immediate vicinity of their forts. A treaty was concluded upon these bases, and every thing, between the two powers, appeared to be again settled on the most satisfactory footing.

When Mr Dupuis arrived at Cape Coast, affairs sustained a fatal reverse. The governor did not see him for several days, and then only to disown his treaty, and brand it as one which betrayed at once the interests of Britain and of Fantee. He was even encouraging the natives to withdraw altogether their allegiance from Ashantee, and had persuaded Sir George Collier, who then commanded a squadron on the coast, to promise his support. Mr Dupuis wrote to Sir George, endeavouring to show the erroneous nature of the policy to which he was lending himself, and entreating him, at least, to take on board two ambassadors who had come from Ashantee, with a present of two beautiful leopards. Sir George, seeing matters run so high between the parties, adopted the resolution which, in a public man, is not always the wisest, of doing and saying as little as possible. He evaded all discussion, and excused himself, both as to the leopards and ambassadors, alleging, in one case, the want of room, and, in the other, a standing order of Admiralty not 'to carry away any natives from the coast.' We decline giving any opinion as to the leopards; but, with regard to the ambassadors, this step appears deeply to be regretted. Nothing could be more mortifying and irritating to their master; and the standing order in question could never have been made in contemplation of such a case as this, when its literal application would evidently have been much more honoured in the breach than the observance.

At the moment when our political relations were thrown into so precarious a state, an entire change took place in the administration of this coast. For reasons which we have not room to discuss, it was transferred, by act of Parliament, from the African Company to the immediate control of his Majesty's government. Here, too, we are left by Mr Dupuis, who took his departure for England; and we must derive our

subsequent details from Captain Laing, who writes in opposition to that gentleman, and with a view to justify the proceedings of the British African government. Thus, however, we hear both sides, and are assured that these proceedings are not presented to us under any jaundiced aspect. Captain Laing's narrative really does not deserve the imbittered response which it drew from Mr Dupuis. It is written in a candid and gentlemanly tone, and with as much of reflection and combination as can be reasonably demanded from a captain of foot. Our confidence in his facts is the more implicit, as they afford the most complete confutation of the conclusions in support of which they are stated.

Government placed this coast under Sir Charles M'Carthy, who for some years before had been governor of Sierra Leone and the adjacent territories. It is with pain that we animadvert on the conduct of a gallant and amiable man, who appears to have been active and useful in his former station, and has since paid so dreadful a forfeit of his errors. But where such deep interests are at stake, it is impossible that any consideration should deter us from expressing our most decided opinion on the subject.

Sir Charles was placed in a somewhat hard situation, by a compact formed among the servants of the Company, not to accept of office under, or hold any communication with, him. Little good, however, after what we have seen, was to be expected from them; and it was under entirely erroneous views, that a knowledge of the military strength of the neighbouring states was to be made the basis of his policy; instead of its being the object to clear himself from every relation of that nature. Still less can it be conceived, whence he derived that contempt of the Ashantee monarch and his power, which is admitted by Captain Laing to have been the ruling principle of his policy. If it had become fashionable at Cape Coast to decry Bowdich's work, there was that of Meredith; there were all the testimonies before the African Committee; and, lastly, oral communications from Mr Dupuis, who, however, we regret to observe, declined complying with Sir Charles's urgent request to write to him more fully. In short, there was the notorious fact of the Gold Coast having been repeatedly and completely conquered by this power. Sir Charles, however, soon formed the resolution of setting it at defiance, and of placing himself at the head of the Fantee confederacy.

'The natives of the Gold Coast,' says Captain Laing, 'soon 'comprehended the nature of our policy, as explained by Sir 'Charles M'Carthy, who was looked upon by them, in a very

'short time, as their deliverer, both from internal and foreign 'oppression; they beheld with satisfaction the privileges which 'were conferred upon them by the change, and they had full 'confidence in the promises he made to them of British pro- 'tection. The name of M'Carthy rung along the coast from 'Cape Apollonia to the mouth of the Volsa, and the great in- 'fluence which he gained over these people (the hitherto ac- 'knowledged subjects of the King of Ashantee), was viewed 'with silent and gloomy indignation by that monarch, whose 'pride was not only stung at the sudden revolt of his subjects, 'acknowledged as such by British treaty, but at the neglect of 'his authority and dignity on the part of the British, in not 'sending to him a complimentary Embassy.'

Here, then, in this panegyrical paragraph, written by the apologist of Sir Charles, we find him promising protection, in their *revolt*, to the subjects of the King of Ashantee, *acknowledged as such by British treaty.* Could this be considered as any thing less than an open levying of war—war contrary to the most solemn treaties, and without a shadow of ground or pretext?

Nwithstanding such high provocation, resentment was at first shown only by a suspension of intercourse; and every thing on the side of Ashantee remained as quiet as if no such power had existed. Those, however, who were familiar with the policy of that state, saw in this very silence the omen of approaching tempest. They knew that all its great expeditions are preceded by a long train, not only of military preparation, but of auguries, incantations, sacrifices, and careful study of good and evil times. In the interval, it was their obvious policy to lull the enemy into security. Sir Charles, in fact, imagining that all was tranquil, set out to visit the settlements at Sierra Leone.

The storm first broke by an act of violence against a single individual. A British sergeant was seized on the great square at Anamaboe, and carried off, on pretext of disrespectful expressions used towards the king. In noticing this only culpable act of the Ashantees towards the British, we must remark, that it did not take place till after full ground had been given for war, to which it was evidently, in some shape or other, intended as a preliminary. According to Captain Laing, it was afterwards understood that the object was to feel our pulse, and observe in what manner we would act on such an occasion. We cannot resist a secret suspicion, that some hopes were entertained by them of its leading to negociation and renewed intercourse. Meantime, Sir Charles, seeing that matters were more serious than he imagined, hastened back to the coast, but

without adopting any decisive measure. Captain Laing offered to undertake an embassy, either to Coomassie or to Donqua, the place of the sergeant's confinement; but Sir Charles, overrating the danger of such a step, declined these very meritorious offers. We cannot but agree with Mr Dupuis in thinking it strange, that, in the course of six weeks, no steps should have been taken to obtain the release of the prisoner, either by negociation or arms.

At the end of that period, the sergeant was beheaded at Donqua. This was evidently intended as an open declaration of war. The king sent round to all his vassal states, summoning them to his standard, and calling on them, in the figurative language of Africa, to arm against Britain the very fishes of the sea. He also sent a message to tell Sir Charles, that his skull would soon adorn the great war-drum of Ashantee! Yet, amid all this parade of hostility, a pacific overture was made through the medium of the Dutch governor of El Mina. Deputies from both sides met, when the enemy opened with a long invective against the Fantees, and the people of Cape Coast, to whom they imputed all the mischief that had happened, and even the seizure of the sergeant; but though this discourse is admitted by Captain Laing to have contained much truth, it was considered unworthy even of an answer. It may be here noticed, that Mr Dupuis decidedly, and, it would seem, justly acquits the Dutch of that disposition to foment hostility against the English, with which, in some quarters, they are so liberally charged. It is admitted that they, for themselves, carefully cultivated a good understanding with this powerful monarch, and even that they could not refrain from only congratulating themselves on our infatuation, which rendered it impossible for a bale of goods to reach the interior, except through the medium of a Dutch factory; but this is only a venial trait of human frailty, and there appears no further ground for any charge whatever.

Although war was now openly declared, the enemy showed as yet on the frontier only a few small detachments. One of these was completely beaten by Captain Laing; and though the success was dearly bought on his side, its fame spread over the coast; and Sir Charles, we are told, in consequence, *received the allegiance* of most of the Fantee tribes. Captain Laing made also two gallant and successful attacks upon a larger division of the enemy. Entering the territories of the King of Ajumacon, who was suspected of Ashantee propensities, he compelled that prince to place his troops under British command. The reader is here besought to observe the rapid

progress of his countrymen towards African empire. First, they take the natives under protection; then they receive their allegiance; and, lastly, they compel them, by force of arms, to join the British standard.

These first reverses seem only to have urged the King to more strenuous preparation. He sacrificed daily nine or ten victims to propitiate his deities; and, more wisely, called upon all his chiefs and vassals to furnish their quota of troops. Sir Charles began to pause on the brink of the precipice to which he had hurried; and Captain Laing even supposes, that, had not some fatal counsels interposed, he might have been induced to hold out the olive branch. Deliberation was, however, too late, when tidings arrived, that the whole force of the Ashantee emperor was in rapid movement down upon Cape Coast. The result need not be told. All the troops in the Castle, with all the civil servants capable of bearing arms, were collected—hastened to meet the enemy—and returned no more.

We have no intention to enter into the details of this campaign; to paint the wide devastation of the open country, with its entire population flying in wild confusion to seek shelter under the guns of the British fort. The accounts, however, have closed with an important advantage on our side; one honourable certainly to the British arms, and precious if it be judiciously improved; but which may be ruinous if viewed as an encouragement to persevere in our present course of policy. In dread of this last issue, we feel bound to reduce it to its real dimensions. A perusal of the details will show it to have been merely a hard repulse, with great loss on our side, and partly gained through a display of valour on the part of the Fantees, which was never seen before, and consequently is never likely to occur again. Even the official despatches afford a specimen of the delusions under which the affairs of this country have so long been administered. Colonel Sutherland, doubtless on Fantee rumour, represents the whole army of the enemy as dismayed and scattered, and the King himself hastening home with a handful of troops, and doubtful of his personal safety. But all these visions are dispelled when we receive the subsequent despatch of Colonel Grant, and find that, six days after the action, the enemy remained encamped at five miles distance from the town. Then, indeed, he departed, but quite leisurely and unmolested; and, as was feared, to attack some other point upon the coast. The latest notice, however, mentions his having returned, or, as our African friends choose to term it, *escaped* to Coomassie. This pretended escape does not prevent an apprehension from being expressed, that he will soon return to disturb the peace

of the coast. Indeed, though the late check, with the difficulty of keeping a barbarous army long together, may induce the King to suspend operations for the present, it would be a most vain chimera to imagine, that the issue of a campaign on the whole so triumphant, should induce the King quietly to resign an extensive portion of his territories, on which he sets peculiar value. If then, Britain is to maintain her present position, it can only be under a system of fixed and almost interminable war, the whole burden of which will fall upon herself. It well behoves her then to consider, under what circumstances, and for what advantages, this war is to be waged.

It is presumed, that, in the discussion of this question, it will not be necessary to speculate on the plan of conquering Ashantee, and founding a great African empire. There is evidently no such design at home; and there are not perhaps twenty persons in the country who would advise such a proceeding. The practical question then is, whether we shall continue our efforts to support the Fantee Confederacy against its more powerful antagonist—to support the weak against the strong, the few against the many, the dastardly against the brave? The parallel already drawn, may have enabled the reader to form some estimate of the felicity of the choice we have made. But there are other circumstances, which render warlike operations upon this coast peculiarly serious. A residence even at the forts is found as injurious to health as one in the West Indies; but marches through the open country, inundated during a great part of the year, must be much more destructive. If even the Ashantees cannot carry on protracted operations on this coast without extensive sickness, what can white troops expect, but that pestilence must destroy those whom the sword has spared? Another difficulty is presented by the vast forests which cover interior Africa, particularly the Ashantee frontier. The word *forest*, to an European ear, conveys no idea of those impenetrable thickets, which are thrown up by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. Not only are the trees of gigantic size, and all their interstices filled with crowding underwoods; but across these stretch numberless creeping stems, some as thick as the cable of a ship, which bind the whole into a mass, over which a monkey or an African may leap, but which no European can penetrate. It is easy to perceive what opportunity must thus be afforded for ambush, the favourite manœuvre of our present enemy; and it is actually said, that the King, on one occasion, remained with his army for three months in a deep forest, in the heart of an enemy's country, without being discovered.

After all, as Britain has conquered under every clime, we are

ready to admit, that by a large annual expenditure, and by thousands sent to perish on this pestilential shore, she may succeed in maintaining the Fantee confederacy in a state of precarious independence. What then will be the result? It must evidently be, hermetically to seal against herself the whole interior of Africa, and put an end to every benefit which she could derive from a settlement on this coast. It has been shown, that the Gold Coast produces no articles of any amount or value, which do not come either from Ashantee, or through Ashantee; and that there is no prospect of any extended consumption of British goods, unless in that kingdom, or in others which can only be reached across it. A system then, which places us in permanent hostility with that power, closes all our commercial intercourse with that part of the Continent; and, so far as any British interest is concerned, the garrisons might, with equal advantage, and much greater safety, be kept on the Rock of Ascension, in the middle of the Atlantic. In terminating our friendly intercourse with Ashantee, we equally bid adieu to all the prospects of extending our knowledge, and promoting the interests of civilization, in this only hopeful direction. Even the slender prospects of Fantee improvement must be given up, under a state of things which keeps that race in a perpetual state of irritation and alarm, and their fields perpetually exposed to the ravage of so formidable an invader. Thus the present system, be it successful or unsuccessful, involves equally the ruin of all the British interests in Africa, and the sacrifice of every object, with a view to which it could be desirable that her settlements should be maintained.

If the question be put, What remedy can be applied to the fatal consequences of this train of error? the answer is abundantly obvious:—They can only be remedied by undoing every thing that has been done, and replacing affairs in the state in which they were in 1817. Though it be generally much easier to do evil than to repair it, yet there are, in the present instance, grounds of hope, that an attempt honestly made would be successful. It has appeared, that Ashantee princes had all along motives and interests which led them sedulously to cultivate the alliance of Britain, and even, under great provocation, to be slow in proceeding to extremities against her. If then Britain withdraws her support of the Fantee insurrection, which has been the sole ground of the present quarrel, we are convinced that the former harmony might be very easily restored. On the other side, it would be our part to use our utmost efforts to induce the Fantees to return to their allegiance, securing for them a full amnesty. This would be the best atonement that could be

made for the dreadful calamities in which a reliance on our vain promises has already involved them. That this advice would be taken, if accompanied by a threat of otherwise leaving them to themselves, there cannot be a single doubt, since it was by these promises alone that they were impelled to their late disastrous revolt. Having proceeded thus far to extricate them from their present distressing situation, we ought carefully to avoid any permanent guarantee, and to withdraw from every relation with either party, except that of amity and good offices.

It may be necessary to observe, that though we consider it, in itself, very easy to restore to this Coast peace and the means of prosperity, no common firmness will be required in the individual who is to carry through this line of policy. When he arrives at Cape Coast, he will probably find both his countrymen and the natives calling aloud for an opposite course. It is difficult for a man to resist impressions which are daily repeated. He must breathe, as it were, the moral atmosphere of the place; he will never hear the Ashantee name mentioned but with hatred and execration, and will not easily escape being infected with the same spirit. The natives of the town have evidently for some time exercised a powerful and sinister influence on the British councils: And they support their rash designs and idle assertions by every form of deception, and even by no common share of eloquence, plausibility, and address. Mr Dupuis drops hints of female influence, which may not, we fear, be wholly without foundation. To be proof against all these seductions, and to administer well the affairs of this Coast, would require, not indeed a man of genius, for the course is quite plain before him, but a man of a very determined character, and thoroughly imbued with sound principles of African policy.

If a good understanding were once reestablished with this powerful interior monarchy, the prospects of future good appear to be very considerable. In no part of Africa is there such a cluster of populous and powerful states, at an easy distance from the coast; for the countries on the Niger can seldom be approached by a land journey of less than a thousand miles. If the kings of Ashantee succeed in their ambition of forming their court after the European model, the example will naturally be followed by their surrounding vassal states. After this, Kong, Degombah, and other kingdoms, which, though not quite so warlike, are richer and more populous, are not likely to allow themselves to be eclipsed. A wide circle of civilization may thus be spread; and with European habits, a taste for European commodities would spring up, which might give to the commerce of this coast an extension, greater than it ever derived

from that guilty trade, for which almost alone it has been hitherto visited.

This discussion, from the importance which we could not forbear attaching to it, has extended to such a length, that we have not room to dilate on Mr Dupuis's information, derived from Moorish merchants, respecting the interior of Africa. His materials are nearly the same with those of Mr Bowdich, but arranged with somewhat greater judgment and care. We observe in his map the great lake and river of Shary or Shady, though the latter, as in many similar instances, is made to flow in a direction opposite to the true one. As, however, we may soon expect, from the present successful mission, that a full light will be thrown on this quarter of the world, it is needless at present to dwell on that dim twilight which can alone be afforded by hearsay testimony. Even when that fuller information arrives, we may have occasion to recur to Mr Dupuis, in order to complete the views of some of the Western countries, and thereby aid in making up that distinct and connected scheme of interior Africa, which has been so long the *desideratum* of modern geography.

ART. V. 1. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Charles Grant, 22d April* 1822, *on Sir John Newport's Motion on the State of Ireland.* London, 1822.

2. *Speech of Sir Henry Parnell, on the Second Reading of the Irish Insurrection Bill, 24th June* 1823. London, 1823.

3. *The Orange System Exposed, in a Letter to the Marquis Wellesley.* Dublin, 1823.

4. *Report on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed,* 16*th July,* 1823.

5. *Population of Ireland in* 1821, *as taken by Act* 51 *Geo. III. cap.* 120. *Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed,* 18*th July* 1823.

THE actual state of Ireland—the magnitude, misery, fierceness and desperation of her population, the violence of their leaders, and the fury of the contending factions to which she is a prey—ought, if any thing can, to excite the earnest and anxious attention of the people of Britain. Centuries of oppression and misgovernment have generated a deep-rooted and cordial hatred of the English name and nation in the minds

of the vast majority of the Irish people, have depraved and vitiated their characters, and fitted them for the commission of every crime. There are, at this moment, from six to seven millions of peasants scattered over the surface of Ireland. And while this mighty and rapidly increasing mass is sunk in the most abject poverty—while it has no property to protect, no venerated institutions to defend, and nothing but injuries to redress, and wrongs to avenge, it is ready to engage in any scheme of combination and blood.

Is not this a state of things that calls loudly for inquiry? Is there any man so blind and bigotted, so stupidly attached to antiquated prejudices and errors, as to continue to lend his support to a system productive of such baleful results? Is not the experience of four centuries sufficient to convince the people and Parliament of England, that it is not by mere brute force, by penal laws and insurrection acts, that the peace of Ireland is to be secured, and the foundations of her prosperity laid? The period has at last arrived, when it is certain that measures of a decisive character *must* be adopted with respect to Ireland; and we are bold to say, that the integrity, and, for that reason, the fate of the British empire, depends on the nature of these measures. If we act on sound and liberal principles, it is not yet too late to repair the faults and follies of which we have been guilty, and to make Ireland our best bulwark: But if we resolve to abide by our present system,—if we are determined to continue to treat *five-sixths* of the people as an inferior and degraded *caste*, and to uphold and cherish all the gross, flagrant, and scandalous abuses with which every part of the internal administration of the country is infected, we must expect to see every species of outrage redoubled, and the flames of civil war rekindled with increased fury, and raging to an unprecedented extent.

Have the people of England yet to be told that peace and kindly affections do not spring from exclusion and the sword? If we are really desirous of attaching the people of Ireland to the government of England, we must render that government advantageous to them. The peasantry must know, and they must *feel*, that they are protected by the law, that they have a *stake in the hedge*, and that every avenue to power and emolument is open to their ambition. If you act thus, you may still attach them to your interests; if you do not, you will alienate them still more: The existing breach between the two countries will be gradually widened, and our ascendency will depend entirely on the number of our bayonets.

But even this resource, miserable and humiliating as it is, is

one on which no certain reliance can be placed. The whole disposable revenue of Great Britain will most probably be found insufficient for the maintenance of an army capable of retaining a population of six or seven millions, who have every thing to gain, and nothing to lose, by revolution, in a state of unwilling subjection. But, supposing this to be possible in a period of peace, and when the whole power of England can be directed to this one object, it would be no easy matter to exaggerate the addition which the disaffection of the Irish peasantry must make to our difficulties and dangers in a period of war. Had Humbert, when he made his descent in Ireland in 1798, been accompanied by 10,000 instead of 1,000 French troops, and been furnished with 50,000 or 100,000 stand of arms, there would have been an end of the English government; and the tricoloured flag would have floated as triumphantly over Dublin, as it did over Berlin or Vienna. But the numbers and the exasperation of the people have been prodigiously increased since 1798. And if we do not totally change our conduct, it is certain that, whenever we are involved in war, either with France, or any of the other Continental powers, or with the United States, *we* shall find our bitterest foes, and our foreign enemies their most zealous and devoted allies, in the people of Ireland. No efforts will be necessary to seduce the peasantry from their allegiance, no intrigues, no subsidies will be required to tempt them to the field—but the first foreign standard that is erected on the Irish soil will be the signal for a rising *en masse*, of a whole population impatient of oppression and burning for revenge! The system of White-boy association, so unceasingly acted upon for the last thirty years, has trained and prepared the peasantry for the most desperate purposes: Nor do we think that it is possible to point out another instance in the history of the world, of a people so completely estranged from their rulers, and so thoroughly ripe for rebellion.

And are not these things enough to give us pause? Are they not enough to make even bigots abashed and ashamed?—and to stimulate the wise and good of all parties and denominations, to lay aside their petty differences, and to cooperate for the adoption of measures calculated to guard against such tremendous consequences? Let no one suppose that the questions respecting Ireland, that must necessarily be discussed in the ensuing session, affect that country only;—though, if they did no more than refer to the means by which *seven millions* of people might be raised from helotism to freedom, and from poverty and misery to wealth and happiness, they would be of the

very highest interest. But it is no exaggeration to affirm, that the destinies of the whole empire hang on these discussions. Ireland cannot sink into the abyss of poverty and degradation, without dragging Great Britain after her—Justice to Ireland is in fact justice to ourselves; and cannot be denied, without entailing equally ruinous consequences on the oppressor as on the victim.

Since June 1822, when we entered at pretty considerable length into an investigation of what seemed to us to be the leading causes of the distress and misery of Ireland, much new and valuable information has been obtained. This has resulted partly from the greater attention to Irish politics, created by the King's visit; from the extent and atrocity of the disturbances in the south; from the riotous proceedings of the Orangemen of Dublin, and the consequent inquiry into the conduct of Mr Sheriff Thorpe; from the organization of the Catholic rent, and the proceedings of the Catholic association; and more than all, from the discussions in Parliament and the investigations of Parliamentary Committees. It seems probable, from the part ministers took in the discussion of Lord Althorp's motion for an inquiry into the state of Ireland, that they had at first intended to stifle the inquiry, by limiting it to certain specified and local topics. But the powerful support Lord Althorp met with, not only from the opposition, but from many of the most respectable friends of ministers, induced them to abandon the idea of limitation; and the inquiry has been rendered as complete and effective as could have been wished. As the evidence given before this committee, though of the greatest interest and importance, has not been printed, except only for the use of the members, we can speak of it only by report; but as none of the members evinced the slightest indisposition to converse freely on the subject, its general import and bearing is sufficiently well known.

But notwithstanding the information derived from these and other quarters, much error and misapprehension still exist on many important points. Too much stress has been laid, in the discussions, both in and out of Parliament, on circumstances that exert only a very trivial influence, while some of the most prolific sources of misery and degradation have hardly attracted any notice. We conceive, then, that we shall not be doing an unacceptable service, by availing ourselves of this opportunity to enter on a fresh investigation of the causes of the misery of Ireland. We believe that Lord Wellesley, and a considerable proportion of the Cabinet Ministers, are sincerely desirous to adopt any practical measures that can be devised,

for allaying party violence, and arresting the progress of pauperism. But no measures, however worthily intended, which are not founded on sound principles, can possibly be advantageous. And we are anxious, by stating some of these principles, to assist in enabling the public to form a just estimate of the vitally important proceedings about to take place in Parliament.

An inquiry into the actual social condition of the people of Ireland, may be advantageously divided into two parts:—The *first* embracing an inquiry into the causes of those violent party and religious contentions, which have so long disgraced and agitated the country; and the *second*, an inquiry into the causes of the extreme poverty and wretchedness of the people.

I.—1. *Catholic Disabilities.*—We shall not enter, on this occasion, into any lengthened disquisition respecting the ancient state of Ireland. The radical defect of its government has always consisted in its being administered by and for the exclusive benefit of a small portion of the people. The broad and bloody line of demarcation that was formerly drawn between the English settlers and the mere Irish, has been effaced only to have its place supplied by the equally well defined distinction between Protestants and Catholics. The seventeenth century began auspiciously under the enlightened administration of Sir John Davies; but it was, in the sequel, marked by incidents the most fatal to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. 'It was a century of injury, exasperation, and revenge—of 'war, and bloodshed, and spoliation.' * The entire surface of Ireland is reckoned at about *twelve millions of Irish acres;* and the late Earl of Clare estimated, that *eleven millions and a half* of this number were confiscated in the course of the century! The successes of William III. secured the ascendency of the English interest; and the violation of the treaty of Limerick, and the penal enactments of Queen Anne, threw the whole wealth and power of the country into the hands of the Protestants, and completed the debasement and prostration of the Catholic population. It is unnecessary to recapitulate all the disgusting provisions of the Catholic penal code. It is enough to mention, that it debarred the Catholics from the exercise of every political privilege; that it prevented them from acquiring property in land, from lending money on mortgages, from teaching schools, and even from acting as the guardians of

* Mr Grant's Speech, 22d April 1822—one of the best Speeches ever made on the subject of Ireland.

their own children! Well might Mr Burke say, with reference to this code, that 'the laws made in this kingdom against 'Papists were as bloody as any of those that had been enacted 'by the Popish Princes and States; and where these laws were 'not bloody, they were worse; they were slow, cruel, outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive only to insult in their 'persons every one of the rights and feelings of humanity.'

It is true, that the most severe enactments in the penal code are now repealed; that Catholics are allowed to acquire and transmit property, to exercise the elective franchise, and that they may be nominated Justices of the Peace, and appointed to subordinate situations in the army and navy. But enough of exclusion still remains to destroy the good effect of the concessions already made, by keeping alive all those feelings of self-superiority and insolent domination on the part of the Protestants, and of degradation, hatred, and revenge, on the part of the Catholics, which the penal code had generated. Nothing can be more completely erroneous, than to suppose that, as the *legal* operation of the existing exclusions is only to thwart a few individuals in the career of advancement, they can have no considerable influence on the mass of the people. Every man in Ireland knows that the Catholic code is not wholly repealed; he knows that the law still excludes him from situations of trust and influence to which his Protestant fellow-countrymen are eligible; and he considers this exclusion as the badge of the triumph of England over Ireland—of Protestantism over Catholicism—and as the seal of his own degradation. None but those who are acquainted with the powerful prejudices and strong nationality of the Irish peasantry, can form any idea of the effect which these feelings have on their conduct. 'The opinion I have formed, as the 'result of all my experience, is, that the whole mind of the 'people is occupied with politics; that they thoroughly comprehend every law, and every measure of government that 'relates to them; that they have a very accurate knowledge of 'all the privations to which they are exposed; and that *they 'not only know that they live as a class placed in a condition of 'inferiority with respect to a small party in the country, but that 'they practically feel all the disgrace and inconvenience of this 'inferiority.*'* The meanest Catholic knows, that how much soever of the penal code may have been repealed in *law*, very little, comparatively, has been repealed in *fact*. 'It has been 'often asked, why, in the case of the Irish Catholics, satisfac-

* Speech of Sir H. Parnell, 24th June, 1823.

'tion has not followed concession? One reason may be as-
'signed; it is this—because concession has been always fol-
'lowed by the curse of bigots in that country, which, like
'blight or mildew, fastens on the boon, whether it proceed
'from royal favour or legislative graciousness.' † The sectarian, and, until very lately, the decidedly Anticatholic spirit of the Irish government, has rendered the theoretical equality of the laws a mockery and an insult. The Catholics know that they are regarded by that government with aversion and distrust; they know that Protestants are almost exclusively promoted to those situations to which both sects are equally eligible; ‡ they know that no vigorous attempt has been made to put down Orange processions and associations, or to save their properties or even their lives from the outrages and violence of the Orange party: And knowing and feeling all these things, how is it possible that they should be tranquil? or that they should regard the English nation, by whose interference they are held

† Mr Plunkett's Speech, 22d April, 1822.

‡ In the Irish post-office there were 466 persons holding offices, of whom only 25 were Roman Catholics. Under the Royal Dublin Society there were 17 persons, none of whom were Catholics. In the Bank of Ireland there were 127 persons, and of that number only 6 Catholics. In the board for paving—the board of commissioners for erecting fountains—for preserving the port of Dublin—for wide streets—amongst the trustees of the linen board—the Lord Lieutenant's household—the city officers and common council—the committees of the pipe and water establishment—of the police, and many other public establishments, there was *not one solitary Catholic to be found!* In the office of customs there were 296 persons employed, and only 11 of them were Catholics. In the Excise there were 265 persons employed, and of that number only 6 were Catholics. Of coroners in counties there were 108, and only 14 of them Catholics. Of commissioners of affidavit there were 262, and only 29 of them Catholics—of 71 officers under the linen board, 3 were Catholics! In fact, on an aggregate of the public establishments, the list of which he held in his hand, there were 20,459 persons holding offices paid by the public money, and of that number only 106 were Catholics! To show that the exclusion was not solely in the inferior offices but extended equally to them all, he would mention, that there were 31 assistant barristers but not one of them a Catholic. There were 106 offices in the law department of Ireland, which must be filled by barristers, the salaries and emoluments of which exceed 150,000*l.* a year, and Roman Catholics are admissible, since 1795, to 83 of these offices, producing an income of 50,000*l.* a year; but *there was not one solitary instance of a Roman Catholic holding any such profitable and honourable appointment.—Mr Hume's Speech, 25th June*, 1823.

in this state of vassalage and helotism, otherwise than as persecutors and enemies?

We are told by Mr Wakefield, on the impartiality, accuracy, and general excellence of whose great work no eulogium can be too high, that 'the word Papist or Catholic carries as 'much contempt along with it as if a *beast* were designated by 'the term. When the comfort or interest of the Catholic is 'under consideration, he must always give way; for although 'he stands as erect before his maker as does the Protestant, he 'is yet considered as an inferior animal, and thought unworthy 'of participating in the same enjoyments. The Protestants 'are in general better educated than the Catholics; but many 'of them are still ignorant enough to believe that their Catholic fellow-subjects are the *helots* of the country, and that they 'ought to be retained in a state of perpetual bondage.'—(*Account of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 570.)

We venture to say, that there is not an individual in the empire, not even Sir Harcourt Lees himself, who supposes that this proscription could continue for a month, were it not for the power of England. And in such circumstances, how can the Catholics avoid identifying the government of England, or rather the English nation, with their oppressors? The conviction that their debasement is the consequence of English ascendency, is in truth universal; and this conviction binds them firmly together in opposition to the authority of Government and of the laws. From the era of the Whiteboy association in 1760 down to the present hour, insurrection has followed insurrection in one uninterrupted series. Laws of the most unheard of severity have been passed to repress these disorders; but as no attempt has been made to take away the causes whence they sprung, this severity has only given them a darker shade of atrocity. It is not to Parliament, but to their own efforts, that the mass of the Catholic population look for emancipation. They consider the Government as a hostile power, and they hesitate not to embrace every opportunity to wreak their vengeance on all who are either directly or indirectly invested with authority. Mr Stephen Woulfe, an eminent Roman Catholic barrister, corroborates all that we have now stated; and as this is a point on which his authority must be considered as unexceptionable, we shall take the liberty to make a short extract from a Tract of his. 'The peasantry,' he says, 'carry on, as far as they 'have the means, an open war against the Government, and 'every thing connected with it: *They look upon that Govern-* 'ment as an usurpation, as a dominion of force which it is meri-'torious to impede, to elude, to subvert; and in pursuit of which, they

'consider an act of patriotism, to put to death, without remorse, all whom they consider enemies or traitors. They have neither arms, nor intelligence, nor leaders, nor money sufficient to draw out a regular army into the field; if they had, we should have a campaign in Ireland before Easter. They suit their mode of warfare to their means; they carry on a desperate guerilla contest with Government, in which they give and expect no quarter. Every straggling soldier whom they catch, every guager, every tithe-proctor, every active magistrate who has distinguished himself against them, and whom they rank among their enemies, they put to the sword. This is a dreadful state of things; and the more so, because it sucks into its vortex of guilt men who would shudder at the very thought of committing such enormities, from the ordinary motives which impel to crime.'—(*Letter to a Protestant*, 1819, p. 84.)

The Catholic aristocracy and gentry are generally, we believe, sincerely attached to the English connexion, and are fully aware of the advantages that would result to Ireland from a real union with England. But every writer of authority on Irish affairs, from Mr Wakefield downwards, and all the witnesses examined last year before the Committee of the House of Commons, concur in opinion with Mr Woulfe, that the still existing remnant of the Catholic penal code is the grand source of discord in Ireland, and that it renders the peasantry universally hostile to Government, and disposes them to engage in every scheme of outrage and insurrection.

The events of the two last years have made the character of the Orange association pretty well known to the British public. The trials of Orangemen on the Northern circuits for the murder of Catholics; the habitual packing of Grand Juries in Dublin, as was established by the inquiry into Mr Sheriff Thorpe's conduct, for the double purpose of peculation and oppression; and the open resistance to the act for suppressing illegal associations, set the conduct of this faction in its proper light. But it is the Parliament of England, and not the Orange party, who are really to blame for these excesses. So long as the system of penal exclusion is continued—so long as a small minority of the people of Ireland are *legally* invested with a monopoly of power and privilege,—so long will they combine together to preserve their ascendency in fact, by making an ostentatious display of their superiority, and browbeating their inferiors. Combination on the part of the Orangemen leads again to counter-combination on the part of the Catholics; and thus the whole population of the country are

drawn into illegal associations, are bound by secret oaths and imprecations, and are induced to commit crimes under the supposed sanction of religion!

We believe the Catholic clergy to be, generally speaking—for we must say that there are very many exceptions—a respectable and useful body of men; and we have always held, that it would be of the last importance to endeavour to attach them firmly to Government, and to procure the exertion of their influence to give effect to the laws. But until the penal code be entirely abolished, this great influence will either not be exerted at all, or will be cast into the opposite scale. It is not in the nature of things that the Catholic clergy should entertain either veneration or esteem for a Government which loads them with disabilities, and exposes them and their flocks to the most ignominious treatment; and even if they did entertain this esteem, the strong feeling of hostility to Government, by which their flocks are so generally animated, would prevent them from acting according to their wishes. They have no tithes or glebe-lands on which to depend; so that, if they did not humour the prejudices of those by whom they are supported, they would be left wholly destitute. But if the penal code were once effectually put down, the Catholic clergy might, without exciting any suspicions of their sincerity, enter into negociations with Government, and arrange several matters of the utmost importance. Such a moderate provision might be made for them, as would secure them a respectable station in society, and indemnify them for relinquishing the fees now payable on marriages, baptisms, &c. By this means a double advantage would be gained: The interests of the clergy would be identified with those of Government; and they would no longer have any temptation to encourage the prevailing and ruinous habit of early marriage. Arrangements might also be made for lessening the number of holidays, for allowing the priests to marry, and for improving the present grossly defective system of education. Complete and unqualified emancipation would give us these advantages; and we ask whether it is possible to over-estimate their value and importance?

There is at this moment no such thing as a real union between England and Ireland. The arrangement so designated, is purely nominal; it rests on no solid or substantial basis; the two nations are not bound together by the strong and powerful ties of mutual interest and reciprocal obligation. Ireland regards England as her oppressor, and not as her protector and ally. But if the miserable remnant of the penal code were abolished—if the Catholics were placed on the same level in

law and in fact as the Protestants—new interests and new feelings would arise. The recollection of past sufferings and persecutions would gradually be obliterated; good will and confidence between the different parties in Ireland, and between England and Ireland, would begin to grow up; and the ground would thus be cleared for the adoption of those other measures that are indispensably necessary for raising the peasantry from their present state of poverty and destitution.

And what are the evils to be apprehended from complete and unqualified emancipation? What imaginable danger could result from admitting, at most, twenty Catholic gentlemen among the six hundred and fifty-eight who compose the House of Commons, and some half dozen Catholic Peers into the House of Lords? But setting these dangers in the most exaggerated point of view, are they to be compared, even for one single moment, with the danger resulting from the determined hostility of the whole Catholic population of Ireland? The man who can maintain the affirmative of so monstrous a proposition, is fitter for a cell in Bedlam, than for a seat in the Legislature. 'Lord Eldon,' says Mr Wakefield, 'is reported to have said in the House of 'Lords, on the 18th of June 1811, "Give me your distinct 'propositions, explain to me your safeguards and securities, and 'I will most anxiously consider and examine them," as if there 'were any safeguard or security equal to that which would arise 'from promoting Catholic industry. Industry would create 'wealth; wealth would supply all those comforts of life which 'are objects of human industry; and it is in the enjoyment of 'these and the fear of losing them, that we must look for that 'attachment to country, which forms the surest pledge of loyal-'ty and good conduct. Penal laws are a delusive defence plan-'ned by ignorance, founded on injustice, reared by the unhal-'lowed hands of tyranny, and continued by folly. No bulwarks 'can be equal to the affection and loyalty of a free people. 'Place the Catholics of Ireland on the same footing as the Pro-'testants, and no cause will be left for complaint; their destiny 'will then be inseparably connected with that of their country, 'and they will be sensible that it is their duty as well as their 'interest to maintain a constitution, by the justice of which they 'enjoy their rights, and to the stability of which they must look 'up for their protection.' (Vol. II. p. 589.)

The folly and violence of the Catholic leaders have operated most injuriously and unjustly on the cause of emancipation. Nothing, indeed, can be more unfair than to judge of the feelings and views of the more opulent and intelligent portion of the Catholics, from the conduct of that junto of agitators who

have gained an ascendancy in the Association. None can think more contemptuously of these persons than we do. Their whole object seems to be to acquire an ephemeral and worthless popularity, by pandering to the worst passions and prejudices of the mob; nor if they were really actuated by a desire to thwart the very cause they pretend to advocate, could they possibly follow another line of conduct leading so directly to that end. But though it were true that the proceedings of the Association were approved by every Catholic in Ireland, that ought not to make us withhold emancipation one hour longer; on the contrary, it ought to be considered as an additional reason for granting it. So long as any fragment of the penal code exists, so long will there be dissatisfaction, rancour and disgust, brooding in the minds of the people; and while such is the case, artful and designing, and, it may be, well intentioned and honest, individuals will indulge in inflammatory harangues, and will endeavour to recommend their own quack nostrums, and poisonous drugs, as the only certain and infallible means of restoring the public economy to a sound state of health. But if you repeal the penal laws, the occupation of these spurious Othellos will be instantly gone. If you place the Catholics on the same level as the Protestants, it will be the bounden duty of Government effectually to suppress every association and combination for political purposes, that bears any considerable resemblance to any one of those that have been formed in Ireland during the last hundred years. But until you do this, you must bear with the violence of the Catholics; for it is the natural and necessary result of that system of exclusion and misgovernment, on which you are still acting. 'Are we,' asks Mr Burke, in his first letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, 'to be astonished, when, by the effort of so 'much violence in conquest, and so much policy in regulation, 'continued without intermission for more than a hundred years, 'we had reduced them (the Catholics) to a mob, that whenever 'they came to act at all, many of them should act exactly 'like a mob, without temper, measure, or foresight?'—And in a second letter to the same gentleman, he says, 'After people 'have taken your tests prescribed by yourselves, as proofs of their 'allegiance, to be marked as enemies, traitors, or at least suspected and dangerous persons, who are not to be believed on their 'oaths, we are not to be surprised if they fall into a passion, and 'talk as men in a passion do, intemperately and idly.'

No one, we trust, will do us the injustice to suppose, that we mean to represent the emancipation of the Catholics as being of itself a sovereign panacea for all the miseries of Ireland. Nothing can be more remote from our opinions: And we shall

endeavour, in the subsequent part of this article, to indicate some of those measures which seem to us to be essentially necessary, for removing other grievances, and for rescuing the peasantry from that abyss of destitution and necessity in which they are now plunged. But without emancipation in the broadest sense of the phrase—without emancipation in *law* and in *fact*—without the abolition of every existing legal disability, and the adoption of a system of the most rigid impartiality on the part of Government, it would be worse than absurd to suppose that the spirit of discord should depart from the land, and that the foundations of national wealth or prosperity should be laid. Emancipation is an indispensable preliminary measure. 'It is not a charm 'that will allay every discontent, or remove every grievance; but 'it is a *sine qua non* to this being done, and without it no sys-'tem of measures can be successful.' *

2. *Government and Magistracy.*—The defective state of the Magistracy, and of the administration of the laws, is the second great cause of the discontent and disaffection existing in Ireland. Dr Bell has observed, in his admirable Tract on *the Manners and Condition of the Peasantry of Ireland*, that 'if a poor 'person is injured by one in a higher station, he may as well 'apply to the Grand Seignior for a guard of Janissaries, as to 'the laws of his country for redress.' (p. 31.) Mr Wakefield, Mr Ponsonby, Lord Kingston, Mr Grant, Sir Henry Parnell, and an endless list of other authorities of the highest character, and who enjoyed the best means of acquiring information, have joined in reprobating, in the strongest terms, the gross corruption, neglect, and scandalous partiality of many of the Irish magistrates. Even Lord Redesdale, who had been Chancellor of Ireland, publicly stated in his place in the House of Lords, in July 1822, '*That he had been connected with that ill-*'*fated country, Ireland, for the last twenty years; and he was* '*sorry to say, that there existed in it two sorts of justice, the one* '*for the rich, the other for the poor, and both equally ill adminis-*'*tered!*' The higher order of gentry, partly from a dislike to the trouble of the office, and partly from a desire not to expose themselves to the obloquy and danger consequent upon a faithful discharge of its duties, very frequently decline qualifying themselves to act as Justices of the Peace; so that this important situation is generally filled by persons in an inferior station, without property or leisure, without a sufficiently liberal education, without the slightest disposition to decide according to the law, of which, indeed, they are in most cases entirely ignorant, and

* Mr Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816.

influenced solely by the most violent party feelings and prejudices. It is clear that such magistrates can be nothing else than intolerable nuisances. We speak from a full and perfect knowledge of the subject, when we say, that the great object of a large proportion of the magistrates of Ireland is to forward their own party and selfish purposes, and that they are either occupied in screening powerful culprits, or in denying redress to the poor who solicit their interposition. Dr Bell tells us, that the magistrates of Ireland were formerly in the habit of making a *gentleman* compound for the most violent assault and battery, by paying *half-a-crown* to the poor man who had the hardihood to complain of such brutality! (p. 32.) And now they exert their influence with the Grand Jury, to get the bills thrown out; or, if that should fail, and conviction take place, to procure the mitigation or remission of the punishment.

Government has at length become sensible of the wretched state of the Irish magistracy; and has recently made a considerable encroachment on the peculiar jurisdiction of the magistrates, by making an assistant barrister, with a salary, Chairman of the Quarter-sessions. This innovation has been attended with the best effects; and this experience, and the flagrant abuses of the present system, will, we trust, incline Ministers to carry the principle of reform much farther. We hope, therefore, that we shall not be considered as presumptuous if we venture to suggest, that an assistant barrister, with a salary, should be made Chairman of the *Petty* as well as of the Quarter-sessions; that the number of unpaid magistrates should be reduced to fifteen, or, at most, twenty in every county; that no clergyman, whether Protestant or Catholic, should on any account be placed in the Commission of the Peace; that no gentleman should be placed in it who is not possessed of at least 1000*l.* a year of landed property; that no magistrate should be *allowed to act at his own house*, but only when associated with the assistant barrister at the Petty-sessions; that these sessions should be held every day, and on successive days, in different parts of the county; that if the county be above the medium size, two or more barristers should be appointed; that the powers of all city magistrates, of manor courts, and of all inferior courts, should be abolished; and that an assistant barrister should be appointed to each city.

If some such plan as this were adopted—if no barristers were appointed under five years standing at the Bar—if their salaries were such as to be a fair remuneration to men of ability, and if the prospect of higher promotion in their profession were liberally opened to those who distinguished themselves by their

impartiality, industry, and conciliatory conduct, they would have the strongest inducements to act fairly and honourably: At the same time that the magistrates, acting along with the assistant barrister, would be highly respectable, and would prevent, by their interference, any inconvenience that might be expected to arise from placing the administration of the laws wholly in the hands of stipendiary officers. We cannot doubt that such a reform as this would be productive of signal advantage. Protection would henceforth be extended to all classes and sects without fear or affection; and that sale and denial of justice, which has distinguished the conduct of the Irish magistrates up to this hour, would be for ever put an end to.

But no reform of the magistracy can ever have its natural and full effect, so long as any civil disabilities, on account of religion, are suffered to exist. A sectarian and partisan spirit vitiates and contaminates every thing, but above all the judicial character. It has the effect to give a suspicious colour, an appearance of partiality, to the acts even of the most upright Judge. 'It is in vain,' says an intelligent Irishman, 'while 'penal exclusion exists, to preach to the Catholic peasant the 'doctrine of equal justice between Catholic and Protestant. So 'long as he sees the Judges, the Sheriffs, and their official de-'pendants exclusively Protestants;—the bigotted portion of the 'clergy on the bench of magistrates, their very bigotry and 'propensity to intermeddle in politics often forming their only 'title to that office;—the beneficed parson the Judge, and, in 'the ecclesiastical courts, the sole Judge of tithe cases, and of 'the numerous questions thence arising—often adjudging the 'claims set up by his own tithe-farmer—it is not within the 'power of rhetoric to persuade him to rely on procuring redress 'from oppression from such magistrates. So long as the wretch-'ed remnant of the Catholic code remains, so long will it ex-'cite suspicions of partiality—so long will every error—every 'accidental slip—and many such must occur in a country like 'Ireland—of the civil or judicial magistrate, be imputed to a 'premeditated design, on the part of the Protestants, to tram-'ple under foot those whom such distinctions continue to de-'grade.' *

But when the Catholic code shall be repealed, and some such reform in the magistracy been effected as we have ventured to propose; when seats on the Bench become objects of ambition, to which Catholic as well as Protestant barristers may aspire;

* Reflections on the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 53, 55.

when clergymen, and the zealots of all sects, are excluded from the commission of the Peace; when Justices are obliged to act in open court, and under the eye and with the advice of a professional lawyer; when these things are done, and they may all be accomplished without difficulty, the peasantry will cease to regard the law only as an engine of oppression in the hands of the rich; they will gradually be taught to rely on its justice for protection; and will no longer trust to illegal combinations and associations to redress their wrongs, and repair their grievances.

It is unnecessary to repeat what we formerly stated respecting the venality and corruption of the Sub-sheriffs of Ireland. They still continue to fatten amidst all the rank luxuriance of the most profligate jobbing. This is the more extraordinary, as the law respecting those functionaries in Ireland is exactly the same as in England; the injured party has the same means of redress open to him; and the Court of King's Bench possesses the same powers of punishment. It is difficult, therefore, to come to any other conclusion, from the fact of the continued and prosperous delinquency of the Irish sub-sheriffs, than that the Judges of the King's Bench have been negligent in the performance of their duties with respect to them; for we know that it is not from want of attachments of sheriffs, that the evil has not been corrected. We have reason to believe, that the conduct of the Sub-sheriffs is now under the consideration of the Commissioners of Law Inquiry; but we hope that no scheme for reforming that office, that may have the effect to lessen the responsibility of the judges of the King's Bench, will be recommended. The judges have ample powers to repress the corruption of sheriffs; and they should be compelled to use these powers effectively, and to subvert a system which could not have grown to the baleful maturity it has attained, except by their inattention or connivance.

We regret to find that no steps have hitherto been taken for appointing Lords Lieutenant to the counties of Ireland. The want of such officers was fully admitted by Mr Peel, when the new Constable's Bill was under discussion, in 1822. It is said that proper persons could not be obtained to fill the office; but this is a mere pretext for doing nothing. The truth is, that it would be necessary, in order to make way for these officers, to displace several peers and county members, who now hold the nominal office of Governors of Counties, and that it would, moreover, be necessary to deprive these personages of their patronage and influence as colonels of militia, &c., inasmuch as it would be absolutely indispensable that all this patronage and influence should belong to the Lords Lieutenant. We trust,

however, that these trifling difficulties and obstacles will not be much longer allowed to stand in the way of the appointment of this highly useful class of public functionaries. If resident noblemen, or gentlemen of character and fortune, were appointed Lords Lieutenant, Government would, in future, have to deal with high public officers, who would feel themselves responsible for the conduct of their subalterns, and for the peace of their counties. Hitherto, in periods of danger and commotion, ministers, having no respectable individual in any quarter of the country, on whose statements and representations they could rely, have been obliged to derive their intelligence from the most suspicious sources. Every scheming and cunning magistrate, in every part of the country, has been in the habit of considering exaggerated representations as the surest test of loyalty, and the shortest and safest road to favour and patronage. In consequence, the offices of Government have been inundated with the memorials of Orangemen and alarmists, full of the most inveterate prejudices against their Catholic countrymen, regardless of the truth of their statements, and desirous only that they should make an impression, and thus become the means of enabling them to claim a reward for their services. Government has thus been continually deceived and deluded with respect to the real state of the country; and the most injudicious measures have, in consequence, been adopted. And we are not aware that there are any other means of subverting this injurious system, so easy, so constitutional, and withal so effectual, as the appointing of a well selected Lord Lieutenant to each county, who should be responsible for the public peace, and from whom Government might obtain that authentic information with respect to the state and feelings of the people, of which they seem hitherto to have had so little.

The new Constabulary Bill, though perhaps bordering too closely on the *gendarmerie* system, has, on the whole, been productive of the greatest advantage. The constables have now become an efficient species of force; and the protection they have afforded to witnesses and jurors, has been eminently serviceable, and has been the means of enabling several notorious criminals to be brought to justice.

There is a considerable Yeomanry corps existing in Ireland; but this is a species of force which never has been, and never can be, advantageously employed to maintain the peace of such a country. The yeomanry are at this moment, what they were twenty years ago, almost exclusively Protestants and Orangemen; and we have the authority of Mr Wakefield for stating, that it was 'their imprudence, *their excesses, and their*

'*bacchanalian exultations*, that enabled the Republicans to 'rouse the feelings of the Roman Catholics in 1798, and excite 'them to rebellion.'—(Vol. II. p. 370.) Should the civil power of the country and the police be at any time insufficient to repress disorder, and to enforce the due execution of the law, none but regular troops ought ever to be called to their assistance. It is their officer's fault if regular troops act improperly. A well disciplined soldier is a machine, made to shoot and be shot at. He is not fanatical,—he has no partialities, no hatreds, no antipathies;—he does what he is ordered, and he does no more. But a yeoman is inflamed with all the prejudices peculiar to the district or sect to which he belongs. When a corps of such persons is called to suppress a disturbance, neighbour is opposed to neighbour, Catholic to Protestant, and civil war appears in its worst and most disgusting form. Had none but regular troops been employed at Manchester, on the 16th of August 1819, the disastrous events which then occurred would most probably have been avoided; and, at any rate, would have left infinitely less of rancour and irritation behind them. But the employment of yeomanry is a thousand times more objectionable in Ireland than in England. Enrolment in that species of force, being a privilege conferred on a small minority only, adds to the exaggerated notions they entertain of their own importance, and enables them to trample with impunity on their fellow subjects. There is in fact a rooted antipathy between the yeomanry and the great body of the Irish people. The humanity, prudence, and forbearance of the regular troops in 1798, formed, says Mr Wakefield, the most striking contrast to the conduct of the militia and yeomanry; and he adds, that '*the moment the lat-* 'ter were separated from the army, confidence was restored, and 'rebellion shrunk back into the concealment whence it had issu-'ed.'—(Vol. II. p. 372.) To keep such a force embodied, or to employ it, is of itself almost enough to excite outrage.

Perhaps, however, there is no one measure that would do so much to improve the administration of Ireland, and to divest it of that character of partisanship which has been its bane, as the abolition of the office of Lord-Lieutenant, and of the *colonial* and dependent Government of Ireland, by placing the entire management of Irish affairs in the hands of a Secretary of State resident in London, and having a seat in the Cabinet. This arrangement, by bringing the circumstances and condition of Ireland daily under the notice of ministers, and by rendering the whole Cabinet *directly* responsible for all that was done there, would get rid at once of all those petty provin-

cial cabals, which have always distracted and disgraced the mimic courts of the Irish viceroys. Where parties run so high as in Ireland, it is impossible for any Lord-Lieutenant to keep himself wholly aloof from them: But if the government were carried on in London, their effects would be comparatively impotent, and public measures would cease to be influenced by local considerations and a system of favouritism. The facility of communication between London and Dublin, renders it just as easy for a Secretary of State, resident in London, to govern Ireland, as to govern Cornwall or Cumberland. Indeed the business of the army and revenue is now wholly transacted in London, independently altogether of the Lord-Lieutenant; and we have yet to learn why the other, and less important, duties of government, may not also be discharged there.

The objection to the abolition of the office of Lord-Lieutenant, principally relied on by Mr Goulbourn and Mr Peel, is founded on the supposed difficulty that it would occasion in taking the opinion of Government in cases of capital conviction. But this objection is not entitled to any weight; for it is founded on a practice that prevails in Ireland, and which ought to be reformed, of trying every case of a capital conviction, first at the Assizes, and again in the chamber of the Lord-Lieutenant or his Secretary. No such thing takes place in England. If a man is sentenced to be hanged, the sentence is carried into execution on the day fixed by the judge, unless that judge thinks proper to respite him, or to forward a recommendation of mercy to Government. If there was any thing in this objection, it would apply with infinitely greater force to Scotland, or even Cornwall, both of which are farther from London than most of the Irish counties.

It is idle to refer to the quantity of business that occupies the Irish government. The fact is, that Ireland is over-governed. Every thing of the most trivial kind is submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. If the lighting or paving of the streets of Dublin is defective, an address is voted, and a numerous body of deputies appointed to carry it to the foot of the Throne. Every little junto of magistrates assembled at petty sessions, and every bustling and prodigiously loyal individual magistrate, is in constant communication with the Lord Lieutenant, and Messrs Goulbourn and Gregory impose on themselves the useless task of writing long and laboured replies to questions of no importance whatever. Abolish the office of Lord Lieutenant, and we venture to say, that ninety-nine parts out of a hundred of all the business that now occupies it will instantly cease, and the local authorities will learn, as in England, to do their duty, without perpetually pestering Government with representations,

Were the separate government of Ireland abolished, the public attention would be less distracted by party violence.—When a Lord Lieutenant, like the Duke of Richmond, favours Orange politics, he is the object of the unceasing attacks of Catholic orators and newspapers; and when, on the other hand, a Lord Lieutenant, like Lord Wellesley, is suspected of leaning to the Catholics, or meritoriously endeavours, as his Lordship has done, to conduct the government on a system of impartiality, he is assailed by all the ribald vulgarity of the Orange party, who, ten times more foul-mouthed than their opponents, scruple not to vilify and misrepresent his whole conduct, and to hold him up as an enemy to the constitution. In this way the public mind is kept constantly in a state of feverish and diseased excitement; the authority of government is brought into contempt; no real improvement can be matured, or even thought of; but a spirit of recrimination, slander, and violence, insinuates itself into every village, and even into every cabin.

But if the total abolition of the office of Lord Lieutenant should still appear too sweeping a change to be effected at once, there can be no imaginable reason why it should not be modified. The shadow of the thing will please the Irish mob, who are attached to this, as they are to many more of the evils that afflict their country, quite as well as the substance. If the office of Lord Lieutenant is to be kept up, its duties ought at all events to be confined to those that are wholly executive. Every thing belonging to the originating or perfecting of political measures, or the disposal of patronage, should be vested in the hands of a Secretary of State for Ireland, resident in London, and having a seat in the Cabinet. The office of chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant might be changed into that of under Secretary of State; and a second under Secretary might be appointed to reside in Dublin, and to form the channel of communication between the Irish Secretary resident in London, and those with whom he may have to transact business in Ireland. The sham Privy Council of the Lord Lieutenant should be entirely suppressed. Every order should emanate directly from London. And as the government would, under the plan we have proposed, be in regular communication with responsible Lords Lieutenant in the different counties, and would have an efficient magistracy to execute its orders, consistency and vigour would be given to the administration. The Lord Lieutenant would be as much, and as directly under the control of Ministers, as the commander of the forces, and would only have to execute certain specified and unimportant duties. The Castle would cease to be the theatre of plots and intrigues—the government would cease to be pro-

vincial—and Ireland would cease to 'see a system with every Secretary, and a Secretary with every summer.'

3. *Church Establishment and Tithes.*—The existing Church Establishment, may be considered as a principal source both of the discontent and disaffection, and of the poverty and misery of Ireland. The population of Ireland in 1821 amounted to about *seven millions:* and we have the concurrent authority of all the writers best acquainted with the state of Ireland, as Dr Beaufort, Mr Newenham, Mr Wakefield, Mr Tighe, and others, for stating, that at the very least *six* millions of this number are Catholics; and that the remaining million is about equally divided between the members of the Established Church, and the Presbyterians and other dissenters. Now, without presuming to question the policy of making the religion of so small a fraction of the population the Established religion of the country, it is surely impossible to deny, that the numbers of the Established clergy, and the revenues destined for their support, ought to bear some reasonable proportion to the number of their flocks, and the extent and laboriousness of their duties. These considerations have, however, been entirely overlooked in Ireland. The 500,000 Lutherans of that island have an establishment which costs little less than the establishment for *nine millions* of Lutherans costs the people of England. In England there are twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops, and in Ireland there are twenty-two! Mr Wakefield has stated, that, exclusive of their other revenues, which are very large, the estates of *five* only of these dignitaries would, if fairly let, and properly managed, be worth 530,000*l.* a year, or nearly twice as much as the entire revenue of the English Bishops! This estimate has been accused of exaggeration; but the following extracts from the returns to an order of the House of Commons (11th of February 1824), of the quantity of land belonging to the different Sees, *exclusive of glebe lands*, will show that there is but little reason for this charge.

Sees.	No. of Irish Acres.*	Sees.	No. of Irish Acres.
Derry - -	94,836	Tuam - -	49,281
Armagh - -	63,470	Elphin - -	31,017
Kilmore - -	51,350	Clogher - -	32,817
Dublin - -	28,781	Cork and Ross -	22,755
Meath - -	18,374	Cashel - -	12,800
Ossory - -	13,391	Killaloe - -	11,081

* *Five* Irish acres are about equal to *eight* English.

There are no maps of the Bishops' lands; and as these returns are made up from the accounts of the tenants, it is most probable that they are greatly short of the truth.

Now, it would be worse than idle to set about proving, by argument, that if twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops be, as is admitted on all hands is the case, fully enough for England and Wales, twenty-two such dignitaries must be a great deal too many for Ireland. Every one who knows any thing of the state of Ireland, must be satisfied that one Archbishop for the whole country, and a Bishop for each of the four provinces would be amply sufficient. Neither should it be forgotten, that the dioceses of Cork and Ross, of Leighlin and Ferns, and of Down and Connor, have already been united; and we should like to know the reason why this precedent should not be followed—why such unions should not be made in future, on the death of the present incumbents, until the diocesses are reduced to four. The simple and obvious plan would be, to make over the whole church property to the Treasury, to provide, in the first place, handsome incomes for the Archbishop and four Bishops, and the necessary parish clergy; secondly, to build churches and provide glebes where they are wanting; and, thirdly, to make some decent provision for the Catholic clergy.

In Scotland there are 950 parish clergymen, whose incomes may be taken on a high average at 275*l.* a year each; and as the Scottish clergy are not inferior in point of attainments to any in Europe, as no complaints have ever been made of the manner in which they perform their duty, but, on the contrary, as their exemplary conduct is the theme of well merited and constant eulogy, we can see no reason why the Irish clergy should be better paid than they are. The population of Scotland is 2,135,200, of whom *a third* may be supposed to be dissenters, which, being deducted, leaves about 1500 parishioners of the established kirk to each clergyman. On the same scale the half million of Irish Lutherans would require 331 clergymen, whose incomes, at 275*l.* a year each, would amount to 91,025*l.* But supposing that *double* this number, or that 662 clergymen were necessary in Ireland, because of the Protestants being thinly scattered over the surface of the country, the whole charge for the parochial established clergy would be 182,050*l.* a year; to which, adding 8,000*l.* a year as the income of the archbishop, and 20,000*l.* as the aggregate income of the four bishops, the whole cost of the established clergy would be 210,000*l.* a year, or not more than *one third part* of the entire revenue that either is, or might be, derived from *the church lands alone:* So that, were such a reform as this carried into effect, it would be possible to pro-

vide fully for both the Established and Catholic clergy, and for every other pious purpose, out of the church estates only; and government would have it in their power to abolish, at once and for ever, the whole of the oppressive and odious burden of tithes.

We hold it to be perfectly visionary, to suppose that tranquillity can ever be established in Ireland, so long as the Catholic cottiers and peasants are obliged to pay tithes for the support of a Protestant clergy. 'Place yourselves,' says Mr Wakefield, 'in the situation of a half-famished cottier, surrounded by a wretched family clamorous for food; and judge what his feelings must be, when he sees the tenth part of the produce of his potato-garden exposed at harvest time to public *cant*; or if (as is most common) he has given a promissory note for the payment of a certain sum of money, to compensate for such tithe, when it becomes due, to hear the heart-rending cries of his offspring clinging around him, and lamenting for the milk of which they are deprived by the cow's being driven to the *pound* to be sold to discharge the debt. Such accounts are not the creations of fancy; the facts do exist, and are but too common in Ireland. I have seen the cow, the favourite cow, driven away, accompanied by the sighs, the tears, and the imprecations of a whole family, who were paddling after, through wet and dirt, to take their last affectionate farewell of this their only friend and benefactor at the pound gate. I have heard, with emotions I can scarcely describe, deep curses repeated from village to village, as the cavalcade proceeded. But let us reverse the picture, and behold the effects which are produced by oppression, when the load becomes so oppressive as to extinguish every sentiment in the breast but a desire of revenge. I have beheld at night houses in flames, and for a moment supposed myself in a country exposed to the ravages of war, and suffering from the incursions of an enemy. On the following morning, the most alarming accounts of Thrashers and of Whiteboys have met my ears,—of men who had assembled with weapons of destruction, for the purpose of compelling people to swear not to submit to the payment of tithes. I have been informed of these oppressed people having, in the ebullition of their rage, murdered both proctors and collectors, wreaking their vengeance with every mark of the most savage barbarity.' (Vol. ii. p. 486.)

It has been urged, as an apology for the tithe system, that the clergy are exceedingly moderate in their demands, and that, instead of a tithe, they rarely get a twentieth part of the

produce. We should be glad to believe that this statement is well founded; for, if so, it would plainly form a conclusive argument in favour of the abolition of tithes. The clergy may not get the whole tithe; but the question is not, whether *they* get it, but *whether the occupiers pay it?* Owing partly to the prevalence of non-residence, partly to the extreme division and subdivision of land, and partly and chiefly to the odium and danger consequent upon direct interference, the clergy almost universally let their tithes to a farmer or proctor. It is idle, then, to tell us that the clergy do not get their full tithes. It is not with them, but with their proctors, that the occupiers of the soil have to deal; and instead of its being true, that the proctor's demands are moderate, and that *he* is contented with less than what the letter of the law gives him a right to claim, the fact is distinctly and completely the reverse. The proctor is a harpy who preys on both clergy and people. He gives too little to the one, and takes too much from the other. 'In free countries,' said Mr Grattan, 'the farming of the revenue is not 'permitted. You would not allow it to the King, and you 'ought not to allow it to the Church. It is an evil in politics 'and a scandal in religion; and the more dangerous in the 'latter, because tithe being indefinite, the latitude of extortion 'is indefinite. The use of the tithe-farmer is to get from the 'parishioner what the parson would be ashamed to demand, and 'to enable the parson to absent himself from his duty; the powers 'of the tithe-farmer are summary laws and ecclesiastical courts; 'his livelihood is extortion; his rank in society is generally the 'lowest; and his occupation is to pounce on the poor in the 'name of the Lord! He is a species of wolf left by the shepherd to take care of the flock in his absence. He fleeces 'both, and begins with the parson. A tenth of your land, your 'labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape 'whatever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think 'otherwise who suppose that every thing is little which is given 'to the parson; that no burden can be too heavy if it is the 'weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their 'rents, and tenants their profits, and all too little; but uncertainty aggravates that oppression; the full tenth must ever be 'uncertain as well as oppressive, for it is the fixed proportion 'of a fluctuating quantity; and unless the High Priest can give 'law to the winds, and ascertain the harvest, the tithe, like that 'harvest, must be uncertain. Now, this uncertainty is aggravated by the pernicious motives on which tithe frequently 'rises and falls. It frequently rises on the poor; it falls in 'compliment to the rich. It proceeds on principles the reverse

'of the Gospel; it crouches to the strong, and it encroaches 'on the weak; it is guided by the two worst principles in so- 'ciety, servility and avarice united, against the cause of charity, 'and under the cloak of religion.' (*Speeches, Vol. II.* pp. 44–46.)

Mr Grattan's gigantic efforts, though supported by some of the greatest and best men that Ireland has ever produced, were ineffectual to abate this nuisance. It still continues to be a most prolific source of riot, bloodshed, and murder. We know a Catholic parish in the south of Ireland with very nearly 10,000 inhabitants. Of these *one-sixteenth* part, or 625, only are Protestants, the remaining 9,375 being Catholics. The total amount of the dues and fees of all sorts paid to the Catholic priest, is about 240*l.* a year, of which he pays 80*l.* a year to an assistant. But this Catholic parish forms three Protestant parishes, and part of a fourth, the tithes of which, taken together, amount to not less than 1600*l.* a year; which, as there are very large tracts of grass land in the parish belonging to Protestants, fall almost wholly on the poor Catholic occupiers and cottiers, and occasion endless heartburnings and disputes. The case of almost every parish in Ireland is similar, on a greater or a smaller scale; and it is easy to conceive the consequences of subjecting the whole country to such a system. From a note on a speech of Sir Henry Parnell, it appears, that, in 1807, there were, in five counties of Ireland, no fewer than 1286 actions on cases connected with tithes: And it is stated in the Galway advertiser, of the 18th of October 1822, that 'at the Quarter-sessions at Gort, ONE TITHE PROCTOR 'PROCESSED ELEVEN HUNDRED PERSONS FOR TITHES! *They* '*were all, or most, of the lower order of farmers or peasants:*— 'the expense of each process about *eight* shillings.'* In spring 1822, the inhabitants of Ballity, in the parish of Annadown, in Galway, presented an address to the Grand Jury of that county, in which it is stated, 'We suffer wrongs and oppres- 'sions beyond measure, and every effort made to redress our evils 'has been shamefully suppressed by influence, or baffled by in- 'tricacy. To add to our distresses, the payment of our tithes 'has been intolerable. We are charged much higher for them 'at present, when our wheat sells from 5*s.* to 8*s.* a cwt., than 'formerly when it sold for 25*s.* For the payment of these tithes 'our cattle are driven away at night, under the sanction of a

* It was stated by Sir Henry Parnell, in the House of Commons, that a citation in the Ecclesiastical Court for a tithe of only 18*s.* 10*d.*, costs the defendant 2*l.* 10*s.*

'decree; different instances of which have occurred within this 'fortnight, at a period too when we have no money; several of 'us having been obliged to sell our little collection of wool, though 'in process for a coat. The demand for tithes and costs 'exceeds half the proceeds of our corn. Many of us are 'almost destitute of food and raiment; some amongst us are 'literally starving, and others subsisting solely on damaged 'wheat. What to do, or where to apply for relief, we know 'not; misery is heaped on distress, *and we bear it patiently*, 'rather than forfeit our exemplary character. We thus pu-'blicly disclose our misfortunes, in the hope that if there exists 'now-a-days virtue, integrity, or justice, something may be 'done to correct the present destructive system of tithes, and 'the frauds committed on the poor by a certain class of high 'constables.'

But whatever the inhabitants of Ballity may do, the great mass of the Irish peasantry do not patiently submit to this abominable and grinding rapacity. In despite of Whiteboy acts and Insurrection acts, they continue to wreak their vengeance on their oppressors; and unless they become more or less than men, they will continue to do so until this detestable system be wholly abolished.

We are told, however, and told by Mr Plunkett too, that it is idle to think of redress,—that the evil is irremediable! Tithes are said to be the *property* of the Church; and any scheme for their abolition, or even commutation, is represented as founded on a principle of rapine and spoliation! We are really astonished at the confidence with which this ridiculously absurd dogma has been maintained. It might as well be said that the taxes levied for the support of the army are the *property* of the soldiers, and that any attempt to reduce them would be a violation of the right of property! Tithes are *not* the property of the clergy. They are the property of the public; who give them to the clergy as a reward for their services, and who may, consequently, apply them to other purposes the moment they choose to dispense with these services, or to reduce their wages. Neither tithes, nor Bishops, nor Presbyteries, make any part of the Christian religion. An established Church is a mere human institution; and can boast of no higher or more respectable origin than a customhouse or a standing army. The clergy stand in exactly the same predicament as any other class of public functionaries. *They are servants of the public*, paid for instructing the people in their moral and religious duties; and it is mere drivelling, to suppose that Government has not a right to regulate their salaries, or to dismiss them altogether.

We admit that it would be most unjust to deprive the *present incumbents* of their revenues; and a full compensation, or equivalent ought, therefore, to be given them for whatever they might lose by the adoption of the plan we have recommended. But there is no reason, and there can be none, why the tithe system should be made perpetual,—why the public should be made to support the same number of established clergymen in all time to come, and to pay them *five* or *six* times the sum that would suffice to procure the services of an equally learned and pious body of men. No man of ordinary understanding will ever be induced to believe, that those who support the flagrant and almost inconceivable abuses of the Irish tithe system, do so, lest in subverting it they should be invading the right of property! Every one must see that tithes are nothing more than an arbitrary, oppressive, and ruinous tax on the gross produce of the land, exclusively laid out in paying the wages of a particular class of public servants. And although it were neither expedient nor politic to reduce the number of these servants, nor to lower their wages, Government would be just as little liable to the charge of injustice, or of invading the rights of property, were they to do so, as they are when they pay off a line of battle ship, or reduce the wages of the seamen.

It is due to the Marquis Wellesley to state, that he has been the first statesman who has had courage to meddle with tithes. Not that we think the bill introduced by Mr Goulbourn, and since passed into a law, can be of any material service. It is in vain to palter with the Irish tithe system. In fact, the only thing good about it, is the impossibility of mending it. But the late measure is valuable, inasmuch as it fully recognises the principle of Parliament interfering to regulate the incomes of the clergy—a principle which must be acted upon to an infinitely greater extent, before tranquillity can be restored to Ireland.

These three—the penal disabilities under which the Catholics still labour, the defective state of the Government and Magistracy, and the Tithe system—seem to us to be the main sources of the violent religious and party animosities with which Ireland has been so long distracted and disgraced. We have endeavoured briefly to trace the effects resulting from each of these sources of contention, and to show how they might be dried up and tranquillity restored. The remedies we have proposed are all easy of adoption—and if Government would but honestly and earnestly set about the work of reform, a few years would make the greatest possible change on the condition of the country. 'Laws of coercion, perhaps necessary, certainly severe,

'you have put forth already, but your great engine of power 'you have hitherto kept back; that engine which the pride of 'the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the 'high-priest, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the Inqui- 'sition, with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of; 'the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, 'comes forth and overlays mankind by services—the ENGINE 'OF REDRESS; this is government, and this is the only descrip- 'tion worth your ambition!'* This engine must be brought into the field, or Ireland will be lost. Hitherto the dominant party in that country have entirely overlooked the real cause of the disturbances and atrocities of which she has been the theatre. It does not lie in the perverse habits and inclination of the wretches whom they have trampled upon, oppressed, and sent to the gallows, but in *themselves*—in their own domineering, rapacious, and intolerant behaviour. If they reform their own conduct entirely, the peasantry, they may be assured, will not be long in reforming theirs. Let them bear in mind, 'that '*exile and death are not the instruments of government, but the* '*miserable expedients which show the absence of all government.*'† Let them treat the mass of the people like men who ought to be as free, and who have the same rights and feelings as themselves, and those disorders, which are the result of religious and political animosities, will soon cease to disturb and harass society.

II. With respect to the *second* great branch of our inquiry, or that which has for its object to discover the causes of the extreme poverty and destitution of the Irish peasantry, we believe it would be correct to say, that the oppression and misgovernment to which they have been so long subjected have had, even in this respect, a very powerful influence. Political degradation most frequently leads to extreme poverty. Oppression, like that which has been practised in Ireland, lowers the moral dignity of the people; it sinks them in their own estimation; and, as it takes away all rational expectation of rising in the world by the mere exertion of honest industry, it effectually prevents its being made. Moral restraint cannot be expected to have much influence in a country so circumstanced. An enslaved and degraded population eagerly grasp at any immediate gratification within their reach, and, reckless of the consequences, plunge into every excess. But as we have shown how these causes of degradation may be removed, we shall not

* Grattan's Speeches, Vol. II. p. 69.

† Mr Plunkett's Speech, 26th April, 1816.

farther insist on this point; but shall now proceed to show on what the rate of wages depends, and to investigate the more important of the causes, not hitherto noticed, which have tended to sink that rate in Ireland to a pittance so low as hardly to be able to support mere animal existence.

That the power of employing labour possessed by any country does not depend either on the fertility or extent of its territory, but on the *amount of its capital*, is a fundamental principle in the science of wealth, and it is one respecting which there is no longer any room for doubt or difference of opinion. By capital is meant all that portion of the national stock employed to maintain productive labourers, or to facilitate production. It comprehends the food and clothes of the workman, the raw materials on which he exerts his industry, and the various tools and machines of whose assistance he avails himself. There is no other fund from which the labourers can possibly draw the smallest portion of their subsistence: *And hence it is that the amount of subsistence falling to the share of each labourer at any given period, or the rate of wages, must wholly and entirely depend on the proportion which the national capital bears to the amount of the labouring population.* If the amount of capital be increased without a corresponding increase taking place in the population, a larger share of such capital will necessarily fall to each individual, or, which is the same thing, the rate of wages will be proportionally increased; and if, on the other hand, population is increased faster than capital, a less share will be apportioned to each individual, or the rate of wages will be proportionally reduced. The well-being and comfort of the labouring classes are, therefore, especially dependent on the proportion which their increase bears to the increase of the capital that is to support and employ them. If they increase faster than capital, their wages will be progressively reduced; and if they increase slower than capital, they will be progressively augmented. In fact, there are no means whatever by which the command of the labouring class over the necessaries and conveniences of life can be really augmented, other than by accelerating the increase of capital, or by retarding the increase of population; and every scheme for improving the condition of the poor, not founded on this principle, or which has not for its object to increase the ratio of capital to population, must be wholly and completely ineffectual.

The principle we have now stated, goes very far indeed to explain the cause of the misery of the Irish peasantry. It is certainly true that there has been a considerable increase in the capital of Ireland during the last hundred years; though

no one in the least acquainted with the progress of the different parts of the empire, has ever presumed to say that this increase has been either a *third* or even a *fourth*, so great as the increase of capital in England and Scotland during the same period. But the increase of *population* in Ireland as compared with its increase in Britain, has been widely different from the increase in the *capital* of the two countries, or in their means of maintaining and supporting population. According to the tables given in the Parliamentary Reports, the population of Britain amounted, in 1720, to 6,955,000, and in 1821, it amounted to 14,391,000, having a little more than doubled in the course of the century. But from the same Reports it appears, that the population of Ireland, whose capital had increased in so very inferior a proportion to that of Britain, amounted to a very little more than *two* millions in 1731, and to very near *seven* millions in 1821; having nearly *quadrupled* in less time than the population of Britain took to *double!*

Attempts have been made to show, that the population of Ireland in former periods has been underrated, and that its increase has not really been so rapid as we have represented. But these attempts have entirely failed of their object; and have served only to confirm the conclusions they were intended to subvert. The first authentic account of the population of Ireland, is given by Sir William Petty, in his admirable little tract entitled the *Political Anatomy of Ireland.* Sir William had been employed by Government to superintend the survey and valuation of the forfeited estates, instituted during the Protectorate; and so well did he execute his task, that this survey still continues, after the lapse of near two centuries, to be the standard of reference in the courts of law, as to all points of property. He had, therefore, the best means of obtaining accurate information with respect to the numbers and condition of the people; and as the results of his researches on these points are exceedingly curious, we shall give them in his own words.

'The number of people now in Ireland (1672) is about '1,100,000, viz. 300,000 English, Scotch, and Welch Pro-'testants, and 800,000 Papists; whereof one-fourth are child-'ren unfit for labour, and about 75,000 of the remainder are, 'by reason of their quality and estates, above the necessity of 'corporal labour; so as there remains 750,000 labouring men 'and women, 500,000 whereof do perform the present work 'of the nation.

'The said 1,100,000 people do live in about 200,000 fami-'lies or houses, whereof there are about 16,000 which have 'more than one chimney in each, and about 24,000 which have

'but one; all the other houses, being 160,000, are wretched 'nasty cabins, without chimney, window, or door-shut, even 'worse than those of the savage Americans, and wholly unfit 'for the making merchantable butter, cheese, or the manufac-'tures of woollen, linen, or leather.

'By comparing the extent of the territory with the num-'ber of people, it appears that Ireland *is much under-peo-'pled; forasmuch as there are above* 10 *acres of good land to 'every head in Ireland; whereas in England and France there 'are but four, and in Holland scarce one!*' (Pol. Anatomy of Ireland, pp. 114 and 118, ed. 1719.

In 1731 an inquiry was instituted, by order of the House of Lords of Ireland, for ascertaining the population, through the medium of the magistrates and established clergy, the result of which gives a population of 2,010,221. At this period, and for long after, Ireland was essentially a *grazing* country. To such an extent, indeed, was the pasturage system carried, that, in 1727, during the administration of Primate Boulter, a law was made to compel every occupier of 100 acres of land to cultivate at least *five* acres, under a penalty of 40s.!

According to the returns of the hearth-money collectors, the number of houses in Ireland in

1754, was	395,439		2,372,634
1767, —	424.646	Which allowing *six*	2,544,276
1777, —	448,426	inhabitants to each	2,690,556
1785, —	474,322	house, gives a po-	2,845,932
1788, —	650,000	pulation of	3,900,000
1791, —	701,102		4,206,612

An incomplete census was taken in 1812, from which the population was computed at 5,937,856: And by the last and complete census taken in 1821, it appears that Ireland contained, at that epoch, a population of 6,801,827, which were thus distributed:

Leinster, - -	1,757,492
Munster, - - -	1,935,612
Ulster, - -	1,998,494
Connaught, - -	1,110,229
	6,801,827

Now the area of Ireland, measured on Arrowsmith's map, consists of 31,640 square miles, of 69.15 to a degree, which gives, on an average, 215 persons to each square mile! But the average of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, is not less than 240—a density of population far exceeding what is to be found in the richest and best cultivated countries of Europe. England and Wales with

their improved agriculture, their immense manufacturing and commercial wealth, and their populous cities, have only 207 persons to a square mile; and the Netherlands, full of wealth, cities, and people, can only boast of a population of 212 to a square mile, being 23 *less* than the average of Munster! Connaught, covered with bogs and morasses, and without one great town, has, notwithstanding, a population of 137 to each square mile; while the Lowlands of Scotland, with Glasgow, Edinburgh, Paisley, Perth, Dundee, &c. to swell their numbers, have only a population of 127! Ireland, therefore, sunk as she is in beggary and destitution, *is the most densely peopled country in the world.* Other countries only become populous when they have the means of comfortably supporting a large population; but Ireland is populous without wealth—she is populous because her inhabitants are satisfied with the merest pittance that can support existence—because they have consented to divide among *three*, food and clothing not more than sufficient for *one!*

It is undoubtedly this excessive amount of population that is the immediate and proximate cause of the want of an effectual demand for labour in Ireland, and of the squalid and abject poverty of the people. The number of persons soliciting employment, compared with the means of employing them, is so very great, that wages have been reduced to the lowest pittance that can afford the smallest supply of the coarsest and cheapest species of food necessary to support human life. All the witnesses examined by the Committee of the House of Commons on *The Employment of the Poor of Ireland* in 1823, concur in representing their numbers as excessive, and their condition as wretched in the extreme. Their cabins are utterly unprovided with any thing that can be called furniture; in many families there are no such things as bedclothes; the children, in extensive districts of Munster and the other provinces, have not a single rag to cover their nakedness; and whenever the potato crop becomes even in a slight decree deficient, the scourge of famine and disease is felt in every corner of the country. The Right Honourable Maurice Fitzgerald, M. P., mentions that he had known the peasantry of Kerry quit their houses in search of employment, 'offering to work 'for the meerest subsistence that could be obtained, for *two-* 'pence a day, in short for any thing that would purchase food 'enough to keep them alive for the ensuing twenty-four hours.' (*Report*, p. 158.) Mr Sterne Tighe mentions, that 'the num- 'ber of people supported in Ireland by charity is quite incon- 'ceivable; they must be supported either by charity, or by pillage

'and plunder; to the want of employment I attribute every 'thing that afflicts and disgraces that country.' (*Report*, p. 108.) And Dr Rogan, whose excellent work on the Fever in the North of Ireland was published in 1819, states that, 'throughout the extensive counties of Tyrone, Donegall, and 'Derry, the population is only limited by the *difficulty of procuring food.* Owing to the universal adoption of the cottier system, and to the custom of dividing farms among the sons, on 'the death of the father, *the labouring classes are infinitely more 'numerous than are required for the purposes of industry.* Under these circumstances, they are engaged in a constant struggle for the bare necessaries of life, and never enjoy its comforts.' (p. 8.)

These statements, which might, were it necessary, be multiplied to infinity, conclusively show, that a vast increase has taken place in the population of Ireland, and that it is now both superabundant and miserable in the extreme. And hence, the obvious and undeniable inference, that, in the event of the population having increased less rapidly than it has done, there would have been fewer individuals soliciting employment, and that consequently the rate of wages would have been proportionally higher, and the condition of the poor so far improved. No proposition, then, can be more true, than that *the unexampled misery of the Irish people is directly owing to the excessive augmentation of their numbers*; and nothing can be more perfectly silly and childish, than to expect any real or lasting amendment in their situation, until an effectual check has been given to the progress of population. Our next object will therefore be, to investigate the causes which have occasioned this extraordinary increase, and to point out the means by which they may be counteracted.

1. The Bounty acts of 1783 and 1784, seem to have given the first great stimulus to the population of Ireland. When the patriotic efforts of GRATTAN and the Volunteers had achieved the nominal independence of Ireland, and procured the abolition of those oppressive and absurd restrictions, with which the ignorant jealousy of the British Parliament had fettered her foreign commerce, the Irish Parliament make a powerful effort to awaken the industry and stimulate the energies of the people. But unfortunately the means resorted to by them for the accomplishment of this desirable purpose, were not of a kind that could possibly be productive of any lasting or real advantage. Instead of contenting themselves with breaking down the restraints under which they had laboured, and giving freedom to commerce, they had recourse to all the artificial expedients of the restrictive system. In imitation of the erroneous policy of

England, they granted high bounties on the exportation of corn and other raw produce (three shillings and fourpence per barrel on wheat, and other grain in proportion), at the same time that they laid prohibitory duties on their importation from abroad. In vain did one or two members urge, that though the bounty system might be apparently beneficial for a few years, it could not be otherwise than injurious in the end. Their feeble, and, as it was considered, anti-national opposition was drowned amid general acclamations, and measures which have done irreparable mischief to Ireland, were hailed with the enthusiastic plaudits of her choicest patriots!

Previously to the passing of the Bounty Acts (28 and 24 Geo. III. cap. 19.), Ireland was, as we have already stated, essentially a *grazing* country. But no sooner had they been passed, than the pasturage system gave place to tillage. The unnatural and artificial enhancement of prices caused by the bounty and the restriction on importation, occasioned an immediate and extraordinary increase of cultivation. In proof of this, we subjoin the following *official* account of the number of barrels of barley, oats, and wheat, exported from Ireland in the undermentioned periods:—

Exported from Ireland, on an average of the 3 years ended,	Barrels.			
	Barley.	Oats.	Wheat.	Oatmeal.
25 March 1773,	6,445	22,956	2,022	54,825
Do. 1783,	19,696	106,570	60,246	25,467
Do. 1789,	83,929	325,072	110,337	131,546

Had the Irish Bounty Acts been productive only of an increase of *corn* cultivation, they might not perhaps have been very injurious: But such has not been, and could not rationally be expected to be their only effect. In 1784, as at present, there was very little capital in Ireland; and the impossibility, resulting from this circumstance, of finding tenants capable of occupying and cultivating large tillage farms, induced the proprietors to divide their estates into small portions, and even to let them on the ruinous system of *partnership* leases. So that the stimulus that was intended to act exclusively on *agriculture*, had an infinitely more powerful effect in causing the subdivision of farms, and in deluging the country with a redundant and starving *population*.

In 1806, the previously existing restraints on the trade in corn between Great Britain and Ireland were wholly abolished. And while the markets of England were opened to the free competition of the Irish growers, the high prices that were obtained during the war, continued the impulse originally given

by the bounty acts, and occasioned a further and very great extension of tillage.

2. But the effect of the bounty acts, and of the opening of the markets of England, must have been comparatively trifling, had it not been for the peculiar customs and manners of the people, and the nature of their civil and political institutions. The custom of *gavelkind*, or of equally dividing the paternal property, whether freehold or leasehold, among all the children of a family, has always prevailed among the Irish. Sir John Davies particularly specifies this as one of the customs that had mainly tended to perpetuate the barbarism and poverty of the people; and it still continues to exert an equally powerful and disastrous influence. Taught from their infancy to depend entirely on the land for support, and assured that they will, either on their marriage or the death of their father, get a certain proportion of the land held by him, many of the most powerful motives to enterprise and industry are either wholly destroyed or greatly weakened, and the country is gradually split into small patches, and overspread with an idle, a beggarly, and an excessive population. 'The farmer,' says Mr Townsend, 'who has half a dozen sons, may, perhaps, for 'one or two of them find trades; *the rest are provided for by an* 'equal partition of the land. By such means, the farmers of 'this county are, for the most part, reduced to petty cottagers. 'As long as subsistence can be procured, and in this respect 'they are very moderate, nothing can induce them to quit the 'favourite spot on which they were born.—A farmer often es- 'timates his riches by the number of his sons, whose labour 'precludes any necessity of mercenary aid; but this lasts only 'for a short time. They marry at an early age, new families 'arise, a separation of interest takes place, and with it a parti- 'tion of the farm. The same system still going on, future sub- 'divisions are to be made, productive of jealousy and quarrel.' (*Survey of Cork, 2d ed.* vol. i. pp. 87 *and* 208.) This custom obtains universally throughout Ireland. In many districts, when a daughter is married, her husband obtains a share of her father's farm.

So long, however, as the rearing of cattle formed the principal employment of the Irish farmers, the custom of *gavelkind*, or the equal partition of property among children, was comparatively harmless. For, as the pasture lands were generally let in immense tracts to opulent graziers, only a few individuals were required to feed and take care of the cattle, and these were not generally permitted to occupy any land. But the passing of the bounty acts gave birth to a new order of things,

Even though capital had been as abundant in Ireland as it was deficient, it would have been impossible for a tillage farmer to have managed such large tracts of land as were previously held by single graziers. Not only, however, was the size of the farms greatly reduced, but the new occupiers, being for the most part exceedingly poor, were glad to buy whatever labour they could obtain by granting the peasantry allotments of small pieces of ground, whereon they might erect cabins and raise potatoes. But the stimulus that had thus been given to population did not, as might indeed have easily been foreseen, cease, when a sufficient supply of labourers was obtained to cultivate the country. The habits of idleness and of early marriage, caused by the equal partition of the paternal farm, operate quite as powerfully on the children of the occupier of a farm of 50 as of 500 acres, and will certainly continue, if left to exert their full and natural influence, to operate until they have reduced the whole country into potato gardens, and farther subdivision and degradation have become impossible! In the counties of Clare and Limerick, and generally throughout Ireland, there are innumerable instances of farms of from 300 to 500 acres, originally let from thirty to forty years ago to single tenants *possessed of capital sufficient for their cultivation*, and now split, perhaps, among twenty, thirty, or forty families, by means of the repeated divisions that have taken place, in consequence of the death of fathers, and the marriage of children.

We have no hesitation in avowing our decided conviction to be, that no measures which it is possible to adopt for the improvement of Ireland can have any material influence, unless an effectual check be given to the practice of subdividing farms. Such a practice would of itself, and without the assistance of any other debasing influence, serve to pauperize and degrade any people. It is indispensable, therefore, that it should be corrected; a result which can only be brought about by *fearlessly changing the whole law of Ireland with respect to landlord and tenant*. The fact is, that this law, which is substantially the same as that of England, is totally inapplicable to a country in the situation of Ireland. Most fortunately the people of England have always been extremely indisposed, as we trust they will ever continue to be, to make an equal division of the lands occupied by an individual among his children, and to practise subletting. Marriages have, in consequence, been generally deferred to a much later period than in Ireland; and a large proportion of the population have been forced to depend for subsistence on manufactures and commerce; But in Ireland the custom of subdividing and sublet-

ting, sanctioned by the old Brehon laws, has always been acted upon. Her population have, in consequence, been always in excess, and never have had the least desire to obtain a livelihood, otherwise than by the cultivation of the soil. It was not to be expected, when the circumstances of the two countries were so extremely different, that a law, which was suitable for England, should at the same time be suitable for Ireland; and the experience of centuries has proved, that, far from being suitable, it is most injurious, and has powerfully contributed to her degradation.

But while Ireland has thus been sinking deeper and deeper into ruin and misery, under the operation of the English law of landlord and tenant, Scotland has risen under the operation of a wholly different law, from a state of extreme poverty, barbarism, and insubordination, to one of great wealth, refinement, and the most perfect tranquillity and order. And hence, in venturing to recommend the abolition of the existing law of Ireland on this subject, and the introduction in its stead of a system nearly similar to that which obtains in Scotland, we are not recommending any new or untried theory, but are proceeding on the sober and solid ground of experience and observation.

In Scotland,—to speak generally indeed, but with as much accuracy as our purpose requires,—a lease is considered as *real* and not as *personal* property. When a farm is let on a lease of ordinary endurance, 19 years for example, to an individual or his heirs, and even when no mention is made of heirs, if a power be not *expressly given in the lease* to assign or sublet, the farm cannot be sublet by the tenant; and must necessarily pass at his death to his *heir-at-law*, to the exclusion of every other person. The tenant under such a lease, has no power to introduce a new tenant into the farm, or to change the established order of succession to the lease held by him; he cannot dispose of it by will or testament to any particular individual or individuals, whether of his own family or not, to the prejudice of his legal heir. If the lease gives the tenant a power to assign or sublet, an assignment or a sublease, will be valid; otherwise they are of no value whatever. Should the tenant assign or sublet, contrary to this general rule of law, and still more if contrary to a clause to restrain him, the landlord may bring an action in the Court of Session to have the lease forfeited, and the subtenants ejected from the farm: And the Court, who dispose of such actions without the intervention of a Jury, will, on the fact of an assignment or sublease having taken place being established, order them to be turned out of possession. This action is speedily decided, and is attended with comparatively

little expense. All actions regarding arrears of rent, mismanagement, and removals, are tried, in the first instance, in the Sheriff-court without a jury, and are very cheaply and expeditiously decided.

It is to this system that Scotland owes a very large share of her prosperity. It has prevented farmers from providing for their children by the subdivision of their farms; and has, consequently, forced these children to become comparatively considerate, industrious, and enterprising, and to depend for their means of support on something else than the occupancy of a petty patch of land. Had such a system been adopted in Ireland a hundred years ago, the condition of the inhabitants would have been very different indeed from what it now is; and its adoption still seems to us to be by far the best means that it is possible to resort to, for arresting that splitting of farms and multiplication of beggars—for these operations are really synonymous—that is now going forward in that country.

The law of Scotland, it will be observed, though, as a general rule, it interdicts both subletting and assigning, does not prevent a landlord granting a lease which shall convey these powers to the tenant. In Scotland, indeed, such a lease is very rarely granted; but in Ireland, the practice of subletting must, in the actual circumstances of the country, be acted upon to a very considerable extent. The vast majority of her cultivators are comparatively destitute of capital, and are as savage, turbulent, and unruly, as they are poor and miserable. In consequence, if a landlord either wishes, as every gentleman naturally must, to have any tolerable security for his rent, or to avoid the disagreeable and often dangerous task of inspecting and controlling the proceedings of such tenants, he has no resource but to let his estate to a middleman. It is useless, therefore, to declaim against a practice which necessarily and indeed unavoidably arises out of the state of society in Ireland. No wise legislator will ever attempt directly to abolish that which has its foundation in the nature of things, but will endeavour to free it from abuse, and to make it as generally advantageous as possible.

But, although we are thus of opinion that it would be wrong to attempt to prevent subletting altogether, we are no less firmly of opinion, that the law with respect to this practice in Ireland calls loudly for alteration, and that no inconsiderable portion of the misery of that unhappy country has been occasioned by its injustice and impolicy. By the law of Scotland, a landlord who has let a farm to an individual to whom he has given a power of subletting, is not entitled to distrain the goods of such subtenants as have duly paid their rents to the principal

tenant, should the latter become bankrupt while in arrear to him;—(Bell on Leases, 3d ed. p. 297.) And he is entitled to distrain the goods of those who have not paid the principal tenant, to the extent only of the subrents. This rule is bottomed on the sound principle, that a landlord has no right to claim the goods of subtenants, to whose being on the farm he has himself consented, as security for rent due by the principal tenant to him; that it is the principal tenant only who is his debtor; and that the bankruptcy of such principal tenant should not prejudice the interests of those who have made him a *bona fide* payment of rents he was entitled to receive. In England, however, a different rule has been adopted; for, according to the law of that country, a landlord is entitled, whether he has consented to subletting or not, to distrain the goods of subtenants, even though they may previously have paid their stipulated rent to the principal tenant, in the event of the latter falling in arrear. That such a rule should have so long obtained in England, can only be accounted for from the practice of subletting being there, generally speaking, extremely rare; and from the English being thus, in a great measure, ignorant of its gross injustice and ruinous tendency. But in Ireland the case is altogether different. The law of England is there applied to a country *where the practice of subletting is universal*, and it has, in consequence, been productive of the most disastrous results. In Ireland there is frequently a gradation of intermediate tenants interposed between the landlord and the cultivator; so that, though the latter may have paid every shilling of the rent due by him to his immediate superior, he is liable, in the event either of his bankruptcy, or the bankruptcy of any of the other intermediate holders, to have whatever stock or property he is possessed off driven to the *pound*, and sold *to pay their debts!* We question whether the law either of Morocco or Algiers, sanctions any more flagrant and shameful abuse. Security of property is the foundation of all industry, wealth, and civilization: But so long as this monstrous system is maintained, security must be unknown to the cultivators of Ireland. Can you expect any improvement to be made—can you expect that any individual will either exert himself to fertilize the land, or lay out capital upon it, when the whole fruits of his industry and toil may at any time be seized upon, under a system of legalized robbery, by one to whom he owes nothing?

The atrocious murder of the Franks, together with many of the outrages of which Ireland has been so long the theatre, have been the result of this disgraceful system. On this,

as on all other points of importance, we are happy to be able to corroborate our own statements by the unexceptionable authority of Mr Wakefield. 'In Ireland,' says he, 'six 'months credit is generally given on rents, which is called "*the* "*hanging gate.*" This is one of the great levers of oppression 'by which the lower classes are kept in a kind of perpetual 'bondage; for as every family almost holds some portion of 'land, and owes half a year's rent, which a landlord can exact 'in a moment; this debt hangs over their heads like a load, 'and keeps them in a continual state of anxiety and terror. If 'the rent is not paid the cattle are driven to the pound, and if 'suffered to remain there a certain number of days, they are 'sold.—*This I have frequently seen done after the occupying te-* 'nant had paid his rent to the middleman, who had failed to pay 'it to the head landlord. The numerous instances of distress 'occasioned by this severity, which every one who has resid- 'ed any time in Ireland must have witnessed, are truly deplor- 'able; and I believe them to be one of the chief causes of those 'frequent risings of the people, under various denominations, 'which at different times have disturbed the internal tranquillity 'of the country, and been attended with atrocities shocking to 'humanity and disgraceful to the empire.' (Vol. 1. p. 244.)

It would be easy to quote a thousand similar passages from the best works on Ireland, to show the effects of this law; but they are wholly unnecessary. Every one must see that, so long as it is suffered to exist, there can be neither security, nor peace, nor prosperity; and that it is the imperious duty of government to take immediate steps for having it totally changed, and made to approach very closely to the law of Scotland. For this purpose it should be enacted, that henceforth every lease is to be considered, unless an express exception be made in it, as *real property descending to the heir-at-law of the tenant, to the exclusion of every other individual, and as taking from the tenant all power to assign such lease, or to sublet either the whole or any portion of the farm; and it should be further enacted, that in the event of a landlord choosing specially to empower a tenant to assign or sublet, either by a clause in the lease to that effect, or by a power subsequently given by a deed properly attested, such landlord shall not be entitled to distrain the goods of sub-tenants, for* bona fide *payments of rent made by them to the principal tenant, in case of the bankruptcy of the latter, while in arrear to him.* Such a law would interpose a powerful check to the splitting of farms; while it would not only give security to the cultivator, and protect him from injustice and oppression,

but would also have the effect to render the landlords infinitely more attentive than they now are to the character and qualifications of their principal tenants. At present, an Irish landlord is but too apt to let his land to the middleman who offers him the highest rent, trusting, should he become insolvent, to his recourse on the subtenants; so that, by taking away this recourse, you will force the landlord to attend to other considerations besides the mere amount of rent promised him by the middleman; and respectable tenants will then meet with that encouragement and preference to which they are entitled, but which they have hitherto experienced from a few only of the landlords of Ireland.

It would not, however, be enough to enact, that all subdividing and subletting, which have taken place without the consent of the landlord, should be illegal: Fully to counteract this destructive practice, and to avoid all litigation on the subject, it should be enacted, that *every principal tenant, who presumed either to sublet or subdivide the whole or any portion of his farm, without a clause authorizing him to do so being inserted in his lease, or without the consent of his landlord, previously asked for and given in writing, should, by doing so, forfeit his lease; and that it should be made imperative on the Quarter-sessions, before which such cases should be tried, to grant a writ of ejectment, both against such principal tenant and his subtenant, or subtenants, provided the landlord applies for this writ within twelve months after the subdivision of the farm has actually taken place, or within twelve months after the subtenant has been admitted to possession.* And, in order to induce the landlord to avail himself of this power, and at the same time to prevent the tenants being kept in a state of insecurity, it should be further enacted, that, *in the event of the landlord not applying to have the tenants ejected from the farm, within the above specified period of twelve months, after the subdivision or sublease had taken place, he should be held as waiving all objections to their title, and that their right to their possessions during the currency of the lease should no longer be questionable, and that the landlord should have no power to distrain the goods of such subtenants for* bona fide *payments of rent made to the principal tenant.* A law of this description would give effect to contracts, and would secure and protect the just rights and property of all parties. It would make it the obvious interest of the landlords to exert themselves effectually to check that subdivision of farms, which is the bane of Ireland; while no tenant could justly complain that he had been deprived of a lease whose plainest stipulations he had attempted to defeat and elude.

Every intelligent Irish gentleman with whom we have conversed on the subject, has readily and fully admitted all the evils of the existing law, and has not hesitated to say that the alteration of that law, in the way we have now suggested, would be productive of the greatest possible advantage. The only objection we have ever heard a landlord make to it was, that the habits of the people run so strongly in favour of subletting, and subdividing their farms among their children, that no jury would ever give effect by their verdict to such a law; and that, even though this difficulty could be got over, it would be impossible to carry the verdict into execution! If this were a really true representation, the situation of Ireland would be hopeless indeed; but we are satisfied that it is, to say the least, very greatly exaggerated. We confess we see no reason whatever, why the intervention of a jury should be required in such cases in Ireland any more than in Scotland. All questions connected with leases might be cheaply, and expeditiously, and most advantageously tried at the Quarter-sessions, in the Civil Bill Court, before the assistant barrister, without a jury. They are not questions that could involve any difficulty, or where there could be any room for a jury to exercise their discrimination. On evidence being produced to show that a farm had been subdivided or sublet, it ought to be made imperative on the Court, in the event of the tenant not being able to produce a lease, or a written authority from the landlord authorizing him to subdivide or subset, immediately to grant warrant for the ejectment of such principal tenant and all his subtenants from the farm. And with respect to the second point, or the alleged inability to carry such a warrant into execution, we contend, that Government must not permit the supremacy of the law to be questioned in a matter of such vital importance. If Ministers really mean to prevent Ireland from becoming a vast den of savages, or to stop the progress of pauperism and atrocity, they must, at all hazards, put down that system of intimidation on which the people have been accustomed to act. The peasantry could not be long in perceiving that such a law as we have proposed was calculated, in a peculiar manner, to protect them from oppression, and to promote their advantage; and if *really impartial* magistrates, backed by a sufficient civil and military force, were employed to superintend and enforce its uncompromising execution, we know enough of Ireland to be able to say, that, in a very short time, all violent opposition would cease, that its peaceable operation would be speedily secured, and that the greatest possible boon would, in consequence, be conferred on the country.

The opposition of the Judges and Lawyers of Dublin to the change we have proposed, may, we are afraid, be reckoned on. They will not fail to represent, in high sounding and solemn terms, that the adoption of such a law would be a dangerous innovation; that it would occasion a very great change in the succession to property; that it would be casting an undeserved reflection on the Juries of Ireland; and be giving too much power to inferior Judges and Magistrates. Such commonplace objections will not, we trust, be allowed to retard the progress of this truly important measure. That the adoption of the law we have suggested would effect a very great change, is most true; but it is no less true that the change is imperiously required, and would be most beneficial. Is the old womanish fear of innovation, to induce us to continue a system forever which has covered Ireland, from one extremity to the other, with mud cabins and beggars?—which exposes a subtenant to be distrained for a debt not due by him, at the same time that it nullifies every lease, and incapacitates a landlord from protecting his property from subdivision and ruin? We would not dispense with juries in the trial of cases with respect to leases, were it not that under the system we have recommended, they would be wholly useless, there being no room for discrimination or modification. What is every day done in Scotland by a sheriff-substitute, who is commonly bred an attorney, without a jury, may surely be done in Ireland by an assistant barrister. We, therefore, most earnestly implore the landlords of Ireland and the Government not to be deterred from proposing and passing some such law as this, by the representations of lawyers, naturally attached to old customs and prejudices, and afraid lest it should lessen, as it certainly would, the business in the courts. The effects of the present law of Ireland are palpable and glaring—they are seen in the subdivision and ruin of estates, in the wretched condition of agriculture, in the impoverishment of farmers, and in the misery and excessive numbers of the peasantry of that country: The effects of the system we have taken the liberty to propose are equally palpable;—they are seen in the extensive farms and improved estates, in the flourishing condition of agriculture, in the increasing wealth of the farmers, and in the comfort, happiness, and moderate numbers of the peasantry of Scotland! Let then the system which has been productive of so much misery be subverted, and the system which has been productive of so much good be substituted in its place. We will venture to say, after having reflected long and anxiously on the subject, that Parliament can adopt no measure that would effect a more salutary and desirable reformation in Ireland. The

further subdivision of farms, and the increase of population consequent upon it, would be effectually checked; the rights of proprietors, now left without any efficient protection, would be secured; subtenants would no longer be liable for the debts of others; and as confidence grew up, proprietors and farmers would readily undertake improvements that will never be thought of so long as the present miserable system is supported. We know that this subject will certainly be agitated in Parliament during the present Session; and if the landlords of Ireland be not wholly and perversely blind to *their own*, as well as their country's best interests, they will give their unanimous, zealous, and effectual support to the measure we have recommended. The existing system is subversive of all their just rights; it has deprived them of all control over their property; and if suffered to run its full course, it will most assuredly entail universal beggary on the occupiers of their lands, and end by rendering them unable to pay a single shilling of rent.

3. The system according to which Freeholders are created in Ireland, has had a very powerful influence on the splitting of farms and the increase of population. The qualification of a freeholder is the same in Ireland as in England—a clear *forty shillings* interest for life; but as it is customary in Ireland, and fortunately not in England, to insert lives in all leases, freeholders are created by thousands in the former country, without being actually possessed of any property whatsoever. Thus, when an Irish landlord wishes to extend his political influence, he immediately sets about subdividing his estate, and lets it in small patches, frequently not exceeding the size of a potato garden, to cottiers for life, who thus become invested with the elective franchise! In consequence of this system, Ireland has become a perfect freeholder, as well as pauper warren. In some counties a very near approach is made to the system of universal suffrage; and that system has been productive of the very results which every man of sense might have foreseen would, in the circumstances of the case, necessarily flow from it. The landlords have exerted themselves to secure and extend their political influence; and they have, in this respect, managed so skilfully as to get the perfect and thorough command of the occupiers of their estates; who are, in point of fact, just as much under their control as their own body servants. It is true that, to attain this object, they have adopted a system ruinous to the country, and which must also, for that very reason, prove ruinous to themselves. Still, however, we do not see how the landlords can justly be blamed for what they have done. It must always be desirable to be pos-

sessed of political influence; and so long as the law of the land declares that the extent of that influence shall be measured by the number of *forty shilling* tenants, which a landlord can march to the poll, it would be worse than absurd to expect that he should not endeavour to manufacture them. Experience of the remote effects of this system may ultimately indeed convince him that he has mistaken his real interests; and that he has lost more by parcelling out his estate into lots to be occupied by beggars, than he has gained by his increased political importance in the county. But before experience can teach him this great lesson, the mischief is done; the division of his estate has been effected; its population has become excessive, and serious obstacles oppose the return to a better system.

So long as Catholics were excluded from the exercise of the elective franchise, the system of manufacturing freeholders, owing to the thinness of the Protestant population of the country, could be but little acted upon. But since 1792, when Catholics were permitted to exercise this privilege, freeholders have been manufactured and voters created, to an extent of which luckily the people of Britain can have no just idea.

'The passion for acquiring political influence prevails,' says Mr Wakefield, 'throughout the whole country; and it has an 'overwhelming influence upon the people; *to divide, and sub-'divide, for the purpose of making freeholders, is the great object 'of every owner of land;* and I consider it one of the most per-'nicious practices that has ever been introduced into the ope-'rations of political machinery. It reduces the elective fran-'chise nearly to universal suffrage, to a population who, by the 'very instrument by which they are made free, are reduced to 'the most abject state of personal bondage. I have known 'freeholders registered among mountain tenantry, whose year-'ly head rent did not exceed 2s. 6d.; but living upon this half-'crown tenure, were obliged to swear to a derivative interest of '40s. per annum.—*This right, instead of being an advantage to 'the freeholder, is an excessive burden, as he is obliged to attend 'elections at the command of the agent, often with great incon-'venience; and is ordered to vote for the object of his landlord's 'choice, with as little ceremony as the Jamaica planter would di-'rect his slave to the performance of the meanest offices.*—(Vol. II. p. 301.)

To put an end to this miserable system, and to rescue the peasantry from the degradation of being made mere offensive weapons, wielded by the rival candidates at elections for the annoyance of each other, without the smallest regard to their

feelings or wishes, it appears to us, that the best way would be to confine the elective franchise to persons actually in possession of freehold or copyhold property of the real value of 20*l.* or 30*l.* a year, and to the occupiers of farms paying 50*l.* or upwards of rent. By an arrangement of this kind, the proprietors of small estates, and the really independent class of freeholders, would attain that salutary and much wanted influence and consideration, which they have never hitherto enjoyed in Ireland; an obvious inducement would be created to consolidate the very small farms; and it would henceforth be impossible for a few noblemen to regulate the elections exclusively by the controlled suffrages of their serfs. Such a plan might be easily adopted, and it would be productive of the most extensively beneficial effects.

Such seem to us to be the circumstances that have principally led to the excessive increase of population in Ireland, and the measures by which they may be most easily, safely, and effectually counteracted, and the condition of the mass of the people lastingly improved. We have ventured to recommend the adoption of these measures, because we feel confident, as well from experience as from theory, that they would prove signally advantageous. But whether they are adopted or not, it is at all events obvious, that in the event of the present ruinous system being continued much longer, the destiny of Ireland will be irrevocably fixed. According to the scale at which population has been advancing in Ireland since 1784, the *seven* millions of 1821 must already be very little short of *eight* millions! Nor will this frightful progression cease, if left to itself, until the whole country has been parcelled into potato gardens, capital been annihilated, and the curse of poverty rendered universal. There is not, therefore, a moment to be lost. If the whole energies of Government be not speedily set in motion and steadily directed, to check the torrent of pauperism, it will prove too strong for them, and the reign of filth, beggary, and outrage will forever be secured.

The majority of our readers will, we apprehend, hardly conceive it possible that any one could, at this time of day, have seriously proposed the introduction of the English poor-law system into Ireland, as a means of arresting the spread of pauperism. But so it is. Such a proposition has been made, and has been favourably entertained, not by the declaimers at Catholic boards only, but by persons in high and responsible situations! It is this circumstance, and this only, that induces us to bestow a moment's attention on this extraordinary propo-

sal. If we were really desirous of immediately consummating the ruin of Ireland, of instantly destroying the little capital she is possessed of, and of eradicating whatever of prudence and consideration may be found in any class of her inhabitants, we could do nothing better than adopt the scheme in question. Is there not already enough of thoughtlessness, prodigality, idleness, and vice in Ireland, without passing a law declaring that the parish must provide the means of support for all who cannot support themselves without exception? The non-employment of the poor is unquestionably an evil of the first magnitude; but instead of lessening this evil, you will most certainly increase it in a tenfold proportion, by attempting to force employment by means of poor-laws. The non-employment of the poor must, in all cases, proceed from one or other of the following causes; viz. either, *first*, from a disinclination to work; or, *second*, from the want of capital to employ them; or, *third*, from the want of demand for the products of industry. Now, if the non-employment of the poor proceeds from the *first* of these causes, or from *disinclination* to labour, it is obvious they have no just claim on the bounty of others. A very high authority has said, that *those who do not work ought not to eat;* and the pressure of necessity will, sooner than any artificial remedy, cure them of their idleness, and force them to be industrious. It is true that the law which says they shall be supported, says also they shall be *compelled* to work. Legal constraint is, however, always attended with too much trouble, violence, and ill-will, to be productive of zealous and steady exertion. The fear of want, and the desire to save and accumulate a little stock, as they are the most natural, so they are also the most powerful motives to unremitted industry. The slave must be compelled to work, but the freeman should be left to his own judgment and discretion; should be protected in the full enjoyment of *his own*, be it much or little, and punished when he invades his neighbour's property. If we recur to those base motives which influence the slave, and substitute compulsion in the room of self-interest, we poison the very spring and fountainhead of industry, and do all that we can to render the masters tyrannical, and the workmen idle and profligate.

If, on the other hand, the non-employment of the poor proceeds from the *second* cause we have specified, or from *the want of capital to set them to work*, it is plainly impossible that this deficiency can be supplied by the fiat of the legislature, or the resolutions of overseers. All that such interference can do,

and all that it ever does, is to *change the natural distribution of the already existing stock of the country*—to take it from those into whose hands it would naturally have come, to force it into the hands of others, and thus to increase poverty in one class of the people to as great an extent as it diminishes it in another.

But, supposing the non-employment of the poor to proceed from the *third* cause we have specified, or from the *want of demand for the products of industry*, how is this to be remedied by setting them to work? It is obvious, that the mere levy of a tax for the maintenance and employment of the poor cannot add to the income of the country, or be a means of increasing the demand for their products. And it is quite evident, that unless this demand can be increased, the taking of a portion of the income of the wealthier part of the community to form a fund to set the unemployed poor to work, can have no other effect but to increase the glut of commodities, and to drive the independent and industrious part of the poor from their employment, by the forced competition of those who are dependent, and a burden on the public.

In every point of view, therefore, in which this subject can be considered;—whether the non-employment of the poor proceeds from disinclination to work, from the want of capital to employ them, or from the want of demand for the products of industry, a compulsory assessment for their employment and support, seems to be equally inexpedient and improper. In the *first* case, such a provision is a direct encouragement to the idleness and profligacy of the vicious part of the community; in the *second*, it causes an artificial, and, consequently, a *disadvantageous* distribution of the national capital; and, in the *third*, it adds to the cause of distress, and throws those who are not paupers out of employment. It would not really be one jot more absurd to attempt to improve the health of the citizens of Dublin by poisoning their wells, than it would be to attempt to relieve the distresses of the people of Ireland by the establishment of such a system.

There have occasionally been in England, rich and industrious as she is, about a *tenth* of the entire population depending partly on parochial relief. But if the system of compulsory provision were once established in Ireland, we should not have *one-tenth*, but *seven* or *eight-tenths* of a population of *eight* millions depending principally on this resource. But taking the proportion of paupers so low as only *one-fourth*, and supposing that each individual were only to receive a pittance of 2d. a day from the rates, still the aggregate charge would amount to upwards of SIX MILLIONS a year, being about a third more than the en-

tire produce of taxation in Ireland, and constituting a charge of 15s. an acre on the *eight* millions of acres of cultivated land she is supposed to contain! With such a bounty held out to pauperism, population would be powerfully stimulated, and the whole rent of the land would be speedily absorbed. We do not know, after all, whether the landlords of Ireland will sanction this scheme; But if they do, it will be the only instance in the history of the world of a numerous and powerful class voluntarily consenting to ruin themselves, in order the better to complete the ruin and degradation of their country.

4. *Education.*—On the motion of Sir John Newport, on the 25th March last, the House of Commons unanimously voted an address to his Majesty, to issue a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the state of education in Ireland, and reporting on the same to the House. Such a Commission has in consequence been issued; and the character of the Commissioners (Mr Frankland Lewis, M. P., Mr Glassford, and Mr Blake) is a sufficient security that the inquiry will not be a sham one, but that the whole subject will be patiently investigated and probed to the bottom. When the Report of the Commissioners is before the public, we shall enter on a full consideration of this most important subject: For we think with Mr John Smith—a sincere and intelligent friend to Ireland, and to all that can elevate the character and promote the happiness of his fellow men—'That a government which does 'not provide for the instruction of its subjects, has no right to 'render them amenable to a bloody and ferocious code of 'laws.' (Mr Smith's Speech, 25th March 1824.) In the mean time, however, we may observe, that the offence taken by the Catholic clergy at some statements in a speech of Mr North's, relative to the state of education in Ireland, was extremely unreasonable. If Mr North erred in saying that infamous publications were used in many of the Catholic schools, he erred in common with all the authorities on Irish affairs, and in common with many most respectable Catholics. Dr Bell, in his Essay *On the Condition and Manners of the Peasantry of Ireland*, says, that the books used in the Catholic schools were such as to give scope and activity to the worst passions, and tended powerfully to prevent the peasantry of Ireland from becoming good subjects. (p. 40.) In speaking of education, Mr Wakefield says, 'The only thing connected 'with it, the remembrance of which gives me pleasure, is the 'desire manifested to obtain it. *As to the manner in which it 'is conveyed, I cannot speak in terms of sufficient reprobation.*'

(Vol. II. p. 898.) Mr Wakefield subjoins, from Mr Dutton's Survey of Clare, a list of the common school and cottage classics of Ireland, abounding in books of the most flagitious description. The intelligent *Catholic* author of *Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Irish Peasantry*, distinctly states, that the poor of his communion are entirely destitute of religious instruction, and that the schoolmasters are as bad as possible. (pp. 12, 41, &c.) And, not needlessly to multiply references, we shall only further mention, that Mr Spring Rice publicly stated, in his place in the House of Commons, on the 22d of April 1822, that he had been in a large school in the county of Cork, where the *text-book* for the instruction of the young was the life of a notorious robber—the Captain Rock of some fifty years ago! And Mr Rice farther stated, that he knew many places in which books of the same character, but of a *still more objectionable tendency*, were used! * Disgraceful, therefore, as Mr North's statement certainly is to the Catholic clergy, it is, we are afraid, idle for them to attempt to refute it. We do not presume to say that they have actually encouraged the use of such books; but we do say that it is quite impossible to conceive they could be ignorant of their being used, and that, considering the influence they have over their flocks, had they displayed a tenth of the zeal for their suppression they have so frequently displayed on the most trifling occasions, they would long since have been wholly discarded. They may object, and, for any thing that we know, justly too, to the reading of the Bible in schools. But if they will not allow the Bible to be used as a school-book, it is their duty, if they wish to save their flocks from beggary and the gallows, to take care that their schools should be supplied with books that will infuse sound principles of morality into the young mind. If they neglect this duty, Government must interfere. So long as those who are taught, are taught only to admire deeds of rapine and plunder, we may expect to find the Irish cottiers of the present day the genuine representatives of the Kernes and Gallowglasses of the days of Spencer—of those 'who did never eat their meat 'till they had won it by the sword; who made the day their 'night, and the night their day; who did light their candle at 'the flames of their foemen's houses; and whose music was not 'the harpe nor layis of love, but the cryes of the people, and 'the clashing of armor.'

* See also an excellent article on Ireland, in the first Number of the Inquirer (p. 42.), generally ascribed to Mr Rice.

5. Commerce and Revenue.—We are happy to have to say, that a most important and beneficial change has been effected in these departments, since the date of our former article, and that most of the suggestions we then made, have been adopted. The Commissioners of Inquiry into the Commerce and Revenue of Ireland, have discharged their duty to the public with a zeal and ability, and have displayed a fearlessness of giving offence to interested and powerful individuals, worthy of every commendation; and ministers are also justly entitled to the highest praise, for the vigour they have shown in following the plans of these Commissioners. The absurd and complicated system of duties and regulation, known by the name of *Union duties*, which, as we formerly showed, went far to suppress all trade in manufactured goods between Great Britain and Ireland, has been, with some few exceptions, entirely abolished. Whole boards of Commissioners, ignorant of their business, and only appointed because of the patronage they could command, have been unceremoniously dismissed; almost every Irish Act of Parliament, with respect to the collection and regulation of the revenue, has been repealed; and the whole business of the excise and customs has been transferred to London. The bill introduced by Mr Robinson, and passed into a law, for reducing the duty on spirits from 5s. 6d. to 2s. a gallon, and for authorizing the use of comparatively small stills, is by far the greatest boon conferred on Ireland since the Union. It has gone far to put down smuggling and its consequent train of evils; while by increasing the consumption of legally distilled spirits, it has been productive of a considerable increase of revenue. We are truly glad to have to state these things. They are proofs of a good spirit prevailing in the Cabinet; and the ease with which they have been effected, shows what may be done for Ireland, when government determines to put down abuse. But if ministers stop here, what they have done will be really of little or no value. If they do not remove those deeper seated and more fruitful sources of contention, hatred and crime, which we have now pointed out, the reforms they have effected will have but an inconsiderable influence in arresting the march of degradation.

But many reforms still remain to be effected, even in the financial and commercial departments. The excessive duties laid on tea, coffee, sugar, foreign wines and spirits, tobacco, and many other articles in general demand, have had the effect, by adding proportionally to the price of these articles, and placing them beyond the reach of the peasantry, to extinguish the desire to possess them in their minds, and thus to render them disposed to vegetate without repining in poverty and wretched-

ness. The almost universal want of all ambition to rise in the world, to acquire any share of the comforts and conveniences of life—forms one of the most powerful obstacles to the introduction of a better order of things in Ireland: And there are no means so effectual for exciting such an ambition, and for rendering the peasantry anxious to improve their condition, and to mount in the scale of society, as an effectual reduction of the duties laid on all articles in general demand. Such a reduction, by lowering the price of a great variety of useful and agreeable commodities, would afford new motives to stimulate, and new comforts and conveniences to reward, the industry of the peasantry. Those who are indolent—and this is notoriously the case with the Irish—will never become industrious, unless industry brings *visibly* along with it a proportional increase of enjoyments. Wherever labourers find it is impossible for increased exertion to make any material addition to their comforts and conveniences, they invariably sink into a state of sluggish and stupid indifference, and content themselves with the coarsest and scantiest fare. But the desire to rise in the world, and improve our condition, is deeply seated in the human breast, and can never be wholly eradicated.—And whenever labour has been rendered more productive, and a number of new conveniences and enjoyments made attainable by the labourer, indolence has never failed to give way to exertion: A taste for these conveniences and enjoyments has gradually diffused itself, increased exertions have been made to obtain them, and ultimately it has been thought discreditable to be without them. Nor, would such a reduction of duties as would be productive of these effects occasion the least diminution of revenue. On the contrary it is certain, as well from theory as from experience, that it would, by increasing the quantities of the articles consumed in a geometrical proportion, have the effect to add very greatly to its amount.

A few additional measures are still wanting, to place the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland on that footing of absolute freedom on which it should stand. In consequence of the duty on foreign timber imported into the two countries being different, of the excise duties on spirits being higher in England than in Ireland, and of there being no excise duties in Ireland on glass, printed goods, soap, candles, vinegar, and wine, it is still necessary to put customhouse officers on board every vessel engaged in the trade between the two countries, when she comes into port, and to search her cargo. This is attended with very great inconvenience, hardship, and expense; and in order to obviate it, the duty on all these articles ought to made the same in both countries.

We shall take an early opportunity to show, that the timber duties now payable in Great Britain are not only oppressively high, but that they are imposed on the most impolitic and absurd principles that can well be imagined. With respect to glass, the case is but little different. To show the mode in which the duty on it operates, it is perhaps enough to state, that the gross produce of the glass duties in 1823 was 962,709*l.*, of which no less than 415,078*l.* was repaid in drawbacks! The injury done to the manufacturer by the operation of such a duty is obvious. If it were effectually reduced, the manufacturer would gain though no drawback were allowed; while the revenue would gain by the vast increase of consumption that would take place in Great Britain, and by the extension of the low duty to Ireland, and the consequent stop to the smuggling of glass from that country.

The duty on printed cottons is liable to the same objections as the duty on glass. Its gross produce, in 1823, amounted to 1,311,919*l.*, of which 1,146,750*l.* was drawn back on exportation. If a duty is to be laid on the cotton manufacture, the proper plan would be to lay it on the wool; and, by keeping it so low as not materially to affect the price of the goods, to avoid the necessity of granting a drawback, or of first paying a million Sterling into the hands of the customhouse officers, and then back again to the merchants.

The slight increase of duty that might take place in Ireland on a few articles, in consequence of the equalization of the duties payable in the two countries, could not justly be objected to. For the benefits arising from the unrestricted freedom of intercourse between the two countries, that would take place in consequence of this equalization, would infinitely overbalance the injury arising from the increase of duty; at the same time, that almost all the arguments in favour of the reduction of duties on articles in general demand apply with nearly equal force to Great Britain as to Ireland.

The bounties on the exportation of coarse linen from the United Kingdom amount to about 300,000*l.* a year. Mr Robinson proposed, last Session, immediately to repeal these duties; but he was induced, in consequence of the representations of the Irish members, to swerve from his own better purpose so far as to consent to their being repealed at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, so that they will still cost the public 1,500,000*l.* But while the Irish members are thus taxing the public for the support of the coarse linen manufacture, they are themselves its greatest enemies; for, by enforcing the provisions of a linen board act, preventing the sale of yarn not wound on a

certain description of reel, they prevent the importation of foreign yarn into Ireland, though its price is generally from 25 to 30 per cent. less than Irish yarn, and thus lay the manufacture under a disadvantage which is not nearly balanced by the bounty. Government will, no doubt, interpose to remedy this abuse.

We cannot conclude this article, extended as it now is, without entreating all who take an interest in the subject, stedfastly to oppose every scheme for providing employment for the poor of Ireland, by grants of money, or by the aid of bounties on particular articles. Such palliatives and anodynes may lengthen, but they can never cure, a disease which has fastened on the vitals of the country, and vitiated its whole public economy. The case of Ireland is too desperate to be treated in this way. When the measures we have suggested for allaying the violence of religious and party contentions, for attaching the inhabitants to government, and for maintaining the peace of the country and the security of property, shall have been adopted, then, but not till then, capital will flow to Ireland as a place of advantageous investment. But until these things have been done, the *forced* transmission of capital to that country, by the agency of government, will merely act as a stimulus to population, and will thus really aggravate all the evils it was designed to alleviate. It is not by such puny measures—by the miserable quackery of bounties and forced loans—but by drying up the sources of disaffection, misery, and crime, that Ireland is to be improved. It is indeed the merest delusion possible, to suppose, so long as the various causes of outrage and degradation we have specified are suffered to spread their roots and scatter their seeds on all sides, that it is in the power either of individual or of national charity to arrest the tide of ruin that is now deluging the country.

We have thus, for the second time, endeavoured to show, by a minute and detailed inquiry into the state of Ireland, that the miseries and atrocities which afflict and disgrace that unhappy country are not the result of uncontrollable causes, but that they all have their origin in, and are, in fact, the natural and necessary consequences of vicious political and civil institutions and misgovernment. The question, therefore, which Parliament and the country are now called upon to decide, and none more important ever engaged their consideration, is, whether they will continue, at all hazards, to support the institutions and system of government now established in Ireland, and attempt to put down disturbances by the gibbet and the sword, or set about

making a thorough reform of the abuses which have filled her with misery and crime, and endeavour to bind her inhabitants to their interests by a sense of gratitude for benefits received and advantages conferred? The statements we have laid before our readers, as well as every principle of justice and expediency, and the experience of centuries, show, beyond all controversy, how this question ought to be decided. As Englishmen —as lovers of equal and impartial justice—we owe reparation to Ireland for the wrongs she has suffered at our hands; and we owe it for our own sakes. It depends entirely on our future conduct, whether Ireland is to be rendered our best friend and ally, or our most dangerous and mortal foe. If we treat her with kindness and affection, if we redress her wrongs, and open her a path to wealth and prosperity, the Union will cease to be nominal, and the two countries will be firmly and inseparably united: But if we obstinately persevere in our present system, if we continue to treat *six-sevenths* of her people as an enslaved and degraded *caste*, and to cherish all the gross and scandalous abuses which have cast them into the depths of poverty and vice, they will certainly endeavour (and who shall blame them?) to wreak their vengeance on the heads of their oppressors; dissension, terror, and civil war, will rage with increased fury and violence; and our ascendency will be at an end, the instant it cannot be maintained *by force of arms!*

ART. VI. *Substance of the Speech of* Mr M. A. TAYLOR *in the House of Commons, on Wednesday the 30th of May* 1821, *on the Delays in the High Court of Chancery, and the Appellant Jurisdiction of the House of Lords.* London, 1821.

IT is curious to observe by what slow degrees, and after how many struggles and difficulties, every public grievance is redressed in this country. Carelessness and indifference about the object proposed to be gained, jealousy of the person making the attempt, suspicion or misrepresentation of his motives, a blind and overweening confidence in whatever is, because it is,—must be admitted to be formidable obstacles in the way of the most temperate reforms. Nor do we here allude merely to the selfish and interested opposition of those who derive benefit from existing abuses, and whose resistance (in itself by no means trivial or unimportant) must, therefore, be calculated upon as of course. Our remarks are meant to be extended much further. There is, we presume, at all times—there certainly is in the present—a set of sleek and satisfied per-

sons, who, provided their own affairs go on well, care little about any thing else; and who, estimating the value of all institutions by their supposed good effect upon themselves, feel every project of alteration or amendment as, in some sort, an attack upon a system, with which they fondly imagine their own prosperity is bound up. Who, for instance, has lately heard of a large portion of that generally satisfied, tolerably well clothed, and perfectly well fed body, commonly called the landed interest or country gentlemen, distinguishing themselves in any other manner, than by throwing their dead and heavy weight into the doubtfully preponderating scale of the majority upon every question, which, by possibility, might affect the existence of any, no matter what, administration,—until suddenly a great light broke in upon the quarter of self-interest, and they became patriotic enough to vote for the repeal of some couple of taxes, not so much because the tenants could not pay those taxes, as because they could not pay their own rents? And of a congenial spirit and feeling are the whole body of snug and warm persons (as Parson Trulliber, if we mistake not, denominates them) throughout the whole community, whom the above mentioned class of representatives fitly designate, who are, in truth, the *vis inertiæ* of society, and constitute, as it were, the natural resistance to every change, by whatever wisdom suggested, by whatever necessity enforced.

Time, however, and reason often enforced, operate at last; and that, too, in directions and through means sometimes least of all expected or foreseen. Nobody can have forgotten, by what slow and painful steps the late revered Sir S. Romilly advanced towards a very limited amendment of the penal laws,—each statutory provision having been fought for, as for a portion of the wisdom of our ancestors: But, within ten years after those meritorious and comparatively unsuccessful exertions, a Minister * of the Crown, and one whose claims to his situation depend not a little upon his belonging to the resistance faction, made, by virtue of place and authority,—almost without notice, certainly without opposition, a more extensive massacre of that portion of the above mentioned wisdom which consists in penal provisions, (such as making it a capital felony to steal the same article on one side of a fence, and not capital on the other), than the great man to whom we have alluded, with all his knowledge, experience, and wisdom, could effect in the whole course of his life. Who could enumerate, if any body could endure the enumeration, all that has been written and said

* Mr Peel.

in favour of the Navigation Act, and the whole code of maritime laws affecting our intercourse with foreign countries,—the true cause (as the orthodox doctrine has been) of our naval ascendency and greatness,—the support and pillar of the wealth and glory of England? Long, indeed, have these venerable errors been exposed, by arguments not to be resisted, both in and out of Parliament; and we know, for how long a time, in vain. At length arise a set of revolutionary ministers, who, under the pressure of no adverse motion, upon the suggestion of no clamorous remonstrance or representation from the country, themselves bring forward measures destructive of all the cumbrous mummery, which habitual respect had consecrated, and, by so doing, have, we suspect, shaken, in no small degree, the confidence in them of the true admirers of the genuine and whole constitution. To take one example more. It must be fresh in the recollection of our readers, for how great a length of time the annual exposition of the financial affairs of the country was involved in studied and impenetrable obscurity. In vain did Mr Tierney and others, year after year, suggest that the same rules of arithmetic must be applicable to public and private accounts, and that the two operations of addition and subtraction are essentially different from each other, whether performed in a minister's budget, or a private trader's balance sheet. These appeared, at the time, most questionable and startling novelties, the invention of faction, and dangerous to the safety of the State. But men may be shamed out of their errors at last; and, accordingly, we have a Chancellor of the Exchequer (not indeed the right honourable gentleman who had so large a share in the explosion of these disgraceful absurdities), who has brought himself to acknowledge the established properties of figures, and has made such a proficiency as actually to set down the debts and credits,—the income and the outgoings,—on the right side of the national account; and, what is droll enough, all these things are promulgated as original ideas, redounding to the praise of the men who have been reluctantly forced to adopt them; and those who, by long perseverance, have forced them on their adversaries, are still reviled as factious innovators!

The course of proceeding, with reference to the Court of Chancery, has been very much in unison with what we have briefly described as the ordinary train of events, where any reformation or improvement is attempted. It is now fifteen years since Mr Michael Angelo Taylor, of whom we have, on a former occasion, justly made honourable mention, brought forward, in the House of Commons, the grievances endured by the country from the delay and expenses in that Court. It is

well known how often those motions have been repeated by that gentleman, and the attention of the public (which indeed required no hint), and of all persons connected with the subject, called distinctly to it. The fate which attended them, and the manner in which inquiry was evaded, though once voted to be necessary, we have formerly explained. Our present business is only with the renewal and repetition of his motion, which was met (with the single exception above alluded to) in the customary method of vague and indiscriminate assertion and round denial. In the year 1823, it will be recollected that the subject was again brought before Parliament by Mr Williams; and then also the old, approved, and never-failing plan of opposition was resorted to again. It was then directly alleged, that there were no real complaints against the Court, or any part of it; that there were no arrears of business, properly so called; that there was no unnecessary expense; that there were no delays in any thing, or any body, beyond that reasonable quantity of repose, which conduces to the well-being of the suitor, and befits the measured and cautious progress of judicial proceedings;—but grievances, or grounds for injuring, none—absolutely none! And so, we need not add, as those assertions came from the right side of the House, the majority voted. Within eight short months, however, the subject was brought forward again; with little novelty, and with literally no change of circumstances, except indeed that slow and gradual change to which we have before alluded, which is at length effected upon the most reluctant and obdurate, by the pressure of public opinion, when roused and engaged by continual appeals to it:—When, behold, a minister of the crown, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, up rises, and, taking away all discussion out of the hands of those who might be presumed, so far as the materials they had would allow, to be prepared for it, declares, that whatever assertions and denials might have been made, he, at least, would not affirm that there was nothing wrong in the Court of Chancery; that an inquiry (of a nature peculiar, indeed, and to which we shall advert immediately) was extremely proper, and announcing, at the same time, to the astonished public, that the Lord Chancellor himself, of all the men in the world, had recommended the measure for the immediate adoption of his Majesty! The minister proceeded to explain, that it was only to one species of inquiry that he would assent; for that he never could be prevailed upon to agree to any that could have the remotest aspect of criminating the Chancellor (such effect, the right honourable gentleman seemed to think, must necessarily be produced by any at-

tempt to ascertain whether his Lordship had contributed, in any degree, to the mischiefs at last admitted), and that he doubted not but the people of England would not fail cheerfully to support their representatives (meaning, of course, the House of Commons) in their resolution to protect an old and faithful servant.

Several subjects of curiosity present themselves upon the adoption of this course. It did seem passing strange that the Lord Chancellor should have been the person to originate any inquiry,—and *then*. It did appear to be an extraordinary cast upon the dice, that the very moment for adopting the measure should be that, when the progress and prevalence of public opinion out of doors had made resistance to the motion for an open and general inquiry before a Committee of the House of Commons, hardly practicable or safe. It did require a considerable infusion of the milkiness of credulity to believe, that, to get rid of that motion pressing upon them, was no inducement with ministers, or a part of them, for adopting it at that precise moment. Why not before? Why not during any one of the motions (numerous as they were) of Mr Taylor, to which we have already, and for this purpose chiefly, alluded? Why not upon the occasion of the motion in 1823? Why not have recommended an inquiry before overturning the Court of Chancery by the adoption of a Deputy Chancellor ten years before? Did not the noble and learned Lord know that all was not sound in the state of the Court of Chancery then? Why not recommend inquiry at that most fit and proper occasion for it, that Parliament might at least have observed the decorum of knowing some little of the real state of the case, before they were called upon to legislate, without knowledge, upon a matter of such importance, with such evil consequences attached to it as were at the time predicted, and have been since realized? Why not have recommended inquiry, when the arrears in the kindred business (kindred we call it, because a part of the duties of the Chancellor, and, like the rest, much in arrear), of appeals in the House of Lords, caused his Lordship to apply for help in that quarter, as he before had applied for and obtained it in the Court of Chancery? But no:—these were not, as it seems, convenient seasons; but a roving and ambulatory commission is produced from the pocket of the Secretary of State, at that critical conjuncture, when an inquiry into the Court—Chancellor and all, is, but for that manœuvre, probably upon the point of being carried.

Mr Secretary Peel, as we have already noticed, further declared, that he never would consent to any commission, that

could, by any possible construction, imply blame or censure on the Chancellor, or, in other words, that should make it a part of its duty to ascertain, whether the delays, and expenses consequent upon delay, be, in truth, the result of increasing business, or other causes, or in part at least, and how much, to be attributed to the inactivity and indecision of the Chancellor himself. To that the Secretary would never consent; and, accordingly, a commission is formed with the noble and learned Lord himself at the head of it! which, under such a commander, is likely to effectuate the restrictive plan of Mr Peel with great sincerity and singleness of purpose. No man, since the Pope who sentenced himself to be burnt out of his pure love of justice, has, in our recollection, been found to be the first to pronounce self-judgment, and self-execution. Two gentlemen, * we are aware, may be named as exceptions to the general formation of the Committee. 'But what are these amongst so many?' And what are two, or any number, when fettered by the presence of the noble and learned Lord, whose conduct, upon the supposition we are now making, is to form a part, at least, of the subject of inquiry?

So then, the Commissioners may inquire, forsooth, whether a month or two may be gained, by forcing the defendant to answer sooner than he does at present to the plaintiff's bill; they may examine, and ascertain whether the decretal orders are stuffed full of unnecessary matter by the registrars, and the reports, in like manner, by the masters; they may hear and decide, if they can, whether the said masters can contrive to sit a few hours longer, or half an hour earlier in the day;—whether we know not what clerk in Court does any thing for some six shillings and eightpence, charged, as it is said, upon ideal attendances in Court;—whether a bit can be curtailed from the head of an answer, or a bit from the tail of a bill;—into these things they may inquire, and may report in favour of some alterations, which, by having the appearance of doing something, may cast dust into the eyes of the public, and stop effective inquiry before a Committee of the House:—These things they may do; but into the question of delay in the highest quarter, and those enormous evils, compounded of anxiety and expense, attending the unhappy suitors between the period of hearing and of decision, and into the policy of reporting that such delay exists (if such be the fact), and thereby giving present relief to the sufferers, whilst they are looking for-

* Dr Lushington and Mr R. Smith.

ward to that which is reversionary, Mr Secretary Peel never would consent that any Committee should inquire—and such inquiry is not to be expected. That is too high matter for them, and must not be touched.

As to the nature of the Report which the Commissioners may finally resolve upon (whatever may have been intended or wished), it is impossible, as well as premature, to form any conjecture. Of the form and course of inquiry, also, we know nothing, except from the most vague and general rumour. Upon one branch (such at least we presume it to be) of their examination,—how far the present establishment of the different Courts of Equity is adequate to their purpose, it does not seem likely that they can obtain much practical information. The evidence, which they may hear, must of necessity be in a great measure matter of opinion and conjecture. Most of the persons from whom information is to be sought, have only known the Courts of Equity and their proceedings since the commencement of the Eldon Dominion. Those who are old enough to remember the person and figure of any other Chancellor (the short continuance of Lord Erskine in office puts him out of the question), are either, from their age, verging towards obliviousness (if, indeed, age ever does incapacitate in the law, as in every thing else), or may well be excused for not having a very perfect recollection of the manner in which business was conducted, after the intervening experience of about a quarter of a century. Learned gentlemen, or others, have no recent and fresh knowledge of a man in the prime of life, of fair legal attainments, of habits of regularity and accuracy in business, who allows no disorder in the course of hearing the matters before him, and furnishes no excuse for the want of punctuality and attention in others, from a failure to observe appointments of his own,—who decides, not only as well as he can, but as soon as he can,—and, therefore, can say nothing certain as to what might, in such a case, be effected. Practical information from experience they rarely can be enabled to give; but a tolerably strong opinion all the witnesses can give, IF they are asked, and IF they will, Whether there is now despatched, in the High Court of Chancery, the quantity of business which might fairly be expected from a man of average attainments and qualities, or one half of it,—much less from a man of such high attainments, in some respects, as Lord Eldon?

It seems, however, that the length of service renders it harsh and indelicate to allow the inquiry to assume even the semblance or shape of censure. And this might, perhaps, in some degree,

be allowed, if it had not been, at the same time, unquestionably certain that the grievances, now no longer denied, have been suffered to accumulate without one single effort by the Noble and Learned Lord, to simplify, abridge, or amend any one portion of the principle or practice of his court (though constantly alleged to be the most knowing, and, therefore, the most sensible of such a course being necessary), until the evil day at length arrives, and the court can no longer be endured. But, moreover, does it never occur, when length of service is mentioned, that the execution of these laborious and irksome duties, as they are uniformly represented to be, is purely optional? If our modern worthies must wait, until called, like the Curiuses or Camilluses of old, from some obscure and lowly retreat, by the general voice and pressing necessity of a country to be saved, his Lordship and the rest may, we suspect, remain inactive for a length of time inconvenient and irksome in the extreme, to an appetite for office, or its profits. Who ever heard of the public forcing the acceptance of his situation, or his continuance in it, upon this or any other functionary? When the work is above their hands, may not any of them, at his pleasure, retire? Nay, indeed, has not the Noble and Learned Lord periodically spoken of this very event, in his own particular case, as if he really thought (which nobody else did) that he had some such step in contemplation? But is the Lord Chancellor a part of the 'unpaid magistracy' of the country? Is the service done for nothing? Is an absolute and uncontrolled power over the whole profession of the law, and the gratification annexed to the indulgence of partial affection, nothing? Is the emolument, if not personally received, at least distributable amongst friends or favourites, arising from the unbounded patronage connected with the same profession, nothing? Is the large and ample (not to say excessive) revenue attached to the office itself,—a revenue pared down and depreciated, in the course of debate, so much beyond what any body had previously imagined,—is this nothing? Are all these things nothing? How long these nothings (as the possession of office was called on another occasion) have been held, every body knows, and Mr Peel was not mistaken in supposing, that it was worth his while to show how his Noble Friend had deserved them. We mention this in passing, merely for the purpose of administering comfort to the more nice and sensitive part of the community, and preventing excessive grief, upon the supposition that public men, in any department, are wearing and tearing themselves to pieces from an abstract love of labour, or that they are really, or nominally,

serving the country without, at the same time, essentially serving themselves.

The interval between the formation of the Chancery Commission (upon which we shall observe no further at present, than that we trust they will not fall into the besetting sin of delay, but, at least, will let the country know what they have been doing), and the result of its labours, has been deemed a proper season, and so perhaps it may, for the production of a piece of considerable pretension,—no less, indeed, than the defence of the Lord Chancellor, mixed up with some slight, but perfectly allowable, disparagement of other persons. Railing, it has been said, is sometimes of use to the mind, and when either party grew angry, the deaf man could form some judgment which was in the wrong, by an observation of their relative heat. The general tone of this performance, the amplitude of statement, and confidence of assertion with which it abounds, would at once induce a belief, that it can be nothing less than an *official* exposition from Chancery. For the contributors to this work, as we can have no hostility except against some of the conclusions sought to be established, we have no worse wish than that they may each have their reward,—a Mastership for the senior—and for the lowest labourer, surely, a Commissionership of Bankrupts,—that being, so far as we know, one of the smallest crumbs which fall from the rich man's table. They undoubtedly undertake much, and if they fail, it is, at least, in no mean attempt. They undertake to prove, that in rapidity and despatch of business, judging only by amount, the present Chancellor has surpassed the best performances of Lord Macclesfield, Lord Hardwicke, Lord Thurlow, or any other Chancellor of any time. It follows, therefore, of course, that all that has been said or insinuated about some portion, at least, of the delay being imputable to Lord Eldon, is an ignorant or malignant misrepresentation of angry persons, who are making complaints for suitors in which they do not participate, and for which, consequently, there is no foundation. The general increase of business is brought forward as the true and only cause of the arrears in the court (if indeed it be intended to admit that there are any arrears at all), and that increase is represented to be such, that, notwithstanding the assistance of the Vice-Chancellor, no skill, order, knowledge, or decision, could keep the business down, or, in a word, do more than has been done by the Noble and Learned Lord. Now, it is our intention to show, either that the Chancery Company have not been happy in the *data* which they make the foundation of their assertions, or that they are mistaken in the conclu-

sions deduced from them, or, if not, that nothing could be so unfortunate for the fame of their patron, as that he did not retire, like Sir W. Grant, with his honours, green and fresh, about him, from the performance of such extraordinary feats of judicial excellence, before they were obscured and sullied by a falling off so lamentable and disastrous, as, if the Company's statement be correct, must immediately appear, in a period closely touching upon that, which they, for reasons best known to themselves, have selected.

If we give these writers credit for a correct use of the information on which they profess to proceed, we give them every possible advantage. That they have not detailed it with such particularity as to enable their readers to judge accurately for themselves, will hereafter appear. And yet it is natural to expect that writers, who must be conscious that they are partisans, and who, without feeling this to be any imputation (we make none such), must be aware that they are, for that very reason, liable to some suspicion of exaggeration, would be anxious to give every possible explanation which the subject could admit. They must have felt that they had to make converts of those whose faith would, probably, be staggered at the outset, and whose previous impressions could only yield to the force of evidence not to be resisted. Every body knows how much is expected on the other side of the question, and what an astounding clamour is set up, if the voucher of facts be not produced, as certainly they have been demanded, at every step, and that, when produced, they are said to be nothing but '*particular*' cases forsooth;—just as if any case could be general, and as if all rules were not formed from a number of instances, as the community is composed of individuals. But we shall pass on, and come to the statement itself.

We find then in the publication,* to which we have been alluding, a statement of the number of causes and petitions disposed of by Lord Eldon in three (which, for conformity, we will venture to call *particular*) years. The statement is, indeed, introduced in the shape of a comparison between Lord Hardwicke and Lord Eldon, yet it stands as a statement still. It is as follows:

Years.		Causes and Petitions.	
1808.	- -	299	Lord Eldon.
1809.	- -	261	
1810.	- -	213	

* The Quarterly Review, vol. xxx. p. 284.

We select this item in their account, for a reason which we shall at once explain. The other parts do not admit of being reduced to any certain criterion. The number of motions, for instance, may be ascertained, but the nature of each cannot; or, as they express it, the quantity may be got at, but not the quality. For which reason, there is nothing to prevent, if we were so disposed, an assertion on our part, that every motion is of course, and on the other side, that it involves a cause. An impartial person would, indeed, form a tolerable opinion that the truth lay somewhere between us, but *whereabouts* he could not tell. Petitions, too, fall under the same observation. Whether they last a minute, an hour, or a day, no return would specify. Petitions (lunatic particularly) constitute a trivial portion of Chancery business,—generally, we mean, for there are instances to the contrary undoubtedly. The public will not easily forget the number of days stiff and hard hearing expended upon the case of my Lord Portsmouth, in which was to be decided—whether he was competent? Not in the least;—but whether there was *a doubt* about it, for, if so, it was for a jury to decide. But though this uncertainty exists as to the quality of motions and *petitions*, in litigated causes it is otherwise. These are all of some weight and difficulty, and must last for a considerable time, varying, of course, from the complexity of the case, the wind of the learned counsel (which, in Chancery, it must be admitted, is generally supposed to be good *) and a variety of circumstances;—but last they must, before any judge. We, therefore, who cannot deal with official assertion, or, if we do, are sure to lose, must be allowed fondly to cling to instances, where there is something like certainty to resort to between us.

Before we proceed to the examination of this head of business, we must observe, that these writers have not attempted to

* Mr Peel said in the House of Commons that a learned gentleman had spoken, on one occasion, eighteen days. We very much wish this statement may be found correct; because, if it be,—not the speech, but the time it took in delivery, ought to be recorded, as natural curiosities are preserved in museums. It might, also, very fittly be placed at the head of an entirely new denomination of oratory, overlooked, so far as we remember, by Longinus, Dionysius, Cicero, Quintilian, &c. the *diuturnum*, or, peradventure, *æternum dicendi genus*. If however, the Right Honourable gentleman will confer with his friend the Attorney, or, perhaps we should rather say, the Solicitor-General, we are sadly afraid he will find it not to have been the case.

give a separate account of the number of *causes*, and the number of *petitions*. Neither have they, so far as we perceive, any where noticed whether the causes were litigated, or of course, or how many were of the one sort, and how many of the other. Surely, however, we may presume the former to be meant; for they would hardly stuff into their account, or place reliance, at least, upon nominal matter, adding to bulk without adding to weight. Farther, we presume, that as they have not disjoined or separated them, they wish it to be understood that the causes and petitions are about equal; for if the petitions exceeded, in fairness that should have been noticed, or, at least, that they had no means of ascertaining the numbers at all. Let us suppose them equal; and we then have an average of *one hundred and twenty-eight* causes per year for the three years, 1808, 1809, and 1810. Now, in order to try whether, supposing this work to have been done, it be a fair specimen, or a selection of these particular years, we will carry the matter a little farther down, and try the average of ten successive years, beginning within three of the above, as to which we have unquestionable *data* from the returns of the registrar of the Court to the House of Commons, of *litigated* causes, and not of all sorts of stuff jumbled together. Now, from those returns it appears, that, after deducting such causes or appeals (which since the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor are equivalent to causes,—there being now no original cause, as of course, heard before the Lord Chancellor) as died of themselves, for some reason, doubtless, well known to the Chancery Company, but *we* surmise because the suitors were weary of repose,—and such as were disposed of by the Vice-Chancellor, *eighty* causes (within one or two) were disposed of *in the whole ten years* by the Lord Chancellor; or, in other words, an average *of eight a year*,—being just one-sixteenth of the supposed performance in the particular years selected by the Chancery Gentlemen! Supposing, however, it should be said, that it was not intended to represent, that these causes were either contested or the contrary, but simply to draw a comparison between the two Chancellors, and if, with this view of the subject, we strike off one half, as being consent causes from the average amount of the three years, we shall still have a statement of eight times as much done within their period, as is proved to have been done in the ten, almost immediately succeeding, years! If then we were as ready, as some other people, in imputing motives, might it not be insinuated that this precise period had been selected, because it was safe for the indulgence of large assertion, and that they declined going farther, because they were aware, that, if they did, there were ready means of detection and correction?

But we have not yet done with their particular period. In this very statement to show the ascendency of Lord Eldon, in every one item of business, except that of rehearings, the amount of which is so trivial as to reach only 16 by Lord Hardwicke and 30 by Lord Eldon in the whole three years, and that unaccountable item of motions, to which we have adverted already, the balance is in favour of Lord Hardwicke. In the capital article of 'Causes,' (supposing the number of causes and petitions equal, as we have already done) it is most remarkable that Lord Hardwicke exceeds by the great amount of 110,* or, taking causes and petitions together, in the proportion of 982 to 762. In 'exceptions, further directions, and equity reserved,' Lord Hardwicke has the advantage by 185 to 112; and in 'pleas and demurrers,' by 80 to 68. This being of course fully understood, our ears are stunned by the cry of motions,—motions, with respect to which we have before explained that we have no check, and, as we are therefore at the mercy of these gentlemen, they use their privilege accordingly. We shall take this opportunity (though, when we are upon the subject of the amount of business done, not quite in order) of recalling the attention of our readers to that same authentic document, the Return of litigated causes from the year 1813 to the year 1823, for the purpose of gratifying their curiosity, as to the order observed in transacting business in that Court. Nothing can be more topsy turvy, than the course in which the causes appear to have been taken. They seem as if they had been shaken out of a bag together, heads and points, without any scheme, arrangement, or settled priority whatsoever. A single specimen shall suffice. In the third page of the Report, to which we have often referred, there are, after the deductions to be made for cases in some way or other to be struck out, twelve efficient cases left; and of these, three average seven years of age, between the petition presented and the order made, three average six years, and three about two months.

Seeing, however, that it never can be a question what was done formerly, so much as what is done now, and that it would be a poor consolation to suitors of this day, to hear that, fifteen years ago, things went on better, we have endeavoured to carry the matter further down still, by such means as are afforded. This, at least, we presume, will be agreed between us and the Chancery writers, that where such numerous and important duties are constantly to be performed, it is not enough to look back to times that are gone by, and to repose under the shade

* A curious fact this, and, we hope, not thrown away upon those who refer every thing to the increase of business in the Court!

of a former reputation, if ever so well deserved. The information we have obtained from the Lord Chancellor's daily papers; and we have generally confined our inquiry to that species of business contained in the Report from 1813 to 1823, viz.—causes, rehearings, and appeals, so as to form a continuation of that Report. Proceeding in this manner, and beginning from Michaelmas term 1823, we have the four following cases only, under that head, touched or attempted.

Wienholt v. Logan. Attorney Gen. v. Mansfield.
Nunn v. Agutter. Powell v. Mouchett.

Now for their fate. Wienholt v. Logan was heard, but no judgment given. Nunn v. Agutter, ditto. Attorney Gen. v. Mansfield heard, and opinion expressed, but question of costs reserved, so that no order could be drawn up. Powell v. Mouchett was part heard. General Result of Michaelmas Term 1823—one case decided finally.

In Hilary Term 1824, we have, of this species of business, in the daily papers,—

Cox v. Lord Somers, and
The case of Warden and Fellows of Manchester College.

Cox v. Lord Somers was heard, and no judgment given; [illegible] which, as we were informed by gentlemen in the [illegible] time, did not take up more than half an hour, in [illegible] decision, was heard and decided. And according- [illegible] appears in the daily papers once only, as we ob- [illegible] fares it with many others. Wienholt v. Lo- [illegible] (of the preceding term), sojourned there fif- [illegible] Powell v. Mouchett twenty days. General Re- [illegible] 1824,—one case disposed of. In the sit- [illegible] v. Ward, and the Attorney Gen. v. Corp. [illegible] and not decided. In Easter Term 1824, [illegible] following.

And Grey v. Grey, (original cause.) [illegible] directed,—the commencement of a new [illegible] at law and in equity; but Grey v. [illegible] General result of Easter [illegible] amongst others, in the [illegible]

Balland v. Biddle.
[illegible] Benton.
[illegible]

[illegible] tive and orth- which, orance of time a consi- nstances he Vice- nt Chan- it should t keep the if there had those Chan- Chancery,— t whereas, by y expressly (as House of Lords, that House by were unavoidably

of the Lord Chan-

287.

cellor is universally admitted. If, by this, is meant, as we understand it, that, in pronouncing his judgments, he stands free from all suspicion of personal corruption, the compliment is surely of a very homely texture. That which is common to so many can no longer operate as a distinction. If, as there is too much reason for believing, the judges of former times did not stand clear in their great office, that fashion of depravity at least has long since passed away. To doubt of Lord Bacon's lamentable infection is, we fear, hopeless and impossible; yet was such conduct, even in those days, distinguished by its singularity, and stigmatized as an exception; while the admirers of Bacon, if they are compelled to admit that sordid vice which condemns him as the meanest of mankind, find a refuge for his character in his nobler qualities, and appeal to all posterity that he was also the wisest and the greatest. Even Jeffries, it has been observed, where he was not disturbed and hindered by the influence of the Court, which was then, it seems, the prevailing stumbling-block, and where the parties, Samuel Smith and Joseph Jones, had no more properties of attraction or repulsion than the letters of which their names were composed, was himself an upright judge. Every age has its peculiar habits and manners, and a train of thinking, in a great degree, conformable to them; and that which nobody imagines can possibly be done, becomes in a little time, morally speaking, impossible. To affirm of the learned Judges of the land, from the Chancellor downwards, in these our days, that they have not 'an itching palm'—that they do not 'take provoking gold in either hand'—that, when they are holding the scales of justice, they do not allow the instrument of corruption to be cast into either to falsify the account,—is indeed true, but, as a subject of commendation, is about as appropriate and select as it would be to affirm, of a man of the first condition and character in the country, that he can walk up and down St James's, or (what perhaps would be more to the purpose) Lombard Street, twice a day, without ever attempting to thrust his hand into a single pocket. To feel, that however (unfortunately for the other part of his character) he may be in the Cabinet a politician, he is a lawyer on the seat of judgment, and to act accordingly:—to look down, from that great elevation to which his merit or his fortune has raised him, upon the subjected profession with care, and watchfulness, and impartiality:—to cultivate that profession to which, whatever others may think of it, he owes all his honours and all his prosperity, and to advance it, if possible, in credit, and dignity, and public esteem:—to deal with every man, placed

under his great and absolute power, according to his merits, and according to his merits only:—to chase away the assiduities of interest, and the importunities of power, if they should attempt to traverse the even and lofty tenor of his course:—to obtain a noble victory over jealousies, and animosities, and resentments, if such should assail him, and to render the transcendant dignity of the officer superior to the natural, and, therefore, inevitable, frailties of the man. This, in our humble apprehension,—this is the only integrity that should be spoken of as honourable to a Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Of the twopenny integrity, more common infinitely than copper coin, and therefore less valuable, which has not only never been denied, but has never come into question, we shall, for that reason, say no more.

ART. VII. *Original Letters, illustrative of English History; including numerous Royal Letters: From Autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other Collections. With Notes and Illustrations.* By HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 1070. London, Harding, 1824.

IF antiquaries in the fortunate situation of Mr Ellis, intrusted with the keeping of Literary and Historical treasures, would, like him, give up to the humbler but important duties of Editors, a portion of the time which they are too fond of devoting entirely to abstruse speculations upon points connected with their favourite pursuits, the world of letters would gain incalculably by their labours. Instead of one man of learning, or a few such men, exhausting their ingenuity upon the materials within their reach, while the rest of the world were excluded from the inquiry, the whole force of the literary community would be brought to bear upon the whole fund of disquisition; and the rich treasures now in a great measure hid from the publick eye, would become both accessible to all competent workmen, and, through them, available to the use of mankind at large. The gratitude of the republick of letters is therefore, as it appears to us, eminently due to Mr Ellis for setting so good an example; and we trust he will be encouraged by the publick in such a manner as may both make him persevere in the same course, and induce others to follow him.

The title-page almost sufficiently describes the plan and the contents of these volumes. They consist of Letters from the most

celebrated personages in English Story, during a period of about three centuries, beginning with Henry V. and ending with George I. The greater number of the originals are preserved in the British Museum; and a cursory reader of the Dedication would suppose that they came from the late King's library, so munificently presented by his present Majesty. Upon closer inspection, however, it appears that the author only means to say that the larger portion of the whole letters come from *the Museum*, 'which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to 'enlarge and enrich with the donation of the Library collected 'by your Majesty's revered father.'—'A gift,' he adds, 'greater 'than has been bestowed by any Sovereign upon any nation, 'since the library of the Ptolemies was founded at Alexandria.' Far be it from us to quarrel with any expression of publick gratitude for so munificent an act as that of his Majesty in giving the library; but it surely ought to be recollected, that the celebrated collection at Paris, called the King of France's library, is as accessible to the publick—as much publick property as that of the British Museum; with this difference, that the nation here has paid for all the collections in the Museum, except such as were the gifts of individuals, while the whole French library was paid for and maintained by the King. The truth is, however, that there is no satisfying praisers; they are, next to those whom they laud, the most insatiable of all mortals; and, never content with stating that a person has done much and merits many thanks, they must always have him to be the only one who has done any thing, or the one who has done the most. When this spirit takes a national turn, it runs into still wilder luxuriance, and gives rise to that pharisaical habit so disgustingly prevalent in this country, and which, while it leads to an unwise contempt of all other countries, begets a very hurtful reluctance to profit by their experience in avoiding their errors, or to avail ourselves of their aid by judicious imitation.

The plan of our author is to give a distinct reference to the place where each MS. is preserved; to add such explanatory notes as may be requisite for removing difficulties; and to prefix short dissertations wherever they are wanted, or where he has any interesting information touching the times, the writers, and the subject, to communicate. The reader who only looks to Mr Ellis's very modest mention of these dissertations in the preface, would greatly undervalue them;—they are full of minute and curious learning; extremely useful to the profitable perusal of the documents themselves; and, generally speaking, very judiciously composed.

The first Letter in this collection is curious, and relates to a

circumstance painful to remember in the history of one of our greatest warriors, Henry V.—his treatment of the illustrious captives whom victory had placed under his power. It is well known that he took prisoners no fewer than five princes of the blood at the famous battle of Agincourt; of these, some died, some were ransomed; but the most important, Charles Duke of Orleans, remained in confinement at Windsor and Pontefract until the King's death; and, in obedience to his strict injunctions, was detained much beyond that period, being only liberated in 1440, for a ransom of 54,000 nobles, about 36,000 pounds of our present money. The same monarch kept the amiable and accomplished James I. of Scotland during the whole of his reign, having received him, as it were, with his crown, from his father, who took him captive in 1406, when a boy of nine years old, during a truce between the kingdoms. Hume, who makes no remark upon the barbarity of keeping Orleans prisoner for twenty-four years, or the base and cruel perfidy of capturing James, admits that, 'by *detaining* him in 'the English Court, Henry had shown himself *somewhat* deficient 'in *generosity*,' for which, however, 'he made *ample amends* by 'giving him an excellent education;' that is to say, stealing a child, and keeping him for eighteen years, shows some want of generosity; but is not even chargeable with that slight defect, if you bring him up well. It is, however, probable that Hume writes with a reference to the barbarous notions of those dark ages. He had not lived to witness the scenes that have lately been enacted by the most enlightened nations, in the most improved age. The following Letter of Henry V. is conceived in the true spirit of the St Helena School.

'Furthermore I wold that ye comend with my brothre, with the Chanceller, with my cosin of Northumberlond, and my cosin of Westmerland, and that ye set a gode ordinance for my North Marches, and specialy for the Duc of Orlians, and for alle the remanent of my prisoners of France, and also for the K. of Scotelond; for as I am secrely enfourmed by a man of ryght notable estate in this lond that there hath ben a man of the Ducs of Orliance in Scotland, and accorded with the Duc of Albany that this next Somer he schal bryng in the mamnet of Scotlond to sturre what he may. And also that ther shold be founden weys to the havying awey specialy of the Duc of Orlians, and also of the K. as welle as of the remanant of my forsayd prysoners that God do defende. Wherfore I wolle that the Duc of Orliance be kept stille withyn the Castil of Pontefret, with owte goying to Robertis place or to any othre disport, for it is bettr he lak his disport, then we were disceyved. Of all the remanant dothe as ye thenketh.' pp. 1–2.

There are several letters given of Sir Thomas More, which appear, by the contents, to be written in the earliest part of

Henry VIII.'s reign, and clearly show, that, from the first, that monarch, if he did not govern entirely without a minister, yet ruled almost completely himself, and used Wolsey much more as an instrument than a viceroy. For most of these Letters of More are to the Cardinal; and contain directions to him from Henry upon all matters, from the highest affairs of State down to concerns of a very subordinate nature; and only shifting the burthen of deciding or planning upon the minister, when difficulties occurred which could be easiest got over by his Eminency's 'politique wisedome,' or 'prudent caste.' Of the smaller matters in which 'the King's Highnes' chose to interfere, we have a comical specimen in a letter touching the disposal of a piece of city patronage, which we believe is no longer vested in the Crown; nor indeed even in the Court of Aldermen,—we mean the right of bestowing an Alderman's widow in marriage, upon the demise of her worshipful husband. Sir Thomas writes to the Cardinal as follows.

'Hit may lyke your good Grace to be advertised that the Kings Highnes this nyght going to his souper called me to hym secretely, and commaunded me to wryte unto your Grace that where as hit hath pleased our Lord to call to his mercy Mr Myrfyn late Aldreman of London, his Grace very greatly desireth for the speciall favor which he bereth toward Sir William Tyler, that the same Sir William shold have the widoo of the said late Aldreman in mariage. For the furtheraunce wherof his Highnes considering your Grace's well approved wisedome and dexteritie in th'acheving and bringing to good passe his vertuouse and honorable appetites, commaunded me with diligence to advertise your Grace that his Highnes in moost hartie wise requyreth your Grace that hit may like you, at the contemplation of this his affectuouse request, by your high wisedome to devise, put in ure, and pursue the moost effectuall meanys by which his Grace's desire may in this mater best be brought abowt and goodly take effecte; wherein his Highnes saith that your Grace shall do him a right speciall pleasure, and bynd the said Sir William duryng his life to pray for your good Grace.' I. 207–208.

There is a curious letter from Cranmer to Hawkins, ambassador at the Imperial Court, which touches upon the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyne. The date of the marriage is, as the reader well knows, a matter of dispute; the Archbishop does not exactly fix this, but nearly; he gives it as 'much about St Paul's day,' that is 25th January. He is also himself asserted to have been present at the ceremony, but that he denies with some bitterness; in truth, it would have been a material aggravation of his misconduct in the divorce, if he had previously assisted at the marriage; for whatever the precise day may have been, whether 14th November, as Hall and Hollinshed make it, or 25th January, there is no doubt that

the scandalous decree of divorce was only pronounced in the May following; so that, though the date of the marriage may affect the question of Queen Elizabeth's being begotten in wedlock, it cannot prove her to have been begotten in lawful wedlock; and in every view of the case, Henry, to his other crimes, added that of bigamy. We shall only extract a part of this letter, which is long.

'Ande fyrste as towchyng the small (*qu.* final?) determynacion and concludyng of the matter of devorse betwene my Lady Kateren and the Kyngs Grace, whiche said matter after the Convocacion in that behalf hadde determyned and aggreed accordyng to the former consent of the Vniversites, yt was thowght convenient by the Kyng and his lernyd Councell that I shuld repayre unto Dunstable, which ys within iiij. myles vnto Amptell, where the said Lady Kateren kepeth her howse, and there to call her before me, to here the fynall Sentance in this said mateir. Notwithstandyng she would not att all obey therunto, for whan she was by doctour Lee cited to appear by a daye, she utterly refused the same, sayinge that inasmoche as her cause was before the Pope she would have none other judge; and therfore woulde not take me for her judge. Nevertheless the viijth daye of Maye, accordyng to the said appoyntment, I came vnto Dunstable, my Lorde of Lyncoln beyng assistante vnto me, and my Lorde of Wyncehester, Doctour Bell, Doctour Claybroke, Doctour Trygonnel, Doctour Hewis, Doctour Olyver, Doctour Brytten, Mr Bedell, with diuerse other lernyd in the Lawe beyng councellours in the Lawe for the King's parte: and soo there at our commyng kepte a Courte for the appearance of the said Lady Kateren, where were examyned certeyn witnes whiche testified that she was lawfully cited and called to appere, whome for fawte of apperance was declared contumax; procedyng in the said cause agaynste her *in pœnam contumaciam* as the processe of the Lawe thereunto belongeth; whiche contynewed xv dayes after our cummyng thither. And the morrow after Assension daye I gave finall Sentance therin, howe that it was indispensable for the Pope to lycense any suche marieges.

'This donne, and after our reiornyng home agayne, the Kings Highnes prepared al thyngs convenient for the Coronacion of the Queene, whiche also was after suche a maner as foloweth.'—'And after that was song a solempne Masse, all which while her grace satt crowned upon a scaffold whiche was made betwene the Highe Alter and the Qwyer in Westminstre Churche; which Masse and ceremonyes donne and fynysshed, all the Assemble of noble men broughte her into Westminstre Hall agayne, where was kepte a great solempne feaste all that daye; the good ordre thereof were to longe to wrytte at this tyme to you. But nowe Sir you may nott ymagyn that this Coronacion was before her mariege, for she was maried muche about sainte Paules daye last, as the condicion therof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe sumwhat bygg with

chylde. Notwithstandyng yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I maried her; whiche was playnly false, for I myself knewe not therof a fortenyght after yt was donne. And many other thyngs be also reported of me, whiche be mere lyes and tales.' II. 35–39.

It is singular enough, that it never comes into his Grace's head to doubt the validity of the marriage, celebrated while another was subsisting. But Royal Divorce appears not to have been the only chapter of the Imperial Law that occupied his Grace. The same letter concludes with a most edifying account of certain proceedings had in the matter of Heresy.

'Other newys have we none notable, but that one Fryth, whiche was in the Tower in pryson, was appoynted by the Kyngs grace to be examyned befor me, my Lorde of London, my lorde of Wynchestre, my Lorde of Suffolke, my Lorde Channcelour, and my Lorde of Wylteshere, whose opynion was so notably erronioure, that we culde not dyspache hym but was fayne to leve hym to the determynacion of his Ordinarye, whiche ys the bishop of London. His said opynyon ys of suche nature that he thoughte it nat necessary to be beleved as an Article of our faythe, that ther ys the very corporall presence of Christe within the Oste and Sacramente of the Alter, and holdethe of this poynte muste after the Opynion of Oecolampadious. And suerly I myself sent for hym iij or iiij tymes to perswade hym to leve that his Imaginacion, but for all that we could do therin he woulde not applye to any counsaile, notwithstandyng nowe he ys at a fynall ende with all examinacions, for my Lorde of London hathe gyven sentance and delyuered hym to the secular power, where he loketh every daye to goo unto the fyer.' II. 40.

The atrocious affair of the divorce, only to be surpassed by the subsequent treatment of Queen Katherine's ill fated successor, is now universally spoken of as it deserves, and as it was no doubt universally thought of at the time. But with our accustomed proneness to praise our own age and nation at the expense of every other, we are apt to exclaim against those who lived then, for witnessing such acts of violence and injustice unmoved. We cry out against their baseness; and thank God that we are not as they were, submitting in quiet to whatever a ferocious tyrant commanded, and his despicable tools performed. Now, in justice to our ancestors, let the plain truth be set down. *Suppose* a like act were done in our days,—how many men would venture to question it, out of Parliament where freedom of speech is unlimited? How many of the clergy, to take an instance, would petition against it! Would any considerable number preach against it? If one peradventure should be found to do his duty, how long would his conduct be suffered to pass unpunished? But would any one come with-

in a thousand miles of the subject in the Royal presence? Above all, would any court preacher make a nearer approach to such delicate ground? In the sermons delivered at St James's or Whitehall, but especially if the King were present, would the word marriage, or divorce, or bigamy, or adultery, be so much as named from beginning to end for twelve calendar months? Yet see what befel Harry VIII. immediately after he had perpetrated the crime. A man, whose name deserves to be remembered, one Peto, 'a simple man,' says Stow, 'yet very devout,' preaching before the king at Greenwich, took for his subject the story of Ahab, and for his text this verse, 'Even 'where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall the 'dogs lick thy blood also, O King,'—and 'therewithall, adds 'the Chronicler, spake of the lying prophets which abused the 'king.' The reader will be gratified to read part of his discourse. 'I am, quoth he, that Micheas whom thou will hate, 'because I must tell the truly that this marriage is unlawful; and 'I know I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water 'of sorrow; yet because our Lord hath put it into my mouth, I 'must speak of it.'

Next Sunday came a regular court chaplain, and attempted to turn the tables on the true man: But his fate in the contest is exemplary; and shows that the friar was not the only honest priest then about the king. We willingly give the whole passage.

'The next Sunday being the eighth of May, Dr Curwen preached in the same place, who most sharply reprehended Peto and his preaching, and called him dog, slanderer, base beggarly friar, close man, rebel, and traitor; saying that no subject should speak so audaciously to Princes; and having spoke much to that effect, and in commendation of the King's marriage, thereby to establish his seed in his seat for ever, he supposing to have utterly suppresst Peto and his partakers, lifted up his voice and said, "I speak to thee, Peto, which makest thyself Micheas, that thou mayest speak evil of Kings, but now thou art not to be found, being fled for fear and shame, as being unable to answer my arguments." And whilst he thus spake, there was one Elstow, a fellow friar to Peto, standing in the roodloft, who, with a bold voice, said to Dr Curwen, "Good Sir, you know that father Peto, as he was commanded, is now gone to a Provincial Council holden at Canterbury, and not fled for fear of you, for to-morrow he will return again; in the mean time I am here, as another Micheas, and will lay down my life to prove all those things true which he hath taught out of the holy Scripture; and to this combat I challenge thee before God and all equal judges; *even unto thee*, CURWEN, I say, which art one of the four hundred Prophets

into whom the spirit of lyeing is entered, and seekest by adultery to establish succession, betraying the King unto endless perdition, more for thy own vain glory and hope of promotion than for discharge of thy clogged conscience, and the King's salvation." This Elstow waxed hot, and spake very earnestly, so as they could not make him cease his speech, until THE KING HIMSELF bad him hold his peace, and gave order that he and Peto should be convented before the Council, which was done the next day; and when the Lords had rebuked them, then the Earl of Essex told them that they had deserved to be put into a sack and cast unto the Thames; whereunto Elstow smiling, said, "Threaten these things to rich and dainty folke, which are clothed in purple, fare deliciously, and have their chiefest hope in this world; for we esteem them not, but are joyful that for the discharge of our duties we are driven hence; and, with thanks to God, we know the way to Heaven to be as ready by water as by land, and therefore we care not which way we go." ' II. 41, 42.

Nor were the people in remote provinces behind those nearer court, in speaking out against the offence which the pampered tyrant had given with the concurrence of his vile minions, to the feelings of the country. Those wretched creatures, for the sake of their places, had eagerly prostituted themselves to serve the purposes of their insolent master; but the people could not be restrained from expressing their honest indignation; and we find, in this collection a report made by the Earl of Derby and Sir H. Faryngton to the King, of an examination taken before them, by which it appears, that in Lancashire 'a lewde and noghty 'priest' had spoken 'diverse unfyttyng and sklaunderous words, 'as well by your Highnes as by the Quenes grace.' They then set forth the depositions, which vary somewhat in the words, but agree in the substance of what 'Sir Jamys Harri-'son, preist,' took occasion to say before sundry persons, at the reading of the Royal proclamation touching the divorce. He said, 'Queen Katharyn was Queen, and as for Nan Bullen, 'who tho' deerye made her Queen—Nan Bullen, that Hoore 'shall not be Queen; and as for the King, he should not be 'King but on his bering'—that is, as we humbly take the reverend gentleman, he should consider him to be King according as he behaved himself.

The next letter which we shall advert to is one of our James V., respecting some angry complaints of libels made to him on the part of his uncle, Henry VIII., by the warden of the West Marches, Sir Thomas Wharton. The combined archness and caution of this epistle are somewhat characteristick of the country.

'Weilbelovid frende we gret zou weil. And forsamekle as we ha-

ven considerate be zour Vrytinges, sic Ballats and buks of Diffamatioun as ze allege ar maid be our legis to the displesoure of our derrest uncle, quhairof we ar ryt miscontentit, gif sua beis; and has presentlie directit scharpe charges to all partis of our bordours to defend sic thingis to be usit be ony oure liegis, and to get knawledge of the auctors of it ze wryt is done to the intent that thai may be punyschit for their demerits as accords. Bot because we never hard of sic thingis of befoir, we suspect rather the samyn to be imaginate and devisit be sum of zour awin natioun, and liegis of our derrest unclis. Forther in this behalfe we have gevin charge to the Lord Maxwell Warden of our West Merches, as he will schaw zou, quhame God conserve. At our Palace of Linlytgw the last Day of Januar.

'JAMES R.

'To our weilbilovit Schir
Thomas Warthoun Wardane off the West
Marchis of Ingland foranent Scotland.' II. pp. 103, 104.

An account of Rizzio's murder, in a letter from the Earl of Bedford, is worthy of notice. The letter is a long one—but the following passage is the most material.

'Upon the Saterdaye at nyghte, nere unto viij. of the clocke, the King convoythe hym self, the Lord Ruthen, George Duglas, and two other, thorowe his owne Chamber by the previe stayers, up to the Quenes Chamber, yoinge to which ther is a Cabinet abowte xij. footes square, in the same a lyttle lowe reposinge bedde, and a table, at the which ther were syttinge at the supper the Quene, the Ladie Argile, and David with his cappe upon his heade. Into the Cabinet ther commethe in the King, and Lord Ruthen, who willed David to come forthe, sayinge that ther was no place for hym. The Quene saide that yt was her wyll; her howsbonde answerde that yt was agaynste her honor. The Lord Ruthen saide that he sholde lerne better his deutie, and offeringe to have taken him by the arme, David tooke the Quene by the blyghtes of her gowne, and put hym self behynde the Quene, who wolde gladlye have savid hym; but the Kyng havinge loosed his hands, and holdinge her in his armes, David was thruste owte of the Cabinet thorowe the bede chamber into the Chamber of Presens, whear were the Lord Morton, Lord Lindesaye, whoe intendinge that night to have reserved hym and the nexte daye to hange hym, so maynie beinge abowte them that bore hym evle will, one thruste hym into the boddie with a dagger, and after hym a greate maynie other, so that he had in his boddie above lv. wonds. Yt is tolde for certayne that the Kings owne dagger was left stickinge in hym. Wheather he stroke hym or not we cane not knowe for certayne. He was not slayne in the Quenes presens as was saide, but goinge downe the stayers owte of the Chamber of Presence.

'Ther remayned a longe tyme with the Quene, her howsbonde and the Lord Ruthen. She made, as we here, greate intercession that he sholde have no harme. She blamed greatlye her howsbonde

that was the autor of so fowle an Acte. Yt is saide that he dyd answer that David had more compagnie of her boddie then he for the space of two monethes, and therfore for her honor and his owne contentement he gave his consent that he sholde be taken awaye. Yt is not, saythe she, the Woman's parte to seeke the howsbonde, and therefore in that the fawlt was his owne. He said that when he came, she ether wolde not or made her self sycke. Well, saythe she, you have taken your laste of me, and your farewell. That were pyttie, saythe the Lord Ruthen, he is your Majesties howsbond, and you must yelde deutie to eache other. Whye maye not I, saythe she, leave hym as well as your wyf dyd her howsbonde. Other have done the lyke. The Lord Ruthen saide that she was lawfullye devorced from her howsbonde, and for no suche cawse as the Kinge founde hym self greved. Besyds this man was meane, basse, ennemie to the nobilitye, shame to her, and dystruction to her Grace's countrye. Well saythe she, yt shalbe deare blude to some of you yf hys be spylte. God forbed, saythe Lord Ruthen, for the more your Grace showe yourself offended, the worlde wyll judge the worce. Her howsbonde this tyme speakethe lyttle. Her Grace contynuallye weepethe. The Lord Ruthen beinge evle at ease, andweake, callethe for a drinke, and saythe this I muste do with your Majesties pardon, and perswadethe her in the beste sorte he coulde that she wolde pacifie her self. Nothynge that coulde be saide coulde please her.' II. pp. 209–212.

In a letter of Sir Francis Knollys to Elizabeth, is given a conversation of a somewhat delicate nature with Mary; the purpose being to prove that, as she had committed murder, which seems to have been assumed, she might be justly deposed.

'Wherupon I thowght with my selffe that yf I should not object sumwhat to make the matter disputable, whether the Lordes of Skotlond deposing hyr from the government (althoghe not by hyr owne inward consente yet by hyr subscription) dyd well or not, that then she wold more clamorously be offended with youre Majestie yff youe should not answer hyr reqwestes according to hyr expectation: wherfore I objected unto hyr that in some cases Prynces myght be deposed from theyr government by theyr subjects lawfully, as yff a Prynce should fall into madnes. In this case good subjects myght depose theyr Prynce from government and restrayne hym from lybertie. And (sayd I) what dyfference is there betwene Lunecye and cruell murderyng, for the one is an evyll humor proceding of malyncolye, and the other is an evyll humor proceeding of color: wherfore the qwestion ys whether your Grace deserved to be put from the government or not, for yf your Grace should be gyltye of any sotche odyous cryme as deservethe deposall, then (sayd I) howe should they be blamed that have deposed youe? Hereuppon hyr Grace begynnyng to kleare hyr selffe after hyr acustomed maner, the tears yet fell from hyr eyes. And then I sayd your Hyghnes wold be the gladdest in

the world to see hyr Grace well purged of this cryme, that therby your Hyghnes myght ayde hyr fully and amplelye to the advancement of hyr Grace to her governement Royall agayne: for her Grace I sayde was your Hyghnes nerest kinswoman on the father's syde, and that youe were bothe borne in one continent of lande, althoe this seperation was betwene youe, that youe were not bothe borne in one circute of obedience. Herewith hyr Grace answerd me very curtysely, but forthewith she sayd she must goe close upp hyr Letters to your Hyghnes, and so departed to hyr bed chamber. This farr I waded with hyr Grace to make hyr cawse disputable, but whan I sawe hyr tears, I forbayre to prosequte myn objection, and fell to comfortyng of hyr with declaration of your Hyghnes great affection and good wyll towards hyr.' II. pp. 244, 245.

There is one remark applicable pretty generally to the collection before us, and which we should hope the learned and industrious Editor will both take in good part and profit by. He seems, in selecting his materials, to have considered too much the high and resounding names with which his work should be garnished, and not quite enough to have weighed the value of the contents of the letters themselves. Thus, a large proportion are either written by or to Royal personages; (of the first volume, four in five are of this description) and the rest are chiefly the epistles of the principal statesmen and courtiers of the time. Now, as to the correspondence of kings and queens, it is never likely to be very interesting. Supposing them to have the power, they have seldom the inclination to give much information that can be relied upon; or, if true, that can instruct us; and, to a certain degree, this remark applies also to that of their favourites and ministers. The rich repositories whence Mr Ellis made his selection must contain many far more curious pieces, and likely to cast a more valuable light upon history, under the hands of persons far less known than 'His Majesty's Royal Ancestors,' of whom he makes mention in his dedication, as the author of so many letters in these volumes.

That our observation of the generally uninteresting nature of such Regal penmanship is not applicable to all the specimens, we have shown already; and we find other instances of striking exceptions to the caution that for the most part guides such pens. There is a warrant of Queen Elizabeth, directing the Torture to be applied in the Duke of Norfolk's case, to his two servants; and Lord Burghley did not disdain to be a party in this atrocity; for the body of the instrument is in his hand. It orders the unhappy men, because 'they haue not uttred ther knolledg, & nother will discour the same without torture,' to be 'brought

'to the rack;' and they are 'first to be moved with thi feare 'thereof, and to deale playnly in ther answers, and if that shall 'not move them, than you shall cause them to be put to the 'rack, and *to find the tast thereof*, until they shall deal more 'plynly, or until you shall thynk mete.' This is dated 15th September, 1571; and it appears, by a letter from Sir T. Smith, to whom, with a Dr Wilson, the warrant was addressed, that it was executed, 'not in any hope to get any thing wor-'thy that pain or fear, but because it is so earnestly command-'ed to us.'—Vol. ii. p. 261.

We have a letter from the Recorder of London to Lord Burghley, giving an account of the Queen's reception of the Lord Mayor when presented upon his accession to office. In those days that worshipful and learned person appears to have had the privilege of inflicting an oration on the sovereign upon this great occasion; for he tells the Treasurer that her Majesty 'most gratiously accepted of my Lord, and of my folishe speech, 'to the great comforth of my Lord Maior, and of all his brethren 'the aldermen.' The whole ceremonial, indeed, seems to have gone off auspiciously, the Queen being 'wonderfully well pleased 'in all things, savinge for that some yonge gentilmen, beinge 'more bold than well manered, did stand upon the carpett of 'the clothe of Estate, and did allmost leane upon the quesions' (cushions), 'which drew down a rebuke upon my Lord Cham-'berlain and Mr Vizchamb.' An epistle from Elizabeth Dowager Lady Russel to her nephew Lord Cecil, is termed 'a 'letter of familiarity and kindness;' and thus begins, 'God 'comfort you, my Lord, when you woold as it pleased your 'Lordship to comfort my daunted spiritts which were so chang-'ed therby and sturred upp by your Lordships so honorable 'most kynde and unloked for visitacion, as turned melancoly 'into a sanguin.' The old lady then complains of her health, and says she has not so much as drank 'a draught of ale, bere, 'or wyne, sins my comming to Windsor, but water and lim-'mons;' and adds, 'But in trawth I had clymed up and 'stoode, from your Lordships comming in to your going owt, 'which made me faynt, and sweat truly. Thus muche have I 'troobled your Lordship, becawse I woold not willingly de-'serve to be thought a dissembler or ipperitt (hypocrite).'

There are many letters in this collection during James I. reign. One is remarkable enough, as showing the popular feeling in favour of the unfortunate queen of Bohemia, and the king's displeasure thereat; and, another we shall give as a specimen of the classical flattery which prevailed in the universities of those days.

'The Lieutenant of Middle Temple played a game this Christmas time, whereat his Matie was highly displeased. He made choise of some thirty of the civillest and best fashioned gentlemen of the House to sup with him. And being at supper, took a cup of wine in one hand, and held his sword drawn in the other, and so began a health to the distressed Lady Elizabeth, and having drunk, kissed his sword, and laying his hand upon it, took an oath to live and die in her service; then delivered the cup and sword to the next, and so the health and ceremonie went round.

The Gentlemen of Grayes Inne, to make an end of Christmas on Twelfe night, in the dead time of the night, shott off all the chambers they had borrowed from the Tower, being as many as filled four carts. The King awakened with this noise, start out of his bed, and cryed "Treason, Treason," &c. and that the Cittie was in an uprore, in such sort (as it is told) that the whole Court was raised, and almost in Armes; the Earle of Arundell running to the bed-chamber with his sword drawne as to rescue the Kings person. These are such things as I heard from Londoners: and so I leave them. III. 118, 119.

'I send our Lettres of last Saturday, and with them a Book. But that I guess I am prevented by others, I would have else (*qu.* also?) sent you the Kings Sonnet of Jack and Tom, and other such like tricks. Howsoever I will give you the Epigram whole, which our Orator made, and Dr Richardson brought to be read before the King at dinner when he was here.

Dum petit INFANTEM Princeps, Grantamque JACOBUS,
Cujusnam major sit dubitatur Amor?
Vicit more suo noster; nam millibus Infans
Non tot abest, quot nos Regis ab Ingenio.

The King descended more miles to visit us at Cambridge than the Prince is gone to see the Infanta. Ergo the Kings Love is the greater. REX *amore vincit* PRINCIPEM.' III. 133–134.

The following account of Felton's trial (if trial it can be called) was written by a gentleman of Lincolns Inn, and shows that the principal indignation against him was raised by the circumstance of Villiers having been the king's favourite.

'That there had been a rumour a sennight before, that Felton was speedily to come to his tryall, but there was annexed to that report that the Judges should sitt at the Tower, and a special Commission be granted to that purpose: the day of the arraignment to be on the Tuesday after the Terme end, which was Tuesday this week. But on Wednesday last week, when no man expected any such thing, was Felton before break of day conveyed from the Tower to the gatehouse, and between six and seven a clock that morning, attended by the Sherif and many armed men, brought to the King's Bench bar. His Indictment being read, he confessed the fact, but added that he did it not maliciously, but out of an intent for the good of his Country.

Then Mr Attorney made a speech in aggravation of the murder, shewing the heinousness thereof both in respect of the quality of the

person killed, and also of the manner of doing it. That he had slain so dear and near a subject of the Kings, so great a counseller of State, the General of his Majesties forces, Admiral of the Seas, &c. and exaggerating the manner of the deed, he produced the knife in open Court, comparing him to Ravilliak (at the sight of the knife some observed the tears in Felton's eyes) and accordingly desired that upon his owne confession judgement of Death might pass upon the malefactor.

Then Justice Jones, being the ancient on the bench, asked Felton what he could say why judgement of Death should not be given against him; without impannelling either Jury, or examining witnesses. Felton answered, I am sorry both that I have shed the blood of a man who is the image of God, and taken away the life of so near a subject to the King as Mr Attorney hath related: and, lifting up his arm, 'This is the instrument,' sayd he, 'which did the fact, which I desire may be first cutt off, and the rest of my carkasse I willingly yield to this Court to be disposed of as You and his Majesty shall please.

Judge Jones answered, that by the law, if a man strike in the Kings palace, he is to loose his hand. &c. But it was not his Majesty's pleasure that they should proceed against him in any other way than that which the law had ordinarily determined in such cases. You shall therefore, saith he, have the law and no more, and so gave sentence he should be hanged untill he were dead; but named neither time nor place. Sentence being pronounced, Felton made obeisience, and thanked his Lordship; but said My Lord, 'this will not 'be all Your punishment, for unless You look to it, and prepare 'Yourself before your death, there is a far worse to follow afterward.' 'I know it, my Lord,' quoth Felton, 'and know also that I 'have a Saviour, whose blood, I doubt not, but upon my repentance, 'shall wash away, as all my other sins, so, this also. I have,' says he, 'already made my peace with God, and am prepared for death.' III. 278–280.

Upon the merits of Felton and Buckingham, it seems all were not quite of Mr Attorney's opinion. The following extract of a letter from Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville is very curious; and the fear shown of repeating the disrespectful words in court, and even of their being seen in the letter, is exceedingly edifying, when contrasted with the sentiments so universally prevailing a few years after.

'The same Friday was sen'night also were censured in the Starre Chamber Alexander Gill bachelor of divinity at Oxford, and Usher in Paule's Schoole under his own father, and one Mr Grimkin, an Oxonian also, of his acquaintance. Gill, for saying in Trinity College cellar in Oxford [that our King was fitter to stand in a Cheap-Side shop, with an apron before him and say 'What lack yee'! than to govern a kingdome] 2. That the Duke was gone downe to Hell to meet King James there. 3. For drinking a health to Felton, saying he was sorry Felton had deprived him of the honour of doing that brave act.

The words concerning his Majesty were not read in open Court, but only those concerning the Duke and Felton; nor had my author heard any more laid to his charge; but this was enough. His censure was, to be degraded both from his ministry and degrees taken in the University; to lose one ear at London, and the other at Oxford; and to be fined at L.2000. What Grimkin's charge was my author knew not, but for writing somewhat in prose or verse to the same end, or dictating it.' III. 276–277.

When we come to the times of the Commonwealth, the matter becomes far more interesting, but in quantity it is extremely limited; not above twelve or fourteen letters in all. Of these a short one from Charles I. to Newcastle is well deserving of attention, and shows that in those days, as now, men only learnt by their necessities the lesson which seems so simple, of toleration in religious matters.

'New Castel—This is to tell you that this Rebellion is growen to that height, that I must not looke what opinion men ar who at this tyme ar willing and able to serve me. Therfore I doe not only permitt, and command you, to make use of all my loving subjects services, without examining ther Contienses (more then there loyalty to me) as you shall fynde most to conduce to the uphoulding of my just Regall Power. So I rest

Your most asseured faithfull

Shrewsbury 23 Sep. 1642. frend

CHARLES R.

The following to Prince Maurice is in a far better spirit—though still manifesting an arbitrary and unaccommodating temper, equally unbecoming his fortunes, and his ignorance in the art of war.

'Nefuru, Newtoune 20 Sep. 1645.

'What through want of tyme, or unwillingness, to speake to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Ruperts present condition. The treuth is, that his unhansom quitting the Castell and Forte of Bristol, hath inforced me to put him off those Commands which he had in my Armys, and have sent him a Passe to goe beyond Sease; now though I could doe no lesse than this, for which (belive me) I have too much reason upon strickt examination, yet I assuere you, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more greefe then any misfortune since this damnable Rebellion) hath no waise proceeded from his change of affection to me or my Cause; but merely by having his judgement seduced by some rottenharted villaines making faire pretentions to him; and I am resolved so litle to forgett his former services, that, whensoever it shall please God to enable me to looke upon my frends lyke a King, he shall thanke God for the paines he hath spent in my Armys. So much for him; now for yourselfe. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it nowais staggars me in that good opinion

which I have ever had of you, and, so long as you shall not be weary of your Imploiments under me, I will give You all the incouragement and contentment that lyes in my power; however, you shall alwais fynd me

Your loving oncle, and most asseured friend, CHARLES R.

There are three letters from Oliver Cromwell during the civil war; one upon the death of his nephew, Waller's son; another giving an account of the battle of Naseby; and the third, to Fairfax, upon his own recovery from sickness. The style of all these is sufficiently good, for the times, and in clearness will bear a comparison with any of the others in the collection. But our worthy and loyal editor is extremely offended, of course, with this great man, and attacks him, especially on the last of the letters, for his hypocrisy. It is, he says, 'sufficiently hypocritical to be thoroughly characteristic of Cromwell. It 'was by sanctified pretences that Cromwell and his party disguised their treasons. Fairfax, with all his boasted victories, 'was their dupe.' And then he adds, from Hume, the anecdote of his demeanour at Charles's death,—which Mr Brodie has distinctly shown to be altogether fictitious,—and his letter to Fairfax upon it, which he says 'is in truth a practical comment upon the cant of the letter,' respecting his own sickness. We shall insert it.

'It hath pleased God to raise mee out of a dangerous sicknesse; and I doe most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath (in this visitation) exercised the bowells of a Father towards mee. I receaved in my selfe the sentence of death, that I might learne to trust in him that raiseth from the dead, and have noe confidence in the flesh. Its a blessed thinge to dye daylie; for what is there in this world to be accounted off the best men according to the flesh; and thinges are lighter than vanitye. I finde this only good; to love the Lord, and his poore despised people; to doe for them, and to bee readie to suffer with them; and hee that is found worthy of this hath obteyned great favour from the Lord: and hee that is established in this, shall (being conformed to Christ, and the rest of the bodye) participate in the Glory of a resurrection which will answare all.

'Sir, I must thankfully confesse your favor in your last Letter. I see I am not forgotten: and truly, to bee kept in your remembrance is very great satisfaction to mee; for I can say in the simplicitye of my hart, I putt a high and true valew upon your love; which when I forgett, I shall cease to bee a gratefull and an honest man. I most humblie begg my service may be presented to your Lady, to whom I wish all happinesse and establishment in the Truth. Sir, my prayers are for you, as becomes

Your Excellencies most humble servant

OLIVER CROMWELL.'

The other letter on his nephew's death, we suppose, would stir up in Mr Ellis equal feelings of horror at what he calls Cromwell's hypocrisy.

'DEERE SIR

'It's our duty to sympathize in all mercyes; that wee praise the Lord together, in chastisements or tryalls, that soe wee may sorrowe together. Truly England, and the Church of God, hath had a great favor from the Lord in this great victorie given unto us, such as the like never was since this War begunn. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victorie obtained by the Lord's blessinge upon the godly partye principally. Wee never charged but wee routed the enimie. The lefte Winge which I commanded, being our owne horse, saving a few Scottes in our reere, beat all the Prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. Wee charged their Regiments of foote with our horse [and] routed all wee charged. The particulars I cannot relate now: but I believe of twenty thousand, the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

'Sir, God hath taken away your eldest sonn by a cannon shott, Itt brake his legge. Wee were necessitated to have itt cutt off, wherof hee died.

'Sir, you know my tryalls this way, but the Lord supported mee with this, that the Lord tooke him into the happinesse wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious child, full of glory, to know sinn nor sorrow any more. Hee was a gallant younge man, exceedinge gracious. God give you his comfort. Before his death hee was soe full of comfort, that to Franke Russell and my selfe hee could not expresse it, itt was soe great above his paine. This he sayd to us. Indeed itt was admirable. A little after hee sayd, one thinge lay upon his spirit; I asked him what that was; hee told mee that it was that God had not suffered him to be noe more the executioner of his enemies. Att his fall, his horse beinge killed with the bullet, and as I am informed three horses more. I am told hee bid them open to the right and left, that hee might see the rogues runn. Truly hee was exceedingly beloved in the Armie of all that knew him. But few knew him; for hee was a precious younge mann, fitt for God. You have cause to blesse the Lord. Hee is a glorious Sainct in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoyce. Lett this drinke up your sorrowe. Seinge theise are not fayned words to comfort you; but the thing is soe real and undoubted a truth, You may doe all thinges by the strength of Christ. Seeke that, and you shall easily beare your tryall. Let this publike mercy to the Church of God make you to forgett your private sorrowe. The Lord be your strength; soe prayes

Your truly faythfull and lovinge brother

July 5th 1644. OLIVER CROMWELL.'

Now, we do not quite understand why all this must be thought hypocritical in Cromwell. To say that, because a man does not in all things act up to his principles, he therefore has not those opinions, is the greatest nonsense in the world; and may, besides, even prove an extenuation of his offences in one point of view; inasmuch as it is fully worse to sin against the light, than to pretend a belief which we have not. Mr Ellis, and those who use the same language respecting Cromwell, seem to imagine, that because after his successes he became a tyrant, he never could have been a republican in the truly glorious period of his career, which is foolish enough; and that, because he did many things forbidden by the religion he professed, therefore he only pretended to be a Christian—which is still more absurd, more inconsistent with the most ordinary course of human affairs, and indeed more contrary to the manifest truth. If no man be sincere the whole of whose actions do not square with his profession of faith, we should like to know how many Christians there may be in the world at any given time? Some allowance must always be made for the exaggerations of a mind naturally enthusiastic; and when we find Cromwell expressing the fervour of his devotion in those letters, and others which remain, we have no right to say that he was canting, because he happens to show more deep feelings than we can entertain on the like subjects. Now, would Mr Ellis like to be tried by this rule himself? He is a very loyal person; and suppose any one were to say he cants in his dedication to the King—for he represents his feelings, and indeed his occupations, as being constantly and earnestly praying for his Majesty's long life, would this be deemed a charitable construction of his words? Would it be reckoned fair to ascribe hypocrisy to him, for a somewhat extravagant and very highly coloured description of his loyal emotions? Yet he has used language towards the earthly prince fully more vehement, when literally taken, than Cromwell uses respecting his feelings towards the Sovereign of the Universe. 'That your Majesty may long live to witness 'the advantages,' &c. 'is the *earnest* and *constant* prayer of, 'Sire,' &c. Who can believe that Mr Ellis, or any other man, be he as loyal as Lally Tollendal, who was overheard muttering *Vive le Roi!* in a room alone, makes the life of any king, were he a Henry IV., the subject of his *constant and earnest* supplications to the throne of mercy? It is impossible. It is difficult, as Dr Paley has remarked, to be very earnest in such prayer, even once a week; and Dr Johnson, by his remarks on Dodd's prayers before he was hanged, appears to have felt the same difficulty. But as for a man's private and

habitual devotional exercises taking this loyal turn, it is ridiculous; and, were it really true, would not argue any great piety. Yet, that Cromwell should have felt all he says on the great subject of his own salvation, is not only quite possible, but quite natural; nay, it follows as a necessary consequence, from his being a believer; for the frame of mind which dictates such expressions as Mr Ellis thoughtlessly sets down for hypocritical, is the very one in which every Christian must live, if he is at all sincere.

What Mr Ellis may call the writer of the following Letter which he has printed, we know not; and whether he thinks it deserves the name of canting or not, he has refrained from disclosing. It is from the chaplain of the Bishop of Ely, and written at Ely Palace, Holborn, on the subject of that cruel calamity, the loss of our most virtuous and religious king, Charles II., of blessed memory. The pious, loyal, and reverend author, thus pours out the sorrows of his heart to a clerical brother, a fellow of St John's College, Cambridge.

'REV. SIR

'Yesterday noon, I doe believe the most lamented Prince that ever satt upon a Throne, one of the best of Kings, after near five days sickness, left this world; translated doubtless to a much more glorious Kingdome then all those which he has left behind him now bewailing of their losse. 'Twas a great peice of providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had dy'd on Munday, when his fitt first took him: as he must have done, if Dr King had not been by, by chance, and lett him blood. By these few dayes respitt, he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another World; and wee are all prepared the better to sustain so great a loss. He showed himself, throughout his sickness, one of the best natur'd men that ever lived; and by abundance of fine things he sayd in reference to his soul, he showed he dyed as good a christian: and the physicians, who have seen so many leave this world, doe say, they never saw the like as to his courage, so unconcerned he was at Death, though sensible to all degrees imaginable, to the very last. He often in extremity of pain would say he suffered, but thank'd God that he did so, and that he suffered patiently. He every now and then would seem to wish for Death, and beg the pardon of the standers by, and those that were employed about him, that he gave them so much trouble: that he hoped the work was almost over: he was weary of this world: he had enough of it: and he was going to a better. There was so much affection and tenderness express'd between the two Royal Brothers, the one upon the bed, the other almost drowned in tears upon his knees and kissing of his dying brother's hand, as could not but extremely move the standers by. He thank'd our present King for having always been the best of brothers

and of friends, and begg'd his pardon for the trouble he had given him from time to time, and for the several risks of fortune he had run on his account. He told him now he freely left him all, and begg'd of God to bless him with a prosperous reign. He recommended all his children to his care by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard so much as to make mention of. He bless'd all his children, one by one, pulling them to him on the bed: and then the Bishops moved him, as he was the Lords anointed, and the father of his countrey, to bless them also, and all that were there present, and in them the whole body of his subjects: whereupon, the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raised himself in his bed, and very solemnly blessed them all. This was so like a great good Prince, and the solemnity of it so very surprizing, as was extreamly moving, and caused a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great.

'Tis not to be express'd how strangely every body was concern'd, when they perceiv'd there was but little hopes.' III. 334–336.

But this religious, and, of course, sincere devotion to departed monarchs, was far from abating a love of its new representative, that true nursing father of the Protestant Church, James II., our 'legitimate king.'

'To all appearance, never any Prince came to a Crown with more regrett, with more unwillingness, because it could not bee without the loss of one he lov'd so dearly, then did our gracious Prince (whom God preserve). He joyn'd as heartily as any of the company in all the prayers the Bishops offered up to God. He was as much upon his knees as any one, and said Amen as heartily: and no one doubts but he as much desired God would hear their prayers, as any one of all that prayed.

'The Queen, whom he had asked for the first thing he said on Munday when he came out of his Fit, (she having been present with him as long as her extraordinary passion would give her leave, which at length threw her into fits, not being able to speak while with him), sent a message to him to excuse her absence, and to beg his pardon if ever she had offended him in all her life. He replied, "alas! poor woman! she beg my pardon! I beg her's with all my heart."

'The Queen that now is was a most passionate mourner, and so tender hearted, as to think a Crown dearly bought with the loss of such a brother.' III. 337.

It seems the Palace of Ely was not the only place deeply affected on the sad occasion—both with grief for Charles and love of James.

'On Friday morning all the Churches were so throng'd with people to pray for him, all in tears and with dejected looks, that for my part I found it a hard task, and so I doe believe did many more, to goe through with the Service: so melancholy was the sight, as well as were the thoughts of the occasion of it.

'The Bishop of Bath and Wells watching on Wednesday night, (as my Lord had done the night before), there appearing then some danger, began to discourse to him as a Divine: and thereupon he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, *with very good ejaculations* and short speeches, till his speech quite left him; and afterwards, by lifting up his hand, expressing his attention to the prayers, he made as very glorious christian exit, after as lasting and as strong an agony of death, almost as ere was known.

'About 4 o'clock King James was proclaimed with the usuall solemnity and with great acclamations, together *with a decent concern* for the loss of so good a Prince. All things were managed with great order and quiett; and his Maj^tie^, at night, in Council, made a very gracious declaration (which, I suppose, will be in print) wherein he promis'd solemnly to tread exactly in his brothers steps, bot has to money and governing according to law; and particularly that he would maintain the Church as now by law established. The same declaration he made to my Lord in private, with solemn protestations: and 'tis his constant discourse, that he will not in the least disturb the established government of the Church, either by toleration, or any other way whatever.' III. 337–339.

Now, upon all this, coming from a clergyman of the Established Church, and relating to a couple of the very worst of all earthly kings, Mr Ellis never whispers a doubt either as regards its sincerity or its propriety: And yet Cromwell is to be reckoned a mere hypocrite, for expressing truly Christian sentiments, in pure scriptural language, because he was guilty of usurping the power he afterwards held. Indeed so captivated is our author with the worthy chaplain's loyalty, that he prefers his testimony at once to Bishop Burnet's upon every point, except what, to be sure, it would have required a very loyal throat to swallow—the strong sense of religion ascribed to Charles. (p. 333.)

We shall close these extracts with the third Letter of Cromwell to the House of Commons at Naseby, and a very well written one from the Chevalier de St George, to his wife the Princess Clementina.

'SIR,

'Beinge commanded by you to this service, I thinke my selfe bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. Wee marched yesterday after the Kinge whoe went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him. This day wee marched towards him. Hee drew out to meete us. Both Armies engaged. Wee, after three howers fight, very doubtfull, att last routed his Armie, killed and tooke about five thou-

sand, very many officers, but of what quallitye wee yet know not. Wee tooke alsoe about two hundred carrages, all hee had, and all his gunnes, being twelve in number, whereof two were demie-cannon, two demie culveringes, and (I thinke) the rest sacers. Wee persued the enimie from three miles short of Haverb. to nine beyond, even to sight of Leicr. whether the Kinge fled. Sir this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wher in none are to share with him. The Generall has served you with all faythfullness and honor, and the best commendations I can give him is that I dare say hee attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himselfe; which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yet as much for bravery may bee given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faythfully in this action. Sir they are trusty. I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may begett thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in itt. Hee that venters his life for the libertye of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertye of his conscience and you for the libertye hee fights for. In this hee rests, whoe is

June 14th 1645 your most humble servant
Haverbrowe. OLIVER CROMWELL.
For the Honble William Lenthall
Speaker of Commons-House of Parliament.

'September the 17. 1726.

'Notwithstanding the bad success of the many steps I have taken to convince you of my affection and tender regard, my compassion for you encreases in proportion with the misfortunes I see your Separation from me exposes you to. The circumstance of my departure from Rome with our children very speedily, ought to make a feeling impression on you: I am sure it raises in me all the loving sentiments I ever had for you, and presses me to sollicite you anew with all the earnestness possible not to lett slip soe favourable a conjuncture of returning to your family, assuring you at the same time, that you will find in me a fond husband, ready to forgett what is past, and wholly intent on provideing for your happiness and tranquillity for the time to come.

'Consider, I beseech you my dear Clementine what you owe to God, to your self, to me, to our children, and to the world; reflect on it seriously, and it will be impossible for me to believe you can hold out any longer in a resolution that draws consequences after it, for which you will ever after be accountable to God and Man. I flatter myself the more that you will noe longer persist in it, that I had yesterday from the Popes own mouth that the only motive you ever laid before his Holyness to justifie your separation from me, was, that I gave my son a Protestant Governor. Since I as Father and King am solely accountable for his education, I hope that after serious reflection you will think it just and fitting to submitt in that to my judgement

and conscience. But if, as God forbid, you should be resolved to remain always separated from me; I will send Sir William Ellis to inform you of the measures I shall take for your maintenance in a Nunnery, with the regrett of not being in a condition to suit that to my inclination, but to my powere ability. Whatsoever be the event, Madam, I shall have the comfort of having done my part, and complyd with my duty, since I omitted nothing that might prevent your misfortune, in the midst of which you shall always find in me, sentiments that are becoming a Christian, a Husband, and a King.

(Signed) 'J. R.'

We cannot take our leave of Mr Ellis, without expressing a hope that this is only the prelude of other and larger compilations, to be drawn from the vast storehouses of the British Museum. Indeed, the work now before us cannot be regarded as more than a selection of *specimens*, intended rather to whet the appetite of the public, than to satisfy the cravings of an ardent student of English History; and, considering the prevailing taste for original and authentic papers of this class, we indulge the hope that Mr Ellis and his intelligent coadjutors will soon be called upon, and enabled to exhibit to the world a Collection of unpublished State Papers and Letters, worthy of the noble repository now under their care; and we trust that the worthy editor of these volumes will not impute it to a cavilling or hypercritical spirit, if we venture to recommend a little more care in the transcription of the documents that may enter into his future compilations. In these volumes, and more remarkably in the first of them, there are many errors which it would be absurd to ascribe to ignorance or inexperience, but which have an effect on the sense of the documents, which a little more pains would be well bestowed in avoiding. Of these, in our own justification, we hope to be pardoned for giving a few instances.

Thus, in a curious letter from John Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, to King Henry VII., in 1496, relative chiefly to the treatment of Perken Warbeck at the Scottish court, and which, by the by, had been already printed by Pinkerton, it is mentioned, among the concessions which that unhappy person had been urged to promise, in the event of his being placed on the English throne, that he should restore to Scotland 'the vii *Hesdo-mis*,' &c. Of this portentous word, the reader will look in vain for explanation in the Glossaries: it is palpably a mistake of the contracted word '*sefdomes*' for *sheriffdoms*.—I. 26. In the same letter, where the writer is earnestly exhorting Henry to take advantage of the present posture of affairs, in order to give the young King of Scots a sound drubbing,—he is made to say, 'and wat he avis weill snybbit, he wald be the better

'avisit quhill he leuit;'—words unintelligible in themselves, but the true reading of which must be, 'and war he anis weil snyb-'bit,' &c. that is, '*and were he once well snubbed, he would be* '*the better, as long as he lived*;—not '*till he leave it*,' as Mr Ellis most erroneously expounds the last words. Again, in a letter from Margaret, Queen of Scots, to her brother King Henry VIII., in which, according to Mr Ellis, 'affection and 'irony are most amusingly blended,' it appears to us that the imputed irony rests on a false reading, and that the word 'friendly' should be 'fremdly,' or *unkindly*. In truth, the the letter is one of undisguised indignation at the mean and knavish denial of a legacy of jewels bequeathed to her by her father Henry VII.; and is characteristic enough of the temper of the writer, whose passions were, in general, greatly an overmatch for her discretion.—I. 64. In a letter from Thomas Lord Dacre to Cardinal Wolsey, in which he tells of his underhand dealing with the Master of Kilmawers, then an outlaw, whom he kept in his own house secretly, he adds, that if the threatened quarrel with the Scottish Regent should pass away, *then should all these practices* (meaning his own promises) be void and of non effect; 'and the said Maister of Kilmawers to 'be putte to his own *feude* at his libertie in secrete maner.' We cannot venture to guess what meaning Mr Ellis would here attach to the word 'feude; but to us it seems evident that the true reading is '*fende*,' *i. e.* shift—meaning, that this useless tool should then be left to shift for himself.—I. 133. But enough of this minute criticism.

ART. VIII. *Remarks on the Administration of Criminal Justice in Scotland, and the Changes proposed to be introduced into it.* By a MEMBER OF THE FACULTY OF ADVOCATES. Edinburgh, 1825.

THE Civil Jurisdictions of Scotland have, within the last eighteen years, been reformed by a greater number of more decided changes than were perhaps ever introduced by mere legislation into the judicial establishments of any country. A similar demand for some revision of our criminal system has been long growing. We have, on more occasions than one, * directed the attention of our readers to this subject; and have endeavoured to explain the actual grounds of

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* No. LXXI. Art. 9. No. LXXV. Art. 11. No. LXXVIII. Art. 5.

complaint, and to point out remedies that were at once specific, and easily attainable without endangering the general fabric of our courts, or of the law. In discharging this duty, we have had to enter into a very full exposition of the constitution of our criminal tribunals, and of that great office of Public Prosecutor, by which they are all put in motion.

The pamphlet before us is the first regular Defence that has appeared of the whole existing order of things. It is an elaborate, and, to a careless eye, might at first sight seem a plausible performance—compiled with great industry—evidently got up by some one (probably more than one) personally connected with the administration of the system that is justified—and distinguished by unusual moderation of language and of sentiment towards his opponents. There are some passages, to be sure, in which those who happen to differ from him are described as persons actuated by 'the *desire of de-* 'preciating the institutions of their country,' and who are 'searching for grounds whereon to *asperse* the Scotch criminal 'law,'—which may seem somewhat inconsistent with this last praise. But these are probably only controversial phrases, thoughtlessly used; and, on the whole, it is a gratifying symptom of the progress which public opinion has already made on these questions, that they can be discussed upon their own merits, and that it is felt that it will no longer do to attempt to quash inquiry by injurious imputations or offensive epithets. The great defects of the Remarks are, that they are not pertinent to the real matters in controversy;—that (probably owing to some plurality of authorship) they are not always consistent —and, above all, that they are equally zealous and equally positive in defending every thing that exists, not even excepting the nomination of criminal juries by presiding judges, and the judicial legislation of criminal courts. These are touchstones of men's title to credit; and he who *now* wishes that his judgment on other points should be deemed weighty, must begin by letting it be known that he has banished such follies from his understanding. But the principal importance of these *Remarks* arises from their giving us the distinct, and almost the official, answer to the objections that have been stated to our penal policy. For, now that the grounds on which this policy is held to be defensible are disclosed, the discussion is reduced to a narrow and satisfactory compass; and there is no one so ignorant as not to be able to make up his mind on its different points with considerable confidence, and with very little trouble.

Those who are of opinion that the Scottish scheme of criminal

jurisprudence requires, and easily admits of, reform, have never said, so far as we know, that the scheme itself ought, for this reason, to be altogether abandoned—and still less that the English, or any foreign, one ought to be substituted in its place. On the contrary, though they have referred to the example of England, as to a rich field of precedents on every matter connected with legal experience and public liberty, they have professed a due horror of the forms and the principles of a code with which they have no practical acquaintance; and, on the other hand, they have uniformly explained and extolled various peculiar and valuable parts of their own Scottish system. But they state, that there are certain specific points of this system which are defective; and they maintain, that these defects might easily be removed, not only without injuring, but to the effect of greatly improving, what remained. But, instead of confining himself to the examination of these proposed reformations, the author falls into a general error which pervades and swells every part of his work, and leads to discussions which are not only useless, but,—if evasion be a vice,—are somewhat worse.

This error consists in representing those who are anxious for the improvement of our law, as smitten with a passion for every thing English, and with a hatred of every thing native; and its effect is to set him upon an eager search for imperfections in the English mode of administering criminal justice—a subject scarcely intelligible to those not practically versant with itsdetails, and plainly not at all understood in these remarks; and then, whenever he discovers what he conceives to be a defect there, he holds this to be a conclusive reason against any revision of the Scottish law; while, on the other hand, every peculiar excellence in the latter is displayed, as a virtual condemnation of the former. Thus, many pages are occupied in attempting to show, that it is an evil in England that there are no local Magistrates like our Sheriffs,—that there are no public prosecutors, responsible for almost every case,—that prisoners get no copy of their indictments,—and that they have no counsel to address the jury in their behalf. From these evils we are free. And from these and such like facts, it is concluded that we ought to adhere to our own system in every thing, and utterly to disregard every part of theirs. In support of this view, the author even thinks it worth his while to enumerate the various moral and physical circumstances, which are supposed to distinguish the two countries; particularly their comparative wealth, population, waste or arable acres, extent of seacoast, &c. &c.; till at last we are informed (p. 7.), as a circumstance of much importance in this discussion, that '*the line at which cultivation becomes impracti-*

'*cable with advantage in most parts of Scotland, is about six* '*hundred feet above the level of the sea.*'

We are satisfied that the author is often mistaken, both in the extent to which he blames the one system, and to which he praises the other. We would give, as an example of the former, his censure (p. 27.) of the English practice of ever allowing witnesses to be examined in presence of each other, which, in the ordinary case, is plainly the most effectual and natural mode of shortening and checking their statements. As examples of the latter, it is sufficient to mention the vast importance he attaches to the prisoner's being furnished with a list of his jurors fifteen days before his trial,—which, unless when combined with a more effectual power of excluding those whom he ascertains to be improper than Scotch prisoners have yet obtained, is almost immaterial; and the singular instances he gives, *as grounds of encomium*, of various things which are generally considered to be scandals on the law. He is so fond of every thing Scotch, that he seriously sets it forth as a recommendation of our penal law, that of those who are acquitted, *though guilty*, '*at least one half escape, from technical nicieties,*' (p. 54.) But, admitting all his opinions upon these matters to be quite sound, the inference which he draws from them is disposed of by two simple questions. In the *first* place, the English system may be bad; but will this make the Scotch one good? In the *second* place, is there any impossibility in our borrowing what is valuable from our neighbours, and at the same time keeping what we have already got that is valuable of our own?

Now, casting aside these inapplicable, and probably inaccurate, discussions; that is, casting aside above one half of the volume before us, we must be permitted to say, that there never was a more signal failure than the attempts that are made to give precise answers to the precise objections that have been taken to our law. In order to make this plain, let us run over those objections, in the order in which they may be expected to arise in the natural progress of a criminal case; and let us see to what the answers to them amount.

All prosecutions of importance are instituted and conducted by the Lord Advocate; whose duties have been officially stated in Parliament as being '*boundless,*' he having '*the whole* '*executive government of Scotland under his particular care.*'* Now, it has been maintained to be a very dangerous and corrupting practice, that this officer, in whose candour the public

* See No. LXXVII. Page 370.

has as great an interest as in the candour of Judges, should be systematically employed as the agent and organ of the party in power, in all Scotch political matters, however unconnected with his proper duties as Public Prosecutor. The reply to this consists in saying (p. 103), that the Parliamentary Statement referred to, was only intended to describe the *duties* and the *responsibility* of the office, but not its *powers*;—that the Lord Advocate's being a '*Member of Parliament*" (p. 106) is a salutary check upon him; and that his being '*under bias* in political offences, *or in cases where the fortune of his party may depend* '*upon the result of a particular trial*,' though a case which is '*certainly possible*,' is one which, '*since the Union of the two* '*kingdoms, has never actually occurred.*' Now,—passing by the utter and necessary extravagance of this last statement, and the absurdity of the idea of duties and responsibilities existing without adequate powers,—where, we beg to ask, has it ever been proposed to exclude this officer *from a seat in Parliament?* There is no place, in our humble apprehension, where he can be more appropriately seated. But is this any reason why a person,—on whose total seclusion from all unnecessary sources of prejudice, every individual in the kingdom may have a direct personal interest,—should be allowed and required to take the lead in every party object?

It has next been complained of, that when a person is committed for trial, at the instance of this functionary, the law affords him no specific protection, unless he avail himself, by a particular proceeding, of the benefit of an act passed by the Scotch Parliament in 1701;—that this statute does not apply to him, unless he be actually and involuntarily in jail, which the prosecutor can generally prevent;—and that, even when he does avail himself of the act, it enables the Prosecutor to detain him there untried for one hundred and forty days. The remedy that has been proposed for this is, that, since the law acknowledges that 140 days afford the prosecutor ample time for investigation and trial, every person who is committed should be held to be under the operation of the statute, without making any formal application, and that it should not be in the power of the prosecutor to deprive him of this, by the easy expedient of liberating him, with or without bail, and then keeping the charge hanging over his head indefinitely.

The answers to this are, 1*st*, That the Lord Advocate can imprison nobody, but must apply, like any of the other lieges, to a magistrate for a warrant. (p. 106). This is true. He does not imprison without a warrant; but he gets it almost for the asking; 2*dly*, That, if the statute were held to apply virtually to

every case, great trouble and expense would be occasioned, by the necessity of trying many prisoners at Edinburgh instead of at the Circuits, lest the period for trying them should expire, (p. 113). This evidently depends entirely upon the length to which the period is extended. A very slight enlargement of it would make it reach most circuit cases; and those who are of opinion that persons accused should be protected by some limitation or other, have never intimated any disinclination to such an enlargement. All that they say is, that there ought to be some definite restriction; and when the author of these Remarks is so much afraid of the proposed change, he ought to attempt to make his fears consistent with his admiration of the existing law, which confessedly exposes the prosecutor and the public to the very inconvenience that he dreads, whenever a prisoner *chooses* to avail himself of the statute. The difference between him and us upon this point is simply, that we are for giving the benefit of the statute, as a matter of right and of course, to all persons committed for trial, whereas he is for letting the prosecutor take advantage of their accidental ignorance or timidity, to put them beyond its provisions. *3dly*, It is asserted (p. 38), that incarceration is not necessary as a qualification for claiming the benefit of the statute; and a case is referred to, in which it is said to have been decided, that if a prisoner has been once committed to stand trial, he is entitled to the full benefit of the act, even though he should be liberated upon bail, or by the consent of the prosecutor. As the trial, it is said, 'was not concluded 'within the time limited by the act, the pannel *was assoilzied* 'simpliciter, *and acquitted of the charge.*' This, to be sure, if it were law, would be a valuable discovery for the accused in Scotland. But the authority referred to warrants no such doctrine. On the contrary, the statement is so completely at variance with the fact, that it requires some charity (though not more than we possess) to believe that this has been the result of inadvertence. On examining the record, * the person accused appears to have been aware that he could not obtain the benefit of the statute without going to jail; for he only applies for it by a petition to the Court, setting forth that he has a right to it, 'being *now* in custody.' It is said that he was afterwards liberated on bail; and this is probably true, because, instead of being afterwards dismissed by the Court *and* '*acquit-* '*ted of the charge,*' as the author asserts, and as he would have been, if he had been discharged under the operation of the statute,

* 8th April, 1712, Dundas.

the judgment of the Court bears, that he is merely dismissed by the *consent of the accuser*, who could not proceed to trial, owing to the absence of witnesses, but gave his consent, *under a reservation of his right to institute fresh proceedings whenever he chose.* This excludes the idea of his being dismissed upon the statute as a matter of right; and, this being *the only authority* referred to, justifies the universal understanding that this statute has no application to persons who are not in actual confinement.

Any one, whatever his supposed offence may be, being thus imprisoned at the discretion of a political officer, vested with great and undefined powers, it is the next objection to our present system, that he is not protected from the degradation and risk of a trial, by any institution similar to the Grand Jury of England. The answer to this forms the most elaborate and plausible part of the work before us; but, when examined, it will be found, as usual, to resolve into a mere misapprehension of the objection, or a mere evasion of it.

Much detail is gone into, in order to show that a very great proportion of the persons who are committed in England are afterwards liberated by the Grand Jury; and, since there is such a total want of evidence as to make even the Grand Jury throw out the bills, the author assumes, apparently with some justice, that these persons have probably suffered imprisonment improperly. He then shows, that of those against whom true bills have been found by the Grand Jury, a very great proportion are afterwards acquitted on their trials by the Petit Jury; from which he assumes—apparently with justice also—that to this extent, true bills are rashly found. In Scotland, however, he says that we are free from these evils; because the Lord Advocate and his assistants bestow such minute and early attention upon each case, from its commencement, that if there be any substantial doubt of the evidence, the prisoner, though committed by the magistrate, is instantly liberated, without waiting for any Grand Jury; and that, for the same reason, no person is brought to trial, except upon better authority than the hasty and superficial opinion of a numerous body of ignorant and impatient county gentlemen. Hence, while every *third* prisoner is acquitted in England, it is only every *twenty-third* who is acquitted in Scotland. Or, in other words, in the latter country, there is only one man out of twenty-three, who can say that he was unnecessarily imprisoned or accused; whereas in the former, this may be said by one man out of every three of those who are committed. 'This remarkable difference be-'tween the proportion of persons convicted to those acquitted

'in Scotland and England, is the most decisive fact which can 'be brought forward in favour of the practical effect of the 'Scotch system of criminal justice.' (p. 48.)

If the various documents and Tables which are referred to as explanatory of this view are to be assumed as complete and correct,—they seem, so far as we can judge,—and we are willing to assume that they actually do, nearly warrant the author's statements. We say *nearly*, because his arithmetic is somewhat complimentary to his own country. For example, he always describes an English subject who is committed for trial, as obliged to wait much longer for the Grand Jury than is ever necessary. He talks of his being doomed to remain in prison '*many* months,'—'*several* months,' and, in one passage, he asserts that it '*often* 'amounts to *six* months.' We understand this to be an utter mistake. There are now, *at the least*, two circuits and four sessions each year in every part of England, and frequently more; at all of which the prisons are liable to be cleared. So that the average period is less than the very shortest to which a Scotch subject can limit his confinement before trial, by any possible device. Again, while he seems to bring into view *every* commitment and trial in England, he takes no notice of any Scotch ones, except those which are under the direction of the Lord Advocate and of our Supreme Criminal Court. If he will add to the Scotch side of the amount all the cases that occur before the inferior jurisdictions, it will probably diminish the balance in our favour. And when he contrasts the accuracy of the professional prosecutors in this country with the looseness of the Grand Juries in England, he ought to recollect, that, according to his own account, there are above 13,000 persons committed every year in the latter country, and only about 589 whom he notices in the other. If the English Grand Juries had only 589 cases before them, they would probably sift them very correctly; and if the Lord Advocate were responsible for 13,000, he would perhaps not find acquittals so rare. We agree, however, on the whole, that this is a contrast which, *in ordinary cases*, is satisfactory to Scotland, and that, so far as our national habits enable us to judge, the power which every magistrate in England has to commit for trial, on the application of private prosecutors, while the person so committed is obliged to find bail, or to languish in prison for two months, till the Grand Jury sits, when there is a considerable chance of the accusation being found so untenable that he is dismissed on the prosecutor's own showing, is an evil. It is more than probable, however, that in this we are wrong; and we are certain that, in all political questions, the contrast is

humiliating to Scotland. But all this is plainly inapplicable to the matter in dispute.

The true answer to the learned author's whole reasoning is, that he obviously assumes, throughout, that his opponents not only wish for Grand Juries, but that they wish for them *precisely in the way that the English have them.* And the only alternative that ever seems to have occurred to him is, that we must either retain our own system exactly as it is, or adopt theirs exactly as it is. He never dreams of a third view, which, however, is the only one that has ever been suggested. This is, that what is valuable in both systems should be combined, to the exclusion of what is defective in each. The whole advantage of the Scotch method, as he explains it, arises from the institution of responsible and professional public prosecutors, while the whole defects of the English one flow, according to him, from their being without this officer, and, of course, subject to the malice or folly of private accusers. The conclusion which we would draw from this would be, that they ought to adopt our Lord Advocate, and that they ought in return to give us their Grand Jury,—an exchange which, however offensive it might be to English prejudices, would be very agreeable to Scotch sense. How does our adoption of Grand Juries imply that we are to abolish the office of public prosecutor? or to prevent the person who holds it from exercising all the humane and judicious power of immediate liberation which is said to be necessary for the protection of persons absurdly accused? Or, how does the necessity of submitting every accusation to a Grand Jury, before the accused be put upon his trial, imply that our public prosecutor is not to prepare the case, but is to let the Grand Jurors dispose of it with the rapidity and carelessness which is said to distinguish those of England, under the system of private prosecution which prevails there? The truth is, that instead of being enabled to dispense with the Grand Jury, *because* our public business is conducted by a great public officer, it is the existence of an officer with such powers that seems to create a necessity for our having that institution. The intervention of the Grand Jury is a great protection to the accused. By affording a tribunal to which a private prosecutor can show a *prima facie* case, it is a great protection to the public against the abuse of the public prosecutor declining to accuse. And, above all, it tends to throw the administration of justice more into the hands of the people at large, and to give them that direct and practical acquaintance with the public law, which is acknowledged, in various parts even of these Remarks, to be a peculiar and valuable characteristic of the people of England. There is no-

thing to be said in favour of letting our lives, characters, interests, and liberties, depend so much on the unchecked will of one man, that has not been said a thousand times with more plausibility in favour of absolute despotism. In England, the protection of individuals from judicial oppression rests on a broad basis of independent people, who improve with the public, and widen from the Crown as it encroaches. In Scotland, it rests on little else than the pleasure of a single officer, named and removable by the party in power.

This being the case, we are not greatly moved by some considerations which are evidently deemed very conclusive in these Remarks. One of these is, that after all, we have Grand Juries. '*The Crown Counsel in Scotland constitute a Grand 'Jury, which sits every day in the year.*' (p. 71.) Another is, that there is something in the soil and climate of Scotland which creates a physical impossibility against our ever having Grand Jurors of a better sort. (P. 80.) 'The narrow 'valleys and limited straths of Scotland would furnish but a 'scanty proportion to undertake a similar duty. In every direc-'tion round York, there is to be found a rich plain of immense 'extent, filled with country gentlemen of considerable fortune, 'or rich manufacturers and shop-keepers who inhabit its nu-'merous towns. But the district from which alone a Grand 'Jury could be obtained for Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Perth, 'is not fifteen miles square. Among the Moorfoot hills, the 'Pentlands, or the heights of Lammermoor, near Edinburgh; '—the Campsie hills, the Strathavon, or Renfrewshire moors, 'near Glasgow; or the Ochill hills or Grampians around 'Perth;—we should look in vain for a numerous array of in-'dividuals fitted to compose a Grand Jury.' A *third* is, that at least this numerous array could not be obtained without imposing a great burden on that unfortunate class of persons called Scotch Country Gentlemen. (P. 81.) 'Every person at all 'acquainted with the *Scotch country gentlemen*, must be aware 'that the dreadful labour of sitting *two or three hundred hours 'every spring and autumn*, investigating criminal delinquencies, 'would very soon thin the ranks of the Grand Jury, and that, 'before half the cases were investigated, it would be impossible 'to find a sufficient number to continue the inquiry.' We are perfectly aware of the instinctive distaste which our country gentlemen have of every portion of what the author calls (p. 79) '*unprofitable* duty.' But we may console them by assuring them, that the prospect of their being required to sit two or three hundred hours every spring and autumn, or about six weeks in the year, at the rate of twelve hours per day, is a

bugbear, conjured up in order to work upon their well-known prejudices. The calculation proceeds upon the usual assumption, that, as soon as Grand Juries are introduced, the public prosecutor is to do nothing, and that they are to do every thing. It seems that it costs each of the junior Crown Council two or three hundred hours to investigate cases; and the dreadful thing is, that,—after they shall have abdicated,—the entire labour of this investigation must fall upon the poor over-wrought country gentlemen. It is surely needless to expose this. We expect never to see a Scotch Grand Jury find true bills against fifty prisoners in four hours, which it is insinuated (p. 79) that an English one has done; but we do expect that our country gentlemen will be so far liberalized by the enlarged exercise of constitutional privileges, as not to grudge that moderate portion of their time which, under the previous preparation of the Crown Counsel, it may be necessary for them to bestow upon the duties of Grand Jurors; and, if they should grudge it, this would only be the strongest evidence of the necessity of exalting them, by the compulsory practice of those duties, to a consciousness of what they owe to the law and to their fellow-citizens. It is curious to see those whose general leaning is against popular rights, objecting to letting our country gentlemen act as Grand Jurors, lest they should be too free, when at the same moment, and we think with far better reason, those who are friendly to these rights are somewhat afraid of the experiment, lest they should be too obsequious. The real and constitutional cure of both defects, is to train them to the knowledge and the exercise of public virtues:—which unfortunately nothing in the government of Scotland has hitherto tended to do.

But we proceed to another objection. The accused may at last be brought into Court for an act which was never announced, or imagined, to be criminal before; but nevertheless it is in the power of the Court to declare that act to be criminal, without a statute,—and without a precedent,—and after no previous promulgation of the new law,—but merely on the trial of this first case. It is not only in the power of the Court to do this, but it is the boast of those who think our criminal institutions perfect, that this power is actually exercised. It is called the *native vigour* of the Court of Justiciary! *The author before us defends even this!* But never was a greater anomaly justified by a poorer apology. The defence consists in quoting a passage from Blackstone (p. 117), who, after praising 'that 'admirable system of maxims and unwritten customs known 'by the name of the Common Law of England,' adds, 'How 'are these customs or maxims to be known, and by whom is

'their validity determined? The answer is, by the Judges of 'the several Courts of Justice, They are the depositories of 'the laws;—the living oracles who must decide in all cases of 'doubt, and *who are bound by their oath to decide according to* 'the law of the land. It is their decisions, preserved among 'the public records, explained in the Reports, and digested, 'for general use, in the authoritative writings of the great 'Sages of the law, which is *the first ground* and chief corner-'stone of the Law of England.'

Because it is here stated, that the judges are the *depositories of the laws*, and the living oracles who must decide, in cases of doubt, *according to the law*, and that their judgments being thus founded in law form future authoritative precedents, it is inferred that a Court of Justice may at any time *make* law where none exists, and that there is no difference between a judicial determination, which operates as a law, and a direct exercise of legislative power! Nor is any distinction admitted between ancient ages,—when the opening up of new principles by judges was more natural and necessary,—and modern times, when the proper provinces of the judicial and the legislative powers are distinctly marked,—and when the public is adequately guarded against new offences,—by the intelligence and watchfulness of regular parliaments. And this is all that is to be said for the native vigour! There is another passage from a different part of Blackstone's work, which perhaps has not met the author's eye. In the seventh chapter of his first book, when treating 'of the King's prerogative,' he has the following words: 'Public liberty cannot subsist 'long in any state, unless the *administration* of common justice 'be in some degree *separated from the legislative*, and also from 'the executive power. *Were it joined with the legislative, the* 'life, liberty, and property of the subject would be in the hands 'of Arbitrary Judges, whose decisions would be then regulated 'only by their own opinions, and not by any fundamental princi-'ples of law, which, though legislators may depart from, yet judges 'are bound to observe.'

The prisoner being now about to be tried,—the next thing that startles him is, that *the presiding judge selects the Jury*;—and this has been specially complained of as a most flagrant impropriety. That it really is an evil of the greatest magnitude, is a proposition that is no longer to be contested. The House of Commons has, with the concurrence of men of all parties, repeatedly done what in it lay, to remove so great a stain from the administration of justice; and in doing so, it has acted in accordance with the sentiments of every person in the kingdom who allows his reason to operate. *Yet this too is defended in these Remarks.* We must be excused from answering a defence,

which is sufficiently refuted, by merely stating what it means. It would be equally idle to discuss the alarming consequences which he says must follow from the adoption of the Bill, which was introduced last year into Parliament, and passed the House of Commons, in order to supersede the existing system. The whole of his criticisms proceed from the most palpable misunderstanding of the machinery of the measure.

The almost unlimited power which our *civil* judges have of reviewing their own judgments, has long been found so inexpedient, chiefly from its being so injurious to the formation of right judicial habits, that measures are at present in agitation for abridging it. The author, therefore, treats it (p. 125) as an inconsistency in those who approve of this change, that they should object to the opposite system which prevails in our supreme *Criminal* Court, where every judgment is utterly and absolutely irreversible. But he does not seem to understand what the objection is. It is always inexpedient that judges should be tempted to judge rashly, by being enabled to correct frequently; and there is no danger in compelling our civil judges to determine carefully once for all, because they may always have full time for deliberation and argument; besides, that there are various modes in which they can consult their brethren before they decide, and in which their judgments can be corrected by superior courts if they be wrong. But the Judges of the Court of Justiciary are precluded by law from having any judicial consultation with other lawyers; and their sentences, frequently pronounced unavoidably in the course of a trial, are subject to no revision, either in that Court or in any other. The objection, therefore, is not *simply* that all their judgments are final, nor *simply* that they are not liable to appeal; but it consists in the combination of these two circumstances; and it is, that since it is found necessary that civil interests should be protected, and the laws of civil rights matured, by multiplying the opportunities of consultation before judgment, and of revision after it, it is absurd that all these means should be expressly cut off, whenever a criminal, and therefore a far more important, question arises.

We really cannot see any thing difficult or monstrous in giving our Supreme Criminal Judges that opportunity which all other Judges have, of consulting their brethren, or in letting parties, *under due regulations*, submit their decisions to a supreme tribunal.—Combinations of workmen to raise wages were very recently found, for the first time, to be criminal in Scotland, solely because they were held to be inexpedient; yet Parliament has since announced, that they are not merely not inexpedient, but useful. And it was determined, not long ago, to be lawful to take a gentleman in Scotland, who

committed the very vague offence called Sedition for the first time, and to associate him with the vilest felons,—to imprison him in the hulks,—and to transport him to Botany Bay for fourteen years,—while the British Parliament only allowed, during a short and troubled period, an English subject to be banished from the British dominions for seven years, for the second offence. Assuming these Scotch judgments to have been quite lawful, they have unquestionably always given great dissatisfaction to a very large class of the community. Now, would it not have increased the confidence of the public, or, if the author prefers to have it stated in this way, would it not have diminished the clamours of the discontented, if these new and deeply contested matters could have been argued before, and sanctioned by, some other judges, instead of letting the decisions rest, as they did, on the authority of a single court, insulated from all the rest of the legal world? The answer to this consists merely in saying, that the Judges of the Supreme Court, being the only persons 'who are at all acquainted with its proceedings, '*from what quarter is additional assistance to be derived?*' (p. 126.) We understand, that when a vacancy occurs in that Court, there is never much difficulty in obtaining additional assistance, in the form of a successor to the person who has ceased to act; and that, such is the simplicity of our criminal law, that the new judge always does his business extremely well, though it sometimes happens that he never saw a criminal case tried before. It cannot be supposed that those who are thus ripe for pronouncing sound irreversible judgments themselves, can be unfit for assisting their brethren to do so.

This brings us to the end of the day. There are a great variety of other points taken up in the Remarks, on most of which we think the author wrong, but in some of which we perfectly agree with him; as, for example, in deprecating any extension of the power of Scotch Justices of the Peace (p. 89), whose power is fully as great as it ought to be, until the habitual exercise of political rights shall have taught them how to use it. But we abstain from discussing these matters, because this would only give effect to the device which the author has in view,—which is, to prevent the simple and specific complaints that have been made, from being seen amidst the mass of other matter with which he overlays them. These complaints, and the grounds on which they rest, when stated plainly, stand out too prominently to be lost by misplaced detail, or indiscriminate praise, upon matters with which they have no connection.

The author seems to feel that, after all, there is at least one description of cases which even his strong appetite for all things

that be, cannot get over. After stating, in a passage already quoted, that the true Grand Jury for Scotland is the Crown Counsel, who sit every day, he elsewhere has the following words. (p. 83.) 'There certainly is one class of cases on 'which *it may seem proper*, that some other public body, be- 'sides the Crown Counsel, should consider the evidence against 'accused persons. We allude to those offences against the 'State, where the public prosecutors *may be conceived* to be '*not altogether* beyond the reach of prejudice.' We agree with him, that *there certainly is* such a class of cases: But we cannot concur in his result, which is, that all just complaint would be removed by adopting the improvements that have been suggested, and by restricting them to political trials. (p. 139.) Who can say what shall not be taken up as a political case? Every thing is, or may be made, political, which concerns a political man. Besides, it is a mistake to suppose, that it is only in such cases that the preceding defects are injurious. They operate in every case that can occur; not only by affecting the interests of parties, but by impairing the authority and popularity of the law, and by exposing those who administer it to suspicions, of which it is the greatest misfortune that no personal purity can be expected to prevent them.

ART IX. *The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice, and compared with the Slavery of other Countries, Ancient and Modern.* By JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. Vol. I., being a Delineation of the State in point of Law. London, Butterworth, 1824.

OF the numerous excellent works in which this important subject has lately been discussed, that of MR Stephen is the most comprehensive, and, in many respects, the most valuable. We are not aware that any opponent has appeared, sufficiently intrepid to deny his statements, or to dispute their results. The decent and cautious advocates of slavery carefully avoid all allusion to a publication which they feel to be unanswerable; and the boldest content themselves with misrepresenting and reviling what they cannot even pretend to confute. In truth, it is not too much to assert that, on the part of the slave-drivers and their supporters, this controversy has, for the most part, been conducted with a disingenuousness and a bitterness to which literary history furnishes no parallel. Most of the honourable and intelligent men whose names give respectability to the Colonial party, have, in prudence or in disgust,

stood aloof from the contest. In their absence, the warfare has been carried on by a race of scribblers, who, like the mercenary Mohawks, so often our auxiliaries in Transatlantic campaigns, unite the indifference of the hireling to the ferocity of the cannibal; who take aim from an ambush, and who desire victory only that they may have the pleasure of scalping and torturing the vanquished.

The friends of humanity and freedom have often boasted, with honest pride, that the wise and good of hostile sects and factions seemed, when slavery or the slave-trade were in question, to forget their mutual antipathies:—that the introduction of this subject was to such men what the proclamation of a Crusade was to the warriors of the dark ages—a signal to suspend all their petty disputes, and to array themselves under the same holy banner, against the same accursed enemy. In this respect the slave-drivers are now even with us. They, too, may boast that, if our cause has received support from honest men of all religious and political parties, theirs has tended, in as great a degree, to combine and conciliate every form of violence and illiberality. Tories and Radicals, prebendaries and field-preachers, are to be found in their ranks. The only requisites for one who aspires to enlist, are a front of brass and a tongue of venom.

'Omnigenumque Deûm monstra, et latrator Anubis,
Contra Neptunum et Venerem, contraque Minervam
Tela tenent.'

But it is neither on facts nor on arguments that slavery seems now to depend for protection. It neither doubles, nor stands at bay. It has neither the ingenuity of the hare, nor the intrepidity of the lion. It defends itself, like a hunted polecat, by the loathsomeness with which it taints the atmosphere around it; and hopes to escape, by disgusting those whom it can neither weary nor subdue. We could say much on this subject. But the sum is, that 'the worm will do his kind'—and we have a more important task to perform. It is our intention to analyze, very concisely, the valuable work of Mr Stephen, * and afterwards to offer to our readers some remarks which the perusal of it has suggested.

Mr Stephen begins, by inquiring into the origin and authority

* Mr Stephen's work cannot, of course, embrace any changes which may have taken place in West Indian Legislation during the last eighteen months or two years. Some partial modifications of the former code may have taken place during that time in three or four of the colonies, but these do not affect the general results.

of the Colonial Slave-laws. It has been commonly supposed in England, that there exists some known local law in the Colonies, distinct from the law of England, by which the bondage of the Negro has been introduced and defined. There is, however, no such law. The Colonists could, at no time, venture to present an act for such a purpose to an English Sovereign. The Spanish conquerors and the roving pirates of the Antilles had established that state: and the English settlers considered themselves as succeeding to the rights of the original despoilers of America. Those rights, as they at that time existed, may be summed up in one short and terrible maxim,—that the slave is *the absolute property* of the master. It is desirable that this should be known; because, although a few restraining statutes have of late years been passed, this odious principle is still the basis of all West Indian legislation. It is pre-supposed in all meliorating acts. It is the rule, and the restraints are exceptions. In the benefits which every other English subject derives from the common law, the Negro has no share. His master may lawfully treat him as he pleases, except in points regulated by express enactment.

Mr Stephen proceeds to analyze the legal nature of the relation between the master and the slave. Throughout the West Indies, slavery is a constrained service,—a service without wages. In some of the colonies, indeed, there are acts which regulate the time of labour, and the amount of the subsistence which shall be given in return. But, from causes to which we shall hereafter advert, these acts are nugatory. In other islands, even these ostensible reforms have not taken place: and the owner may legally give his slaves as much to do, and as little to eat, as he thinks fit.

In all the islands, the master may legally imprison his slave. In all the islands he may legally flog him; and in some of the islands he may legally flog him at his discretion. The best of the meliorating acts promise little, and perform less. By some of them it is enacted, that the slave shall not be flogged, till recovered from the effects of his last flogging—by others, that he shall not receive more than a certain number of lashes in one day. These laws, useless as they are, have a meaning. But there are others which add insult to cruelty. In some of the Colonial Codes, there are facetious provisions that the slave shall not receive more than a certain number of lashes at one time, or for one fault. What is the legal definition of a time? Or who are the legal judges of a fault? If the master should chuse to say that it is a fault in his slave to have woolly hair, whom does the law authorize to contradict him?

It is just to say, that the murder of a slave is now a capital crime. But the West Indian rules of evidence, to which we shall hereafter call the attention of our readers, render the execution of the laws on this subject almost impossible. The most atrocious kinds of mutilation,—even those which in England are punished with death,—when committed upon the person of a slave, subject the offender only to a fine, or to a short imprisonment. In Dominica, for instance, 'to maim, deface, mutilate, or cruelly torture' a slave, is a crime which is to be expiated by a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds currency, or by imprisonment not exceeding the term of three months. By the law of Jamaica, a master who perpetrates any outrage short of murder on the person of his slave, is subject to a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds currency, or to imprisonment not exceeding the term of 12 months. In very atrocious cases, the court may direct the enfranchisement of the slave. But this, though a benefit, as far as it goes, to the Negro, is a very slight aggravation of the punishment of the master. At most, it is only an addition of a few pounds to the fine. And as the possession of a slave who has been maimed in such a manner as to render him helpless, is rather burdensome than profitable, it would, in many cases, be really an advantage to the criminal.

If these terrible prerogatives were confined to the master alone, the condition of the slave would be sufficiently wretched. Yet it would not be without alleviations. The proprietor might sometimes be restrained by a sense of his pecuniary interest, if not by higher considerations, from those extreme outrages, against which the law affords so scanty a protection. At all events, during his absence, his Negroes would enjoy an interval of security. Unhappily, the Colonial Codes permit all the representatives and agents of the master, black and white, bond and free, to exercise most of his despotic powers.

We have seen that the slave has no legal property in his own body. It is almost unnecessary to say, that he has no property in any thing else,—that all his acquisitions belong, like himself, to his master. He is, in fact, a chattel. We should rather say, that to serve the purpose of rapacity and tyranny, he is alternately considered as real and as personal property. He may be sold or bequeathed at the pleasure of his master. He may be put up to auction by process of law, for the benefit of the creditors or legatees of his master. In either of these ways he may be, in a moment, torn for ever from his home his associates, his own children. He is, in addition to this, legally a subject of mortgages, demises, leases, settlements in tail, in re-

mainder, and in reversion. The practice of raising money on this species of property, is favoured by the laws of all the Colonies, and has been equally fatal to the owner and to the slave. It is fatal to the owner, because it enables him to risk capital not his own, in the precarious lottery of the West Indian sugar trade. It is fatal to the slave, because, in the first place, while it leaves to the master all his power to oppress, it deprives him of his power to manumit; and secondly, because it leads the master to keep possession of his Negroes, and to compel them to labour, when he has no prospect of holding them long, and is therefore naturally inclined to make as much by them, and to spend as little upon them as possible,—a fact amply proved by the miserable state in which the gang is generally found, when transferred from the ruined planter to the half ruined mortgagee.

Such is the legal condition of the Negro, considered with reference to his master. We shall proceed to examine into the nature of the relation in which he stands towards free persons in general.

He is not competent to be a party to any civil action, either as plaintiff or defendant; nor can he be received as informant or prosecutor against any person of free condition. He is protected only as a horse is protected in this country. His owner may bring an action against any person who may have occasioned the loss of his services. But it is plain that the slave may sustain many civil injuries, to which this circuitous mode of obtaining redress is not applicable; and even when it is applicable, the damages are awarded, not to the injured party, but to his master. The protection which indictments and criminal informations afford, is also of very narrow extent. Many crimes which, when committed against a white man, are considered as most atrocious, may be committed by any white man against a slave with perfect impunity. To rob a slave, for instance, is, in most of the islands, not even a misdemeanour. In this case, the grand principle of Colonial law is suspended. The property of a slave, it seems, is considered as belonging to his owner for the purpose of oppression, but not for the purpose of protection. By the meliorating laws of some of the Colonies, the crime of highway robbery upon a Negro, is punished by fines, which, as far as we are informed, in no case exceed thirty pounds currency.

But this is not all. The natural right of self-defence is denied to the slave. By the laws of almost all the islands, a slave who should defend himself from murder or torture, to the injury of a White person, though such White person should

possess no authority whatever over him, might be punished with death.

We now come to the laws respecting the evidence of slaves,—laws which the Colonists stoutly defend,—and with reason; for, while these remain unaltered, the meliorating acts, feeble at best, must always be utterly inefficient. The testimony of these unfortunate beings is not admissible in any cause, civil or criminal, against a White person. To this general rule there are, in a very few of the smaller Colonies, some partial exceptions. It is needless to say, that every crime may be easily perpetrated in a community of which only one member in ten is a competent witness. The Government have pressed this point on the consideration of the Colonial Assemblies. In Jamaica, the proposed amendments were recently negatived by a majority of 34 to 1. In Barbadoes they have met with a similar reception. The only excuse we ever heard made for so disgraceful a law, is this, that the Negroes are ignorant of the nature and obligations of an oath, and, in fact, are scarcely responsible beings. But from this excuse the legislators of Jamaica have excluded themselves, by enacting, that a slave who commits perjury, in a criminal cause, against another slave, shall suffer the same punishment as the prisoner, if convicted, would have suffered. If a slave be ignorant of the nature of an oath, why is he admitted as a witness against any human being? Why is he punished, in some cases, with death, for an offence which subjects his more enlightened, and, therefore, more guilty master, only to transportation? If, on the other hand, he possesses the moral and intellectual qualifications which are required in a witness, why is he not suffered to appear against an European?

But we must proceed. The slave, thus excluded from the protection of the law, is subject to all its restraints. He undergoes the miseries of a beast of burden, without enjoying its immunities. He is bound, notwithstanding that alleged inferiority of his understanding, which is admitted as a reason for curtailing his rights, but not for lightening his responsibility, by the whole of the criminal code which is in force against free persons. And, in addition to this, he is subjected to another most unjust and cruel code, made for his class alone. If he flies from the colony, he is put to death. If he goes beyond the limits of the plantation to which he is attached, without a written permission, he is liable to be severely punished. Actions in themselves perfectly innocent,—buying or selling certain goods in a market,—raising certain descriptions of produce,—possessing certain species of live stock,—are crimes for

which the Negro is punished, unless he can produce a written authority from his owner. In some of the Islands, not even the command of his owner is admitted as an excuse. To beat a drum, to blow a horn, to dance, to play at quoits, to throw squibs, to make fireworks, are all offences when committed by a slave, and subject him to the cruel chastisement of the whip. When things merely indifferent are visited with such severe penalties, it may easily be imagined that real delinquencies are not very mercifully dealt with. In fact, many actions for which a White man is only imprisoned, or otherwise slightly punished, if punished at all, are capital crimes when committed by a slave. Such are stealing, or attempting to steal, to the value of 12d. currency, killing any animal of the value of 6s., uttering mutinous words, and a long list of equally heinous crimes. We have already mentioned the infamous law which exists in Jamaica on the subject of perjury. Another of a most kingly character is in force in the same Island. To compass or imagine the death of any of the White inhabitants, (God bless their Majesties!) is an enormity for which a slave is punished with death. It is contrary to the duty of their allegiance!

Such is the penal code to which the slaves are subject. The manner in which they are tried is, if possible, still more disgraceful. On charges which do not affect their lives, a single justice is, for the most part, competent to decide. In capital cases, several justices must attend, and, in most of the Colonies, a Jury is summoned, if that name can be applied where there is neither parity of condition nor right of challenge. No indictment is preferred. No previous investigation takes place before a Grand Jury. In most of the Islands no record is drawn up. In some, it is enacted, that the execution shall immediately follow the sentence. The prisoner is *now* sufficiently lucky to be hanged. But formerly it was not unusual to inflict what the Colonial codes style 'exemplary punishment.' When it was thought expedient to exercise this right, the offender was roasted alive, hung up in irons to perish by thirst, or shut up in a cage and starved to death! These punishments were commonly reserved for wretches who had committed the diabolical crime of insurrection against the just and paternal government, of which we have feebly attempted to delineate the excellence.

The bondage, of which we have given this description, is hereditary. It is entailed on the posterity of the slave to the remotest generations. The law does not compel his master to enfranchise him, on receiving a fair price. On the contrary, it interferes to prevent the master, even when so inclined, from giving him his liberty. In some of the islands a direct tax is

imposed on manumission; and in all, the encouragement which is given to the practice of raising money on Negroes by mortgage, tends to obstruct their liberation.

Slavery in the West Indies is confined to Negroes and people of colour. This circumstance is peculiar to the slavery of the New World; and its effects are most calamitous. The external peculiarities of the African race are thus associated in the minds of the Colonists with every thing degrading, and are considered as the disgusting livery of the most abject servitude. Hence it is, that the free Negroes and Mulattoes lie under so many legal disabilities, and experience such contemptuous treatment, that their condition can be esteemed desirable only when compared with the bondage to which it has succeeded. Of the rules to which this class is subjected, we shall notice only one of the most odious. We speak of the presumption against liberty, which is a recognised principle of colonial law. The West Indian maxim is, that every Negro and Mulatto is to be considered as a slave, till, by documentary evidence, he can be proved to be otherwise. It may be notorious, that he has been free since he first resided in the colony,—that he has lived twenty years in England,—that he is a citizen of Hayti or Columbia. All this is immaterial. If he cannot produce a deed of manumission, he is liable to be put up to sale by public auction! On this subject remarks would be superfluous. Thank God, we are writing for a free people.

We have now accompanied Mr Stephen through most of the leading topics of his work. We have occasionally departed from his arrangement, which indeed is not always the most convenient. This, however, is to be attributed, not to the author, but to the circumstances under which the work was composed. If there be any thing else to which we should be inclined to object, it is to the lengthened parallels which Mr Stephen draws between the Slave laws of the West Indies and those which have existed in other countries. He is not, we think, too severe upon our Colonists. But we suspect that he is a little too indulgent to the Greeks and Romans. These passages are, at the same time, in a high degree curious and ingenious, though perhaps too long and too frequent. Such blemishes, however, if they can be called such, detract but in a very slight degree from the value of a book eminently distinguished by the copiousness and novelty of the information which it affords, by the force of its reasoning, and by the energy and animation of its style.

We have not alluded to that part of the work, in which the lamentable state of the law, on the subject of religious instruc-

tion, is described; because the evil has been universally acknowledged, and something intended for a remedy has at last been provided. The imagined specific, as our readers are aware, is an Ecclesiastical Establishment. This measure, we doubt not, is well intended. But we feel convinced that, unless combined with other reforms, it will prove almost wholly useless. The immorality and irreligion of the slaves are the necessary consequences of their political and personal degradation. They are not considered by the law as human beings. And they have therefore, in some measure, ceased to be human beings. They must become men before they can become Christians. A great effect may, under fortunate circumstances, have been wrought on particular individuals: But those who believe that any extensive effect can be produced by religious instruction on this miserable race, may believe in the famous conversion wrought by St Antony on the fish. Can a preacher prevail on his hearers strictly to fulfil their conjugal duties in a country where no protection is given to their conjugal rights,—in a country where the husband and wife may, at the pleasure of the master, or by process of law, be in an instant, separated for ever? Can he persuade them to rest on the Sunday, in Colonies where the law appoints that time for the markets? Is there any lesson which a Christian minister is more solemnly bound to teach, —is there any lesson which it is, in a religious point of view, more important for a convert to learn, than that it is a duty to refuse obedience to the unlawful commands of superiors? Are the new pastors of the slaves to inculcate this principle or not? In other words, are the slaves to remain uninstructed in the fundamental laws of Christian morality, or are their teachers to be hanged? This is the alternative. We all remember that it was made a charge against Mr Smith, that he had read an inflammatory chapter of the Bible to his congregation,—excellent encouragement for their future teachers to 'declare unto them,' according to the expression of an old divine, far too methodistical to be considered as an authority in the West Indies, 'the whole counsel of God.'

The great body of the Colonists have resolutely opposed religious instruction; and they are in the right. They know, though their misinformed friends in England do not know, that Christianity and slavery cannot long exist together. We have already given it as our opinion, that the great body of the Negroes can never, while their political state remains the same, be expected to become Christians. But, if that were possible, we are sure that their political state would very speedily be changed. At every step which the Negro makes in the knowledge and dis-

crimination of right and wrong, he will learn to reprobate more and more the system under which he lives. He will not indeed be so prone to engage in rash and foolish tumults; but he will be as willing as he now is to struggle for liberty, and far more capable of struggling with effect. The forms in which Christianity has been at different times disguised, have been often hostile to liberty. But wherever the spirit has surmounted the forms,—in France, during the wars of the Huguenots,—in Holland, during the reign of Philip II.,—in Scotland, at the time of the Reformation,—in England, through the whole contest against the Stuarts, from their accession to their expulsion,—in New-England, through its whole history,—in every place,—in every age,—it has inspired a hatred of oppression, and a love of freedom! It would be thus in the West-Indies. The attempts which have been made to press a few detached texts into the cause of tyranny, have never produced any extensive effect. Those who cannot refute them by reasoning and comparison, will be hurried forward by the sense of intolerable wrongs, and the madness of wounded affection. All this the Colonists have discovered; and we feel assured that they will never suffer religious instruction to be unreservedly given to the slaves. In that case, the Establishment will degenerate into a job. This is no chimerical apprehension. There have been clergymen in the West-Indies for many years past; and what have they done for the Negroes? In what have they conduced, either to their temporal or to their spiritual welfare? Doubtless there have been respectable men among them. But is it not notorious, that the benefices of the colonies have been repeatedly given to the outcasts of English society,—men whom the inhabitants would not venture to employ as book-keepers, yet whom they desired to retain as boon companions? Any person who will look over the Parliamentary papers which contain the answers returned by the colonial clergy to certain queries sent out a few years ago by Lord Bathurst, will see some curious instances of the ignorance, the idleness, and the levity of that body. Why should the new Establishment be less corrupt than the old? The dangers to which it is exposed are the same; we do not see that its securities are much greater. It has Bishops, no doubt; and when we observe that Bishops are more active than their inferiors on this side of the Atlantic, we shall begin to hope that they may be useful on the other.

These reforms have begun at the wrong end. 'God,' says old Hooker, no enemy to Episcopal Establishments, 'first assigned Adam maintenance for life, and then appointed him a law to observe.' Our rulers would have done well to imitate

the example,—to give some security to the hearth and to the back of the slave, before they sent him Bishops, Archdeacons, and Chancellors and Chapters.

The work of Mr Stephen has, we think, disposed for ever of some of the principal arguments which are urged by the Colonists. If those who conscientiously support slavery be open to conviction, if its dishonest advocates be susceptible of shame, they can surely never again resort to that mode of defence, which they have so often employed when hard pressed by some particular case of oppression. On such occasions their cry has been, 'These are individual instances. You must not deduce 'general conclusions from them. What would you say, if we 'were to form our estimate of English society from the Police 'Reports, or the Newgate Calendar? Look at the rules, and 'not at the exceptions.' Here, then, we have those boasted rules. And what are they? We find that the actions which other societies punish as crimes, are in the West-Indies sanctioned by law;—that practices, of which England affords no example but in the records of the jail and the gibbet, are there suffered to exist unpunished;—that atrocities may there be perpetrated in the drawing-room or in the market-place, on the persons of untried and unconvicted individuals, which here would scarcely find an asylum in the vaults of the Blood-Bowl House.

Is it any answer to this charge, now most fully established, to say that we too have our crimes? Unquestionably, under all systems, however wise, under all circumstances, however fortunate, the passions of men will incite them to evil. The most vigilant police, the most rigid tribunals, the severest penalties, are but imperfect restraints upon avarice and revenge. What then must be the case when these restraints are withdrawn? In England there is a legal remedy for every injury. If the first prince of the blood, were to treat the poorest pauper in St Giles's, as the best code in the West Indies authorizes a master to treat his slave, it would be better for him that he had never been born. Yet even here we find, that wherever power is given, it is occasionally abused; that magistrates, not having the fear of the Court of King's Bench before their eyes, will sometimes be guilty of injustice and tyranny, that even parents will sometimes starve, torture, murder the helpless beings to whom they have given life. And is it not evident, that where there are fewer checks, there will be more cruelty?

But we are told, the manners of a people, the state of public opinion, are of more real consequence than any written code. Many things, it is confessed, in the Colonial laws, are cruel and

unjust in theory: but we are assured that the feeling of the Colonists renders the practical operation of the system lenient and liberal. We answer, that public feeling, though an excellent auxiliary to laws, always has been, and always must be, a miserable and inefficient substitute for them. The rules of evidence on which public opinion proceeds are defective, and its decisions are capricious. Its condemnation frequently spares the guilty, and falls on the innocent. It is terrible to sensitive and generous minds; but it is disregarded by those whose hardened depravity most requires restraint. Hence its decrees, however salutary, unless supported by the clearer definitions and stronger sanctions of legislation, will be daily and hourly infringed; and with principles which rest only on public opinion, frequent infraction amounts to a repeal. Nothing that is very common can be very disgraceful. Thus public opinion, when not strengthened by positive enactment, is first defied, and then vitiated. At best it is a feeble check to wickedness, and at last it becomes its most powerful auxiliary.

As a remedy for the evils of a system of slavery, public opinion must be utterly inefficacious; and that for this simple reason, that the opinion of the slaves themselves goes for nothing. The desire which we feel to obtain the approbation, and to avoid the censure of our neighbours, is no innate or universal sentiment. It always springs, directly or indirectly, from consideration of the power which others possess to serve or to injure us. The good will of the lower orders, is courted only in countries where they possess political privileges, and where there is much they can give, and much that they can take away. Their opinion is important or unimportant, in proportion as their legal rights are great or small. It can, therefore, never be a substitute for legal rights. Does a Smithfield drover care for the love or hatred of his oxen? and yet his oxen, since the passing of Mr Martin's meliorating act, are scarcely in a more unprotected condition than the slaves in our islands.

The opinion then, which is to guard the slaves from the oppressions of the privileged order, is the opinion of the privileged order itself. A vast authority is intrusted to the master—the law imposes scarcely any restraints upon him—and we are required to believe, that the place of all other checks will be fully supplied by the general sense of those who participate in his power and his temptations. This may be reason at Kingston; but will it pass at Westminster? We are not inveighing against the white inhabibants of the West Indies. We do not say that they are naturally more cruel or more sensual than ourselves. But we say that they are men; and they desire to be considered as angels!—we say as angels, for to no human being, how-

ever generous and beneficent, to no philanthropist, to no fathers of the church, could powers like theirs be safely intrusted. Such authority a parent ought not to have over his children. They ask very complacently, "Are we men of a different species from yourselves? We come among you;—we mingle with you in all your kinds of business and pleasure;—we buy and sell with you on Change in the morning;—we dance with your daughters in the evening. Are not our manners civil? Are not our dinners good? Are we not kind friends, fair dealers, generous benefactors? Are not our names in the subscription lists of all your charities? And can you believe that we are such monsters as the saints represent us to be? Can you imagine that, by merely crossing the Atlantic, we acquire a new nature?" We reply, You are not men of a different species from ourselves; and, therefore, we will not give you powers with which we would not dare to trust ourselves. We know that your passions are like ours. We know that your restraints are fewer; and, therefore, we know that your crimes must be greater. Are despotic sovereigns men of harder hearts by nature than their subjects? Are they born with a hereditary thirst for blood—with a natural incapacity for friendship? Surely not. Yet what is their general character? False—cruel—licentious—ungrateful. Many of them have performed single acts of splendid generosity and heroism; a few may be named whose general administration has been salutary; but scarcely one has passed through life without committing at least some one atrocious act, from the guilt and infamy of which restricting laws would have saved him and his victims. If Henry VIII. had been a private man, he might have torn his wife's ruff, and kicked her lap-dog. He was a King, and he cut off her head—not that his passions were more brutal than those of many other men, but that they were less restrained. How many of the West Indian overseers can boast of the piety and magnanimity of Theodosius? Yet, in a single moment of anger, that amiable prince destroyed more innocent people than all the ruffians in Europe stab in fifty years. Thus it is with a master in the Colonies. We will suppose him to be a good-natured man, but subject, like other men, to occasional fits of passion. He gives an order. It is slowly or negligently executed. In England he would grumble, perhaps swear a little. In the West Indies, the law empowers him to inflict a severe flogging on the loiterer. Are we very uncharitable in supposing that he will sometimes exercise his privilege?

It by no means follows that a person who is humane in England will be humane to his Negroes in the West Indies. Nothing is so capricious and inconsistent as the compassion of

men. The Romans were people of the same flesh and blood with ourselves—they loved their friends—they cried at tragedies—they gave money to beggars;—yet we know their fondness for gladiatorial shows. When, by order of Pompey, some elephants were tortured in the amphitheatre, the audience was so shocked at the yells and contortions by which the poor creatures expressed their agony, that they burst forth into execrations against their favourite general. The same people, in the same place, had probably often given the fatal twirl of the thumb which condemned some gallant barbarian to receive the sword. In our own time, many a man shoots partridges in such numbers that he is compelled to bury them, who would chastise his son for amusing himself with the equally interesting, and not more cruel diversion, of catching flies and tearing them to pieces. The drover goads oxen—the fishmonger crimps cod—the dragoon sabres a Frenchman—the Spanish Inquisition burns a Jew—the Irish gentleman torments a Catholic. These persons are not necessarily destitute of feeling. Each of them would shrink from any cruel employment, except that to which his situation has familiarized him.

There is only one way in which the West Indians will ever convince the people of England that their practice is merciful, and that is, by making their laws merciful. We cannot understand why men should so tenaciously fight for powers which they do not mean to exercise. If the oppressive privileges of the master be nominal and not real, let him cede them, and silence calumny at once and for ever. Let him cede them for his own honour. Let him cede them in compliance with the desire, the vain and superfluous desire, we will suppose, of the people of England. Is the repeal of laws which have become obsolete,—is the prohibition of crimes which are never committed, too great a return for a bounty of twelve hundred thousand pounds, for a protecting duty most injurious to the manufacturers of England and the cultivators of Hindostan, for an army which alone protects from inevitable ruin the lives and possessions of the Colonists?

The fact notoriously is, that West Indian manners give protection even to those extreme enormities against which the West Indian laws provide. We have already adverted to one of the most ordinary sophisms of our opponents. 'Why,' they exclaim, 'is our whole body to be censured for the depravity of a few? Every society has its miscreants. If we had our Hodge, you had your Thurtell. If we had our Huggins, you had your Wall. No candid reasoner will ground general charges on individual cases.' The refuta-

tion is simple. When a community does nothing to prevent guilt, it ought to bear the blame of it. Wickedness, when punished, is disgraceful only to the offender. Unpunished, it is disgraceful to the whole society. Our charge against the Colonists is not that crimes are perpetrated among them, but that they are tolerated. We will give a single instance. Since the West Indians are fond of referring to our Newgate Calendar, we will place, side by side, a leaf from that melancholy Register, and another from the West Indian Annals.

Mr Wall was Governor at Goree. In that situation he flogged a man to death, on pretence of mutiny. On his return to England, he was indicted for murder. He escaped to the Continent. For twenty years he remained in exile. For twenty years the English people retained the impression of his crime uneffaced within their hearts. He shifted his residence—he disguised his person—he changed his name,—still their eyes were upon him, for evil, and not for good. At length, conceiving that all danger was at an end, he returned. He was tried, convicted, and hanged, amidst the huzzas of an innumerable multitude. *

Edward Huggins of Nevis, about fifteen years ago, flogged upwards of twenty slaves in the public market-place, with such severity as to produce the death of one, and to ruin the constitutions of many. He had grossly violated the law of the Colony, which prescribes a limit to such inflictions. He had violated it in open day, and in the presence of a magistrate. He was indicted by the law officer of the crown. His advocate acknowledged the facts, but argued that the act on which he was tried, was passed only to silence the zealots in England, and was never intended to be enforced. Huggins was acquitted! But that was a trifle. Some members of the House of Assembly lost their seats at the next election, for taking part against him. A printer of a neighbouring island was convicted of a libel, merely for publishing an official report of the evidence, transmitted to him by authority. In a word, he was considered as a martyr to the common cause, and grew in influence and popularity; while a most respectable planter, an enlightened and accomplished gentleman, Mr Tobin, who, nobly despising the prejudices of his class, had called the attention of the government to these diabolical outrages, was me-

* We should be far, indeed, from applauding those shouts, if they were the exultation of cruelty; but they arose from the apprehension that Court favour was about to save the criminal; and the feeling expressed was for the triumph of justice.

naced with prosecutions, assailed with slanders, and preserved only by blindness from challenges.

Let these cases be compared. We do not say that Wall was not as bad a man as Huggins; but we do say that the English people have nothing to do with the crime of Wall, and that the public character of the people of Nevis suffers seriously by the crime of Huggins. They have adopted the guilt, and they must share in the infamy. We know that the advocates of slavery affect to deride this and similar narratives as old and threadbare. They sneer at them in conversation, and cough them down in the House of Commons. But it is in vain. They are written on the hearts of the people; and they will be remembered when all the smooth nothings of all the official defenders of such transactions are forgotten.

The truth is simply this. Bad laws and bad customs, reciprocally producing and produced by each other, have given to the Whites in all the slave islands—Dutch, Spanish, French and English—a peculiar character, in which almost all the traits, which, in this quarter of the world, distinguish the different nations, are lost. We think we describe that character sufficiently when we call it the despotic character. In nothing does this temper more strongly appear than in the rage and contempt with which the Colonists receive every command, and indeed every admonition, from the authorities of the mother country. When the territorial power and the commercial monopoly of the East India Company have been at stake, has that great body conducted itself thus? Do even foreign powers treat us in this manner? We have often remonstrated with the greatest sovereigns of the Continent on the subject of the slave trade. We have been repulsed—we have been deluded. But by whom have we been insulted? The representations of the King and people of England have never been met with outrageous scorn and anger,—except by the men who owe their food to our bounties, and their lives to our troops. To the most gentle and moderate advice, to the suggestions of the most respectable of the West Indian proprietors resident in England, they reply only in ravings of absurd slander, or impotent defiance. The essays in their newspapers, the speeches of their legislators, the resolutions of their vestries, are, almost without exception, mere collections of rancorous abuse, unmixed with argument. If the Antislavery Society would publish a small tract, containing simply the leading articles of five or six numbers of the Jamaica Gazette, without note or comment, they would, we believe, do more to illustrate the character of their adversaries than by any other means which can be devis-

ed. Such a collection would exhibit to the country the real nature of that malignant spirit which banished Salisbury, which destroyed Smith, and which broke the honest heart of Ramsay.

It is remarkable, that most of these zealots of slavery have little or no pecuniary interest in the question. If the colonies should be ruined, the loss will fall, not upon the book-keepers, the overseers, the herd of needy emigrants who make up the noisy circles of Jamaica; but upon the Ellises, the Hibberts, the Mannings, men of the most respectable characters and enlightened minds in the country. *They* might have been excused, if any persons could be excused, for employing violent and abusive language. Yet they have conducted themselves, not perhaps exactly as we might wish them, but still like gentlemen, like men of sense, like men of feeling. Why is this? Simply because they live in England, and participate in English feelings. The Colonists, on the other hand, are degraded by familiarity with oppression. Let us not be deceived. The cry which resounds from the West Indies is raised by men, who are trembling less for their property than for the privileges of their cast. These are the persons who love slavery for its own sake. The declarations so often made by the Parliament, by the Ministers, by the deadliest enemies of slavery, that the interests of all parties will be fairly considered, and that wherever a just claim to compensation can be established, compensation will be given, bring no comfort to them. They may have no possessions, but they have white faces. Should compensation be given, few of them will receive a sixpence; but they will lose the power of oppressing with impunity every man who has a black skin. And it is to these men, who have scarcely any interest in the value of colonial property, but who have a deep interest,—the interest of a petty tyranny, and a despicable pride in the maintenance of colonial injustice, that the British Parliament is required to give up its unquestionable right of superintendence over every part of our empire. If this were requested as a matter of indulgence, or recommended as a matter of expediency, we might well be surprised. But it is demanded as a constitutional right. On what does this right rest? On what statute? On what charter? On what precedent? On what analogy? That the uniform practice of past ages has been against their claim, they themselves do not venture to deny. Do they mean to assert, that a parliament in which they are not represented ought not to legislate for them? That question we leave them to settle with their friends of the Quarterly Review and the John Bull newspaper, who, we hope, will enlighten them on the subject of virtual representation. If ever

that expression could be justly used, it would be in the present case; for probably there is no interest more fully represented in both Houses of Parliament, than that of the colonial proprietors. But for ourselves we answer, What have *you* to do with such doctrines? If you will adopt the principles of liberty, adopt them altogether. Every argument which you can urge in support of your own claims, might be employed, with far greater justice, in favour of the emancipation of your bondsmen. When that event shall have taken place, your demand will deserve consideration. At present, what you require under the name of freedom is nothing but unlimited power to oppress. It is the freedom of Nero.

'But we will rebel!' Who can refrain from thinking of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, who, while raised sixty feet from the ground on the hand of the King of Brobdignag, claps his hand on his sword and tells his Majesty that he knows how to defend himself? You will rebel! Bravely resolved, most magnanimous Grildrig! But remember the wise remark of Lord Beefington—'courage without power,' said that illustrious exile, 'is like a consumptive running footman.' What are your means of resistance? Are there, in all the islands put together, ten thousand white men capable of bearing arms? Are not your forces, such as they are, divided into small portions which can never act in concert? But this is mere trifling. Are you, in point of fact, at this moment able to protect yourselves against your slaves without our assistance? If you can still rise up and lie down in security—if you can still eat the bread of the fatherless, and grind the faces of the poor—if you can still hold your petty parliaments, and say your little speeches, and move your little motions—if you can still outrage and insult the Parliament and people of England, to what do you owe it? To nothing but to our contemptuous mercy. If we suspend our protection—if we recal our troops—in a week the knife is at your throats!

Look to it, that we do not take you at your word. What are you to *us* that we should pamper and defend you? If the Atlantic Ocean should pass over you, and your place know you no more, what should *we* lose? Could we find no other cultivators to accept of our enormous bounties on sugar?—no other pestilential region to which we might send our soldiers to catch the yellow-fever?—no other community for which we might pour forth our blood and lavish our money, to purchase nothing but injuries and insults? What do we make by you? If England is no longer to be *the mistress* of her colonies,—if she is to be only the handmaid of their pleasures, or the accomplice

of their crimes, she may at least venture to ask, as a handmaid, what are to be the wages of her service,—as an accomplice, what is to be her portion of the spoil? If justice, and mercy, and liberty, and the law of God, and the happiness of man, be words without a meaning, we at least talk to the purpose when we talk of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Let us count our gains. Let us bring to the test the lofty phrases of Colonial declamation. The West Indies, we are told, are a source of vast wealth and revenue to the country. They are a nursery of seamen. They take great quantities of our manufactures. They add to our political importance. They are useful posts in time of war. These absurdities have been repeated, till they have begun to impose upon the impostors who invented them. Let us examine them briefly.

Our commercial connexion with the West Indies is simply this. We buy our sugar from them at a higher price than is given for it in any other part of the world. The surplus they export to the Continent, where the price is lower; and we pay them the difference out of our own pockets. Our trade with the West Indies is saddled with almost all the expense of their civil and military establishments, and with a bounty of 1,200,000*l.* Let these be deducted from the profits of which we hear so much, and their amount will shrink indeed. Let us then deduct from the residue the advantages which we relinquish in order to obtain it,—that is to say, the profits of a free sugar trade all over the world; and then we shall be able to estimate the boasted gains of a connexion to which we have sacrificed the Negroes in one hemisphere, and the Hindoos in the other.

But the West Indians take great quantities of our manufactures! They *can* take only a return for the commodities which they send us. And from whatever country we may import the same commodities, to that country must we send out the same returns. What is it that now limits the demands of our Eastern empire? Absolutely nothing but the want of an adequate return. From that immense market—from the custom of one hundred millions of consumers, our manufacturers are in a great measure excluded, by the protecting duties on East Indian sugar.

But a great revenue is derived from the West Indian trade! Here, again, we have the same fallacy. As long as the present quantity of sugar is imported into England, no matter from what country, the revenue will not suffer; and, in proportion as the price of sugar is diminished, the consumption, and, consequently, the revenue, must increase. But the West Indian trade affords extensive employment to British shipping and seamen! Why more than any equally extensive trade with

any other part of the world? The more active our trade, the more demand there will be for shipping and seamen; and every one who has learnt the alphabet of Political Economy, knows that trade is active, in proportion only as it is free.

There are some who assert that, in a military and political point of view, the West Indies are of great importance to this country. This is a common, but a monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say, that Colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in governments, and indigence among the people. What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain, the Brazils for Portugal, Batavia for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for transatlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for some snowy desert or infectious morass on the other side of the globe: This inspired us with the project of conquering America in Germany: This induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation—to embroil ourselves in the intrigues, and fight the battles of half the Continent—to form coalitions which were instantly broken—and to give subsidies which were never earned: This gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its disgraceful defeats, and all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughterhouse: This it was which, in the war against the French republic, induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been to us as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dream of alchymy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations, fly in the face of history. The colonies of Spain were far more extensive and populous than ours. Has Spain, at any time within the last two centuries, been a match for England either by land or by sea? Fifty years ago, our colonial dominions in America were

far larger and more prosperous than those which we at present possess. Have we since that time experienced any decay in our political influence, in our opulence, or in our security? Or shall we say that Virginia was a less valuable possession than Jamaica, or Massachussets than Barbadoes?

The fact is, that all the evils of our Colonial system are immensely aggravated in the West Indies by the peculiar character of the state of slavery which exists there. Our other settlements we have to defend only against foreign invasion. These we must protect against the constant enmity of the miserable bondsmen, who are always waiting for the moment of deliverance, if not of revenge. With our other establishments we may establish commercial relations advantageous to both parties. But these are in a state of absolute pauperism; for what are bounties and forced prices but an enormous poor-rate in disguise?

These are the benefits for which we are to be thankful. These are the benefits, in return for which we are to suffer a handful of managers and attornies to insult the King, Lords, and Commons of England, in the exercise of rights as old and sacred as any part of our Constitution. If the proudest potentate in Europe, if the King of France, or the Emperor of all the Russias, had treated our Government as these creatures of our own have dared to do, should we not have taken such satisfaction as would have made the ears of all that heard of it to tingle? Would there not have been a stately manifesto, and a warlike message to both Houses, and vehement speeches from all parties, and unanimous addresses abounding in offers of lives and fortunes? If any *English mob*, composed of the disciples of Paine and Carlile, should dare to pull down a place of religious worship, to drive the minister from his residence, to threaten with destruction any other who should dare to take his place, would not the yeomanry be called out? Would not Parliament be summoned before the appointed time? Would there not be sealed bags and secret committees, and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act? In Barbadoes all this has been done. It has been done openly. It has *not* been punished. It is at this hour a theme of boasting and merriment. And what is the language of our rulers? 'We must not irri-'tate them. We must try lenient measures. It is better that 'such unfortunate occurrences should not be brought before the 'Parliament.' Surely the mantle, or rather the cassock, of Sir Hugh Evans, has descended on these gentlemen. 'It is not 'meet the council hear a riot. There is no fear of Got in a 'riot. The council, look you, shall desire to hear the fear of

'Got, and not to hear a riot.' We have outdone all the most memorable examples of patience. The Job of Holy Writ, the Griselda of profane romance, were but types of our philosophy. Surely our endurance must be drawing to a close.

We do not wish that England should drive forth her prodigal offspring to wear the rags and feed on the husks which they have desired. The Colonists have deserved such a punishment. But, for the sake of the slaves, for the sake of those persons, residing in this country, who are interested in West Indian property, we should grieve to see it inflicted. That the slaves, when no longer restrained by our troops, would, in no very long time, achieve their own liberation, cannot be doubted. As little do we doubt that such a revolution, violent as it would doubtless be, would be desirable, if it were the only possible means of subverting the present system. The horrors of a battle or a massacre force themselves upon our senses. The effects of protracted tyranny, the terror, the degradation, the blighted affections, the stunted intellects, the pining of the heart, the premature decay of the frame, are evils less obvious, but equally certain; and, when continued through successive generations, make up a greater sum of human misery than was ever inflicted in the paroyxsm of any revolution. Still we cannot doubt that savages, rude in understanding, exasperated by injuries, intoxicated by recent freedom, would be much benefited by the wise and merciful control of an enlightened people.

We feel also for the West Indian proprietors who reside in England. Between them and the inhabitants of the Colonies we see a great distinction. There may be in this body individuals infected with the worst vices of the colonial character. But there are also among them many gentlemen of benevolent feelings and enlarged minds, who have done much to alleviate the condition of their slaves, and who would willingly see the meliorating measures which his Majesty's ministers have suggested, adopted by the West Indian legislators. They have scarcely any thing in common with the Colonists, or with the scribblers whom the Colonists feed and clothe. They have taken little part in the controversy, ashamed probably of the infamous allies with whom they would have to cooperate. But what they have said has, upon the whole, been said manfully and courteously. Their influence, however, is at present exerted decidedly in favour of slavery, not, we verily believe, from any love of slavery in the abstract, but partly because they think that their own characters are in some degree affected by the attacks which are made on the Colonial system, and partly because they apprehend that their property is likely to suffer in

consequence of the feeling which at present prevails throughout the country.

On both points they are mistaken. We are convinced that there is not, in any quarter, a feeling unfriendly to them, or an indisposition to give a fair consideration to their interests. The honest, but uninformed zeal, of individuals, may sometimes break forth into intemperate expressions: But the great body of the people make a wide distinction between the class of which we speak and the Colonial mob. Let it be their care to preserve that distinction indelible.

We call for their support. They are our natural allies. Scarcely have the Ministers of the Crown, scarcely have the Abolitionists themselves, been more rancorously abused by the orators of Jamaica, than those persons. The objects of the two classes are wholly different. The one consists of English gentlemen, naturally solicitous to preserve the source from which they derive a part of their revenue. The other is composed, in a great measure, of hungry adventurers, who are too poor to buy the pleasure of tyranny, and are therefore attached to the only system under which they can enjoy it gratis. The former wish only to secure their possessions; the latter are desirous to perpetuate the oppressive privileges of the white skin. Against those privileges let us declare interminable war,—war for ourselves, and for our children, and for our grand-children,—war without peace—war without truce—war without quarter! But we respect the rights of property as much as we detest the prerogatives of colour.

We entreat these respectable persons to reflect on the precarious nature of the tenure by which they hold their property. Even if it were in their power to put a stop to this controversy, —if the subject of slavery were no longer to occupy the attention of the British public, could they think themselves secure from ruin? Are no ominous signs visible in the political horizon? How is it that they do not discern this time? All the ancient fabrics of colonial empire are falling to pieces. The old equilibrium of power has been disturbed by the introduction of a crowd of new States into the system. Our West-India possessions are not now surrounded, as they formerly were, by the oppressed and impoverished colonies of a superannuated monarchy, in the last stage of dotage and debility, but by young, and vigorous, and warlike republics. We have defended our colonies against Spain. Does it therefore follow that we shall be able to defend them against Mexico or Hayti? We are told, that a pamphlet of Mr Stephen, or a speech of Mr Brougham, is sufficient to excite all the slaves in our colonies to rebel. What, then, would be the effect produced in Jamaica by the

appearance of three or four Black regiments, with thirty or forty thousand stand of arms? The colony would be lost. Would it ever be recovered? Would England engage in a contest for that object, at so vast a distance, and in so deadly a climate? Would she not take warning by the fate of that mighty expedition which perished in St Domingo? Let us suppose, however, that a force were sent, and that, in the field, it were successful. Have we forgotten how long a few Maroons defended the central mountains of the island against all the efforts of disciplined valour? A similar contest on a larger scale might be protracted for half a century, keeping our forces in continual employment, and depriving property of all its security. The country might spend fifty millions of pounds, and bury fifty thousand men, before the contest could be terminated. Nor is this all. In a servile war, the master *must* be the loser—for his enemies are his chattels. Whether the slave conquer or fall, he is alike lost to the owner. In the mean time, the soil lies uncultivated; the machinery is destroyed. And when the possessions of the planter are restored to him, they have been changed into a desert.

Our policy is clear. If we wish to keep the Colonies, we must take prompt and effectual measures for raising the condition of the slaves. We must give them institutions which they may have no temptation to change. We have governed the Canadians liberally and leniently; and the consequence is, that we can trust to them to defend themselves against the most formidable power that anywhere threatens our Colonial dominions. This is the only safeguard. You may renew all the atrocities of Barbadoes and Demerara. You may inflict all the most hateful punishments authorized by the insular codes. You may massacre by the thousand, and hang by the score. You may even once more roast your captives in slow fires, and starve them in iron cages, or flay them alive with the cart-whip. You will only hasten the day of retribution. Therefore, we say, 'Let them go forth from the house of bondage. For wo unto 'you, if you wait for the plagues and the signs, the wonders and 'the war, the mighty hand and the outstretched arm!'

If the great West Indian proprietors shall persist in a different line of conduct, and ally themselves with the petty tyrants of the Antilles, it matters little. We should gladly accept of their assistance: But we feel assured that their opposition cannot affect the ultimate result of the controversy. It is not to any particular party in the church or in the state; it is not to the right or to the left hand of the speaker; it is not to the cathedral or to the Meeting, that we look exclusively for support.

We believe that, on this subject, the hearts of the English People burn within them. They hate slavery. They have hated it for ages. It has, indeed, hidden itself for a time in a remote nook of their dominions: but it is now discovered and dragged to light. That is sufficient. Its sentence is pronounced; and it never can escape! never, though all the efforts of its supporters should be redoubled,—never, though sophistry, and falsehood, and slander, and the jests of the pothouse, the ribaldry of the brothel, and the slang of the ring or fives' court, should do their utmost in its defence,—never, though fresh insurrections should be got up to frighen the people out of their judgment, and fresh companies to bubble them out of their money,—never, though it should find in the highest ranks of the peerage, or on the steps of the throne itself, the purveyors of its slander, and the mercenaries of its defence! *

ART. X. *Remarks on the Cultivation and Growth of Coffee in Hayti.* London. 1823.

AN idea seems to be pretty generally entertained, that the total repeal, or great reduction of the assessed taxes, would contribute more to the public advantage than any other measure relative to the diminution of the national bur-

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* Since the above article was prepared for the press, we have met with a new and very important work on the subject of West India Slavery. It is entitled, 'The West Indies as they are, or a real Picture of Slavery, particularly in Jamaica,' by the Rev. R. Bickell, a clergyman of the Church of England, who resided a considerable time in that Island. The work is ill written; and it might have been reduced with advantage to half its present size. It produces, however, an irresistible impression of the honesty and right intentions of the author, who was an eyewitness of the scenes he describes; and it confirms, in a remarkable manner, all the leading statements which, on the authority of Mr Cooper, Dr Williamson, and Mr Meabing, were laid before the public two years ago, in the pamphlet called 'Negro Slavery.' Mr Bickell has also brought forward various new facts of the most damning description, in illustration both of the rigours of Negro bondage, and of the extraordinary dissoluteness of manners prevailing in Jamaica. We strongly recommend the work to general perusal, as a most seasonable antidote to those delusive tales of colonial amelioration, by which it has been attempted to abate the horror so universally felt in contemplating the cruel and debasing effects of the slave system.

dens, that it is in the power of ministers to adopt. We confess that we are not of this opinion. It would most certainly give us extreme pleasure to see the assessed taxes entirely taken off, provided it could be shown that such repeal would not have the effect to continue some heavier burden. In the actual circumstances of the country, a large amount of revenue *must* be collected; and the real question for the consideration of the public is, not whether the assessed taxes are vexatious and occasion privations, but whether they are more or less vexatious, and occasion more or fewer privations than others? Now, we do not think that this is a question about which there can be much doubt. The assessed taxes, since their late reduction, cannot justly be said to be oppressive; and the chief objection to them—the difficulty of evading their payment—is in truth the very circumstance that forms their principal recommendation. The assessed taxes do not affect the natural distribution of capital; they do not, by increasing the cost of commodities, occasion any derangement in the ordinary channels of commercial intercourse; they do not lead to smuggling; and they are easily and cheaply collected. We are therefore of opinion, that there are many other taxes that ought to be repealed in preference to the assessed taxes. The tax on leather, for example, though it produces only a very small revenue, is yet, by requiring the employment of a great number of officers, and the enforcement of several vexatious regulations, very burdensome to the manufacturers, and to the public. The duty on policies of insurance is also extremely objectionable; for it has the effect both to check and repress the extension of a most important and beneficial branch of business, and to retain a large proportion of the property of individuals in a state of insecurity. The duties on foreign timber and iron, by enhancing the price of houses and machinery, are not only extremely oppressive to individuals, but lay the manufactures and commerce of the country under very serious disadvantages. These, and others of a similar discription, are the taxes we should like to see first repealed. And when this has been done, and fresh life been consequently infused into some of the most important branches of national industry, the increase that will thence arise in the revenue derived from the excise and customs, will enable the assessed taxes to be repealed with safety and advantage.

At present, however, it is not our intention to propose *the repeal* of any tax. But we are desirous to embrace this opportunity to show, that Government may, by *reducing* the duties on Coffee to a *third* or a *fourth* of their present amount, increase

the wealth, comforts, and enjoyments of a large class of the community, and effectually check that adulteration of coffee which is now practised to a very great extent—and that they may do all this not only without any sacrifice of revenue, but even with a considerable addition to its amount.

The question of the reduction of the coffee duties has, we understand, been lately brought under the consideration of the Treasury, by memorials from the principal West India merchants and planters, of London and Liverpool. And it may not perhaps be superfluous to observe, that though it cannot be doubted that the merchants have taken this step exclusively with a view to their own interests, without caring for those of the community in general, it is not on that account the less deserving of public support: For, it will be found, that this is a case in which the interests of the buyer are as much involved as those of the seller, and that it is impossible to benefit the one without also benefiting the other. The powerful and ever-acting principle of competition, compels the planters and merchants to sell their coffee, sugar, and other products, at the lowest price that will suffice to cover the cost of bringing them to market, including the various duties with which they may happen to be loaded. And hence the necessary and unavoidable consequence of a reduction in the duties affecting these articles is to occasion an equivalent diminution of price; so that while their former consumers obtain a proportionally larger supply of desirable commodities for the *same* sum, they are brought within the command of new and poorer, and, for that reason, infinitely more numerous, classes of consumers. The advantage of the planter and merchant consists, not in their being able to pocket either the whole or any portion of the reduced duty, for competition will always prevent their doing this, but in the extended demand for their peculiar products occasioned by its reduction. It must not, therefore, be supposed that this is a question in which the West Indians only are interested. If such were the case, we should hardly think it worthy of a moment's attention. But so far from this being true, it is a question bearing directly on the public interests, or at least on the interests of all that portion of the public, who either are or wish to be drinkers of coffee.—And we do hope that they will join their representations to those of the West Indians in favour of a measure that will not only be productive of increased enjoyment to themselves, but which is of essential importance to the commercial prosperity of the country.

We are not aware that ministers have yet returned any answer to the representations in question; though, from the cu-

larged and liberal views with respect to such subjects entertained by Messrs Robinson and Huskisson, there is every reason to hope that they will be favourably considered. The fear of reducing the revenue is the only imaginable circumstance that can occasion any hesitation about reducing the duties. But it is easy to show that this apprehension, if it be really entertained, is altogether futile and visionary. In no one instance has a reduction of an exorbitant duty, on an article in general demand, ever been effected without causing such an increased consumption as has led to a very great increase of revenue. It is unnecessary, however, to resort to general reasoning, or analogous cases, for proofs of this principle. Though there had been no other examples to which to refer, the history of the coffee trade during the last forty years would, of itself, have been fully sufficient to establish the superior productiveness of moderate duties.

Previously to 1783, the various custom and excise duties on coffee consumed in Great Britain, amounted to no less than 480 per cent. on its then average market price! In consequence of this enormous duty, almost all the coffee made use of was clandestinely imported; and the duties produced only the trifling sum of 2,869*l.* 10s. 10½d. a year. In 1783, however, Mr Pitt reduced the duties to about *one third* of their former amount. Now, mark the effects of this wise and politic measure. Instead of sustaining any diminution, the revenue was immediately increased to nearly *three* times its former amount, or to 7200*l.* 15s. 9d., showing that the consumption of legally imported coffee must have increased in about a NINEFOLD proportion! A striking and conclusive proof, as Mr Bryan Edwards has observed, of the effect of heavy taxation in defeating its own object.—(*History of the West Indies*, vol. ii. p. 340, 8vo. ed.)

From this period the consumption and the aggregate produce of the duties went on gradually, though slowly, increasing. From 1790 to 1794, both inclusive, the duty was 11d. per lb. the average annual consumption of England and Wales for the same period being 871,000 lbs. and the average annual revenue 39,875*l.* In 1795 the duty was raised to 1s. 5d.; but notwithstanding this increase, the average revenue of that and the *four* following years was only 38,740, while the average consumption *fell* to 548,000 lbs. In 1805, 6, 7, the duty was as high as 2s. 2d. per lb.; but owing to the measures adopted for the prevention of smuggling, to the growing taste for coffee, and to the capture of several of the French islands from which finer coffee was obtained, the average annual consumption of these three years amounted to 1,113,000 lbs. and the revenue to 121,698*l.*

We have now reached by far the most important era in the history of the British coffee trade. In compliance with the urgent solicitations of the West India body, then involved in the greatest difficulties, Mr Perceval consented, in 1808, to reduce the duties from 2s. 2d. to 7d. per lb., and also repealed the regulations against roasting in private houses. This measure was completely and signally successful. The average quantity of coffee sold for home consumption during the *five* years from 1808 to 1812, both inclusive, when the duty was at 7d., rose from 1,113,000 lbs., the average quautity sold, when the duty was at 2s. 2d., to 7,177,000 lb., and the revenue rose from 121,698*l.* to 209,334*l.*! We do not know that a more striking and memorable example can be pointed out in the whole history of taxation, to show the vast advantage resulting from the imposition of moderate duties on articles in general demand. But in despite of this precedent, Mr Vansittart raised the duty to 7¼d. in 1813; and though the consumption began to decline in consequence even of this slight advance, the same sagacious minister raised the duty to 1s. in 1819! This last increase of duty had the exact effect which every man of sense must have anticipated. Had the consumption of coffee gone on increasing with the increasing population of the country, as it was doing when the duty was raised, it would have amounted, in the period from 1819 to 1823, to 8,419,000 lbs., whereas it only amounted 6,692,000, and the revenue to 334,000*l.*

But, in order still more clearly to exhibit the effects of the various augmentations and reductions of duty on the consumption of coffee, we subjoin the following Table, which we have been at great pains to render as accurate as possible, and on which, we believe, our readers may place every reliance.

PROGRESSIVE CONSUMPTION of COFFEE in ENGLAND and WALES: Rates of Duty payable thereon; and Revenue derived from the same in the last 32 Years.

Years.	Coffee consumed in England and Wales, in libs.	Rate of duty per lib.	Gross Produce of the Duties on Coffee.		Annual Average Consumption.	Average Annual Revenue.
1791	815,300	0s. 11*d.*	£37,300	When	lbs.	
1792	929,600	0 11	42,600	duty	871,000	£39,875
1793	842,200	0 11	38,600	at 11d.		
1794	896,000	0 11	41,000	per lib.		
1795	282,200	1 5	20,000			
1796	515,200	1 5	36,500	When		
1797	600,300	1 5	42,500	duty at	548,000	38,740
1798	582,400	1 5	41,200	1s. 5d.		
1799	761,600	1 5	53,500	per lib.		
1800	658,500	1 6	49,400			
1801	694,400	1 6	52,100	When		
1802	761,600	1 6	57,100	duty at	813,000	60,950
1803	784,000	1 6	58,800	1s. 6d.		
1804	1164,800	1 6	87,350	per lib.		
1805	1131,200	2 2	127,309	When		
1806	1142,000	2 2	122,530	duty at	1,113,000	121,698
1807	1064,000	2 2	115,257	2s. 2d.		
				per lib.		
1808	8848,000	0 7	258,100	When		
1809	5107,200	0 7	148,966	duty		
1810	6092,800	0 7	177,700	at 7d.	7,177,000	209,334
1811	7571,200	0 7	220,827	per lib.		
1812	8265,600	0 7	241,080			
1813	6048,000	0 7¼	196,000			
1814	5868,800	0 7¼	189,470	When		
1815	6832,000	0 7¼	220,620	duty		
1816	7436,800	0 7¼	239,950	at 7¼d.	6,930,000	225,997
1817	8108,800	0 7¼	261,846	per lib.		
1818	7683,200	0 7¼	248,100			
1819	5958,400	0 12	297,920	When		
1820	6764,800	0 12	338,240	duty		
1821	6921,600	0 12	346,080	at 12d.	6,692,000	334,600
1822	7123,200	0 12	356,160	per lib.		

The revenue derived from the duties on coffee in Scotland, amounts to about 15,000*l.* a year, and in Ireland to nearly the same sum.

Owing to the devastation occasioned by the revolution in St Domingo, the exportation of coffee from that Island which had, on an average of the three years ending with 1789, amounted to 71,480,000 libs. a year, ceased entirely subsequently to 1795. In consequence of the increase of price, caused by this deficiency of supply, a very great stimulus was given to the cultivation of coffee in the other West India Islands. The effects of this stimulus were particularly felt in Jamaica, to which many of the St Domingo planters had retired; the exports of coffee

from thence, which in 1790 only amounted to 1,788,000 libs., having increased in 1806 to not less than 29,298,000 *—a rapidity of increase unprecedented, we believe, in the history of colonial cultivation! But this increased cultivation was still insufficient to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the destruction of St Domingo; and prices continued at a high elevation until the latter part of 1810, when the decrees of Bonaparte, by throwing very great difficulties in the way of importation into the Continent, produced an overloading of the British market, and a fall of prices. The unmeasured exportation that took place subsequently to the peace, again raised prices; and they have since continued at a pretty high range, until last year, when they have again fallen, from 40 to 50 per cent. This last fall has not taken place, however, in consequence of any increase of importation from our own colonies, for that has been progressively falling off during the last six or seven years, but in consequence of the rapid extension of the growth of coffee in Brazil, Cuba, and Java. On an average of the last ten years, not more than a fourth part of the coffee imported from the British plantations into England has been retained for home consumption: And as the constant increase of the Continental imports from America, and the East and West Indies, must continue to drive British coffee from the foreign markets, it seems quite clear, that, in the event of the duties not being reduced, and the home market extended, a *half*, or perhaps *two-thirds*, of the British coffee plantations, will at no distant period be rendered absolutely worthless.

It is supposed that during the period when the duties on coffee fluctuated from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 2d. per lb., about a *half* of the total quantity consumed in the empire was either furnished by smugglers or by adulterators. Smuggling has since sustained a considerable check; but, on the other hand, the manufacture and sale of spurious or imitation coffee has been legalised, and is actually become a very considerable branch of business. It was enacted by the 41st Geo. III. cap. 91, that if any article made to resemble coffee, or intended to serve as a substitute for it, should be found in the possession of any dealer, or be called by him English or British *coffee*, it should be forfeited, and the dealer subjected to a penalty of 50*l*. The breakfast powders of Mr Henry Hunt, of radical notoriety, were seized under this act. But by an act passed about two years since, the sale of *roasted grain*, intended to serve as a substitute for coffee, is authorized, provided the parcels are marked and labelled as such. It is im-

* Corrie's Letters to Mr Perceval, p. 2.

possible to ascertain the amount of the sales now making of this spurious coffee; but there can be no question that they are very great. A few months since the price of *rye*, the grain best suited for its manufacture, was enhanced in an almost unprecedented degree; and shops are now opened for the sale of the article, not only in all the great towns, but in almost all the considerable villages throughout the empire. In a late trial in the Court of King's Bench, where Mr Hunt was the prosecutor, it was stated, that a bushel of rye would yield 35 or 36 lb. of coffee; and that, at the existing prices, the profit on the manufacture was from 300 to 400 per cent. Of course, allowance must be made in estimating the weight due to these assertions, for the exaggeration of advocates; but after every reasonable allowance, it is still sufficiently obvious, that the relinquishing of the trade of a radical politician, for that of a spurious coffee dealer, reflects no discredit on Mr Hunt's sagacity.

It was expected that the consumption of genuine coffee would have been very considerably increased during last year, in consequence of the fall that has taken place in its price; for the common qualities have been sold in bond, during the greater part of last year, for about 6d. per lib., while they have generally averaged since 1814, from 10d. to 1s. So far, however, from having increased, it will be seen from the subjoined extract, † from a circular of one of the most respectable commer-

† The total import of coffee, B. P. and foreign, appears to be 21,300 tons in 1824, against 20,200 tons in 1823; and the stocks now remaining about 9000 tons, against 8000 tons on the 1st January 1824, 5600 tons on 1st January 1823, and 4800 tons on 1st January 1822. The quantity exported from Great Britain in 1824, has been about 17,500 tons, being considerably more than in former years; and the quantity taken out of bond for home use, only about 3360 tons, being about 200 tons less than in the year 1823. This falling off in the consumption is principally to be attributed to the great pains successfully taken by the venders of roasted grain, since the sale of it was legalized by Parliament, to introduce this substitute into general use, in all the principal towns in the kingdom. For the prices of coffee having ruled on an average at least 25s. per cwt. lower during the past year than they did for some years previous, there is no doubt the consumption would have increased with the increasing population, if this substitute had not been extensively used; but it is ascertained that this is the case, and it may be expected to come into more extensive use, as long as the duty on coffee continues so high as it now is, being about 200 per cent. on the value of the bulk of the coffee imported. If the

cial houses of Liverpool (Yates, Brothers & Co.), dated the 8th of January last, that the consumption of 1824 is 200 tons, or 448,000 lbs. less than the consumption of 1823! The temptation which the high duty holds out to adulteration, and the ease with which it may now be effected, has entirely prevented the great increase of consumption, which it is certain would otherwise have taken place in consequence of the fall of coffee.

Now, we would beg leave to ask, whether any thing can be more monstrously and palpably impolitic and absurd, than to force, by means of oppressive duties on genuine coffee, recourse to this spurious and miserable compound? The system on which we are now acting inflicts, at one and the same moment, a serious injury on the consumers of coffee, on the West Indian merchants and planters, on the revenue, commerce, and morals of the people. The facilities which the possession of a legalised counterfeit must give for the adulteration of genuine coffee, are too obvious to require to be pointed out; and it has been estimated by those best acquainted with such subjects, that a full *third* of the roasted grain is used for the purpose of adulterating! The continuance of such a state of things is surely out of the question. Were the duties on coffee reduced to 3*d.* or 4*d.* per lb. there is the greatest probability that the consumption would be at least tripled or quadrupled, or that it would rise from *seven* to *twenty-one* or *twenty-eight* millions of pounds; and, if so, the sale of spurious counterfeits, and the practice of adulterators, would be effectually checked, while the revenue would be proportionally augmented.

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duty were reduced from 12d. per lib. to 8d. or 4d. per lib., it is probable the consumption in England would be doubled or trebled; and that, instead of consuming only 150 to 200 tons annually in Scotland, and 100 to 130 tons in Ireland, ten times the quantity would be used in those countries, by which means we should consume in the British dominions nearly all the produce of our own Colonies. Memorials have been made to ministers on this subject, which it is hoped will be attended to. In 1809, when the duty was reduced from 2s. 2d. to 7d. per lib., the consumption increased sixfold immediately. The stocks of coffee on the Continent appear to be rather larger than they were this time last year; but the consumption has increased, owing to the reduction in the prices; and although there may be some increase in the supply from Brazil and Laguyra, we do not anticipate, on the whole, an increased import to Europe in 1825, as the crops in Jamaica and Demerara will probably be small.—*8th January*, 1825.

It has been stated, that in the event of the duties on coffee being effectually reduced, its increased consumption would interfere with the consumption of tea, and that the revenue might in this way suffer very seriously. But it is obvious that there is infinitely less risk of such a consequence taking place by an increased sale of moderately taxed genuine coffee, than there is by continuing, as at present, to force the sale of counterfeit coffee subject to no duty whatever. It should also be observed, for it is very nearly decisive of this question, that the quantity of tea sold for home consumption has gone on regularly increasing since 1808; though, from the great reduction that was then effected in the amount of the coffee duties, the quantity of coffee sold for home consumption was upwards of *six* times greater in the five years subsequent to 1807, than in the five preceding years. There is not, indeed, under any circumstances, much probability that coffee will ever supersede tea among any considerable proportion of the lower classes; and when it is used by the upper classes, it is used along with tea, and not as a substitute for it. It is worse than idle, therefore, to fear any reduction of the tea duties being occasioned by a reduction of those on coffee. But even if that were the case, Government have an obvious resource at hand; for it is completely in their power, by compelling, as they are bound to do, the East India Company to sell their teas at a lower price, to increase their consumption, and consequently the revenue derived from them, to almost any extent.

For these and other reasons, which we shall not take up the reader's time by stating, we do not think that it is possible to question the policy of effectually reducing the duties on coffee; or to doubt that it would have a most salutary and beneficial influence on the comforts and enjoyments of the people, and on the revenue and commerce of the country.

ART. XI. *History of St Domingo, from its first Discovery by Columbus, to the present period.* 8vo, pp. 450. Edinburgh, 1818.

THIS article may be considered as a sort of Appendix to the long and more general one we have already given on the subject of the West Indies; as it enables us to show experimentally the effects of emancipation, even when obtained by force, and maintained for a long period in the midst of war and

dissension, on the population, the wealth, the industry and moral habits of expatriated Africans. Independently, however, of these considerations, it would be difficult to select a topic which, upon so many accounts, possesses claims to attention, as that of the present state of Hayti or St Domingo. The interest is very great, considered merely with a view to the gratification of curiosity. A vast island occupied by men, who, suddenly passing from the condition of slaves to that of free men, established their political power with their personal liberty; a people, of uncivilized men, who became in a few years civilized and even refined, and formed a dynasty and a government for themselves, presents a spectacle at once novel in the history of the species, and attractive from the extraordinary incongruities which it appears to involve and to reconcile. The proximity of this scene to our own settlements, and the great similarity of their circumstances to those in which so strange a revolution was effected, adds mightily to the importance of the subject. Little direct intercourse having been held with the new empire, we are very imperfectly informed of its internal situation; and countries far more remote and inaccessible are familiar to us in comparison. The passing events of the present moment too, are calculated to give a peculiar interest to the inquiry; for, when the policy of recognising all the colonies that have succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the mother country, and treating them as independent states, has at length been forced upon our government by the united sense of the whole people; we naturally look to the colony which has the longest been in possession of its independence, which has the most completely established its liberty, and which prefers the strongest claims to recognition, whether justice or expediency be regarded. Add to all these reasons, the one perhaps most natural, the case of Hayti is fitted to throw the strongest light upon the great question of slavery now agitating our councils both in America and at home; and it has been the most fearlessly appealed to by the enemies of humanity and freedom.—Misrepresentation has done its worst; concealment has had its day; the force of prejudice, hitherto unconquerable, begins to abate; and we are now to examine what the truth really is, respecting our Black neighbours, for whom thus much may at the least be said, that, contrary to all expectation, to our own fears among the rest we will candidly confess, no more peaceful neighbours were ever yet found in any part of the world, notwithstanding the power possessed by them of being more troublesome, and indeed dangerous.

It is, therefore, our intention to bring together as briefly and plainly as may be, in this Article, whatever information we have been enabled to collect of an authentic nature, upon the present state of Hayti, and the progress it has made since its separate existence began. We shall do little more than unfold the facts; the important inferences in which they are so fruitful readily occur of themselves.

The first subject that presents itself is the Population; and the more especially, because all the enemies of the abolition have strenuously contended, that the numbers could never be kept up without importation; and all the advocates of slavery have as warmly denied the power of an emancipated Negro people to supply their own numbers. The result of the returns from Hayti is most satisfactory on this head; and affords a memorable contradiction to all those wild imaginations.

The original native population of Hayti, previously to its subjugation by the Spaniards, was estimated by the Bishop Las Casas at 3,000,000. This was probably an exaggeration; but though the numbers may have been much less, the falling off unquestionably was great after the conquest. In the 17th century, the island was divided between the Spaniards and French; and the former, in 1798, were estimated at 110,000 free persons, and 15,000 slaves. The French population amounted, in 1726, to 100,000 Negroes, and 30,000 Whites. In 1775, by the estimate of M. Malouet, the numbers were 300,000 Negroes, and 25,000 Whites. In 1779, according to M. Necker, the numbers were 249,098 slaves, 7055 free Blacks, and 32,650 Whites—in all, 288,803 persons. In 1789, according to M. Moreau de St Mery, the slaves amounted to 452,000—according to Bryan Edwards, to 480,000; and they were stated, in the National Assembly, by M. Prieur, in round numbers, at 500,000 Blacks, and 40,000 Whites; adding this, which is perhaps an exaggerated statement, to the inhabitants of the Spanish part, the whole population, at the commencement of the French Revolution, could not exceed 665,000 souls. From that period till 1809, when the French troops were expelled, the country was laid waste by a succession of sanguinary wars; notwithstanding which the population of the island has increased in an astonishing degree: For, by the census taken in 1824, the actual population is given at 935,335 inhabitants. The armed force of the country is quite in proportion to its population; the regular troops, amounting to 45,520, and the national guards to 113,328, making a body of 158,848 men trained to arms. These estimates are official, and were taken in pursuance of the proclamation of the President of Hayti, dated 6th January 1824.

The population will also receive an additional increase by the resolution adopted by President Boyer in May last, to receive and allot lands to 6000 *free* Blacks and men of colour from the United States, to pay part of the expense of their passage, and to furnish them with agricultural implements. The increase, then, notwithstanding the war, was, in 35 years, from 665,000 to 935,000.

Let this extraordinary increase of numbers be now compared with the progress of population in our Slave Colonies, and the effects of the system will be at once perceived. In 1788, by the Privy Council Report, Tortola had 9000 slaves. From 1790 to 1796, the returns of imported Africans are wanting; from 1788 to 1790, and from 1796 to 1806, there were imported 1909 slaves. Yet in 1822, the whole numbers were 6478, being a decrease of 3531, only 304 of which are manumissions. In January 1821, the slaves of Demerara were 77,376; twenty-two months after, in May 1823, they were 74,418. But there must be added to this decrease 1298 slaves, allowed, by a most scandalous measure of the government, to be carried from the Islands to these pestilential swamps; the whole decrease, therefore, was 4251 in less than two years. In Jamaica, the slaves in 1790 were 250,000. Without any importations, this population, proceeding at the American rate of increase, ought, in 1820, to have grown to 575,000. The actual population, however, in 1820, was only 340,000; exhibiting a deficiency, as compared with the United States, of 235,000 slaves in thirty years. But during these thirty years, or rather during the first eighteen of them, 189,000 slaves were imported into Jamaica from the coast of Africa, and retained in it. Without counting, therefore, on any natural increase from these importations, the number in the island in 1820 ought to have been 764,000, being 424,000 more than were actually to be found there in that year. Without calculating on any increase at all, either from the stock of 1790, or the subsequent importations, the number of slaves ought to be 439,000. The actual population in 1820 was 100,000 less. In all our colonies, except Barbadoes and Bahamas, there is a yearly decrease, amounting, in three years ending 1820, to 18,000.

We have mentioned the American rate of increase; and astonishing it no doubt is. A pamphlet now lies before us, from the pen of Morris Birkbeck, written in the Illinois country, and printed at Shawnee Town. The subject is the great question of the admission of slavery into the Western States; and a very interesting statement is given in the Appendix of the progress of population in those parts. In Kentucky, the whole number,

black and white, increased from 220,959 to 406,511, or nearly doubled in ten years, between 1800 and 1810. Ohio, in the same time, more than quadrupled, increasing from 55,356 to 230,769, but they were all free inhabitants; and in twenty years they increased more than eleven fold, to 581,484. Indiana, in ten years, increased from 24,520 to 147,178, all free men. Missouri, again, in ten years, trebled, from 20,845 to 66,586, black and white. The increase in Hayti would in all probability be equal to any of those countries in times of such peace as they have enjoyed. The great increase of population which we have seen, certainly took place after the troubles ended; and we must deduct from the earlier returns all who were destroyed during the dreadful wars in 1794 and 1802. But the different rate at which the free and slave population increase in America is most remarkable.

Let us next see what the Produce of the island is. That, of provisions at least, it grows abundance for the supply of its inhabitants, we need not prove; the great increase of their numbers sufficiently demonstrates that. But even of sugar, cotton, and coffee, what is the account? We have now before us the official returns of 1822, specifying the trade of the island with all parts of the world. By this it appears, that 652,541 pounds of sugar, equal to about 544 hogsheads of 12 cwt., 891,950 of cotton, and 35,117,834 of coffee, or 350,000 cwt., are exported to foreign parts. This is beside the cocoa and woods; and it is also over and above all the sugar, coffee, and cotton required for home consumption. The whole exports of the island for that year were of the value of above nine millions of dollars, or above two millions of pounds sterling. The value of the imports was nearly three millions; and the tonnage employed in the export and import trade together was about 200,000, in 1835 vessels. But in case there should be any one who disregards all produce, and all trade, that brings nothing into the Exchequer, we can relieve him at once; for the Duties upon exports and imports during the same year exceeded 678,000*l.* sterling; a very handsome branch of revenue, which even the oldest and most legitimate government in Europe would regard with the most respectful attention.

Having stated the great branches usually supposed to embrace the whole that is important in statistics, in population, military force, commerce, and revenue to a certain degree at least, we may perhaps be thought to have sufficiently, though very succinctly, described the political state of Hayti. But happily our materials enable us to go a little further, and to throw some light upon its moral state also. The following is part of a let-

ter from General Inginal, Secretary-general to the President; and it will be seen from its tenor how much attention is paid there to the greatest of all subjects which can occupy the attention of rulers, that in which all others are indeed compressed, the Education of the people. It also marks that the improvement of agriculture and commerce is rapidly increasing—and it displays the good spirit which prevails with respect to foreign aggression.

I can assure you, Sir, that being perfectly convinced that education and agriculture are the chief sources of the strength of States, the Government of the Republic does not neglect any thing which can promote these two objects; and I can announce to you with great satisfaction, that both in their progress answer fully to the care bestowed on them. The number of youth of both sexes who study in the elementary schools and in the upper classes, is prodigious. In all our towns, the schools kept by private people, and the national schools, are much increased, and they are found in all the large villages of the interior. I am myself astonished at the happy change which has taken place in public education, and which is daily taking place in the improvement of morals—all of which is effected tranquilly and with satisfaction, under the mild influence of a truly paternal government. In the ensuing spring I will send you a particular account of the number of schools and of scholars. As to agriculture, it is sufficient to tell you, that from 1814 up to the present time, the number of proprietors has been increased by the appropriation of uncultivated land, by donations of the government, and by the division of the land of the old colonists, to the amount of 30,000; and all these new proprietors cultivate their land with care and attention. Our commerce has considerably increased, of which you will have an idea by consulting the paper I send you of the importation and exportations of the year 1822, collected at the different custom-houses. I am nearly certain that the quantity of coffee produced in 1823, surpasses more than a third the quantity produced in 1822, and there is great probability that the crop of the present year will be still more considerable, because more people are employed cultivating the fields, and they are more assiduous in their tasks, and more contented in consequence of our rural code having been much improved, and offering good security to the cultivation. The eastern part of the island, formerly the Spanish part, appears at present very well pleased to have returned under the laws of the Republic; and all those in that part of the island who had opinions contrary to our institutions, have wisely resolved to retire to some other islands, so that at present there are only good citizens devoted to the cause of their country. We are well prepared at every point of our territory to repel foreign aggression; our fortifications are in good order and well provisioned, and are increased frequently; our troops of the line and guards are well armed and

equipped; public spirit is excellent; and I may therefore affirm, that we have nothing to fear from the injustice of those who hitherto have not acknowledged us as a free and independant nation. We desire to preserve peace with all the world; and we will use our efforts for this purpose; but if we are attacked, we will give the whole universe a proof of what can be accomplished by men, who will not give up the independence of their country.'

We learn from another quarter, of undoubted authority, that in the town of Port au Prince there are no less than fourteen free schools, at which 813 pupils, of both sexes, are instructed in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, and many in the higher branches of learning. At Cape Haytien (formerly Cape François), there are six private schools, beside the publick ones established by the Government. At these are taught Algebra, Geometry, History, and Geography, beside the common branches of learning.

With respect to the morals of the people, we can do no better than cite some very candid and judicious observations of Christophe himself,—in a Letter which was published in one of the numbers of the *Propagation*, a periodical work printed in Hayti. 'I am endeavouring,' says this extraordinary man, 'as far as possible, to inculcate the principles of religion and 'virtue among my fellow citizens; but consider, my friend, 'what time is necessary, and what care and exertions are re-'quired, to effect the diffusion of religious and moral feelings 'amongst all classes of a people recently emerged from the 'gloom of ignorance and slavery, and who have undergone the 'vicissitudes, the disasters and revolutions of 25 years.'

But lest such representations may be deemed partial, as coming from Haytians, and indeed from publick functionaries, we now subjoin the result of an inquiry undertaken by a Committee of the '*American Convention*, for the abolition of slavery and improvement of the African race.' To that Committee was delegated the examination of the moral and political condition of the people of Hayti, and the following is the principal part of their report.

'From the representations of those who have resided in the island, and from the public documents printed there, it appears, that the Haytians have made a progress in civilization and intellectual improvement, nearly, if not altogether, unparalleled in the history of nations.

'Public free schools are established to a greater extent, in proportion to the wants of the population, than is known in European countries, and the pupils exhibit a very gratifying proficiency in their studies.

'The government is efficient, and apparently stable. It is republican in its form; the laws being passed by a legislative body

chosen by the people, yet it is said that the control of the President is predominant, the military force being at his disposal. He does not appear, however, to abuse his authority; and it is evident that a continuance of the system of education, and of the republican form of government, will, at no distant period, place the power in reality in the hands of the people and their representatives. Until knowledge be generally diffused, the chief influence and authority must necessarily be exercised by a few enterprising and extraordinary characters, who have outstripped the mass in the race of improvement.

'The great body of men, in all countries, are hired labourers, who subsist on their wages, and the quantity of the means of subsistence given them for their services, is perhaps the best criterion which can be obtained of the degree of happiness they enjoy, or of positive oppression they suffer. Trying the conditions of the Haytians by this test, it would appear decidedly better than that of the people of any European nation, and the citizens of the United States would be able to boast of no striking preeminence. The wages of labourers in the Haytian seaports is one dollar per day; and the price of provisions, on the average, is nearly the same as in our own ports. The wants of the people in clothing, shelter, and furniture, are far less than those of the inhabitants of our zone; so that on the whole, the means of comfortable subsistence are probably as abundantly possessed by the labouring Haytians as by the labourers of any other country on earth. This abundance is a positive proof of the mildness of the government; a proof that it does not grind the people to dust by the taxing and monopolizing hand of oppression.

'So much propriety of style, profundity of thought, and correctness of sentiment, have been exhibited in the official documents, and in the public journals of Hayti, that many people in this country have supposed that they must have been the work of foreigners, and not of the persons who profess the authorship; for they could not believe that native coloured Haytians had attained that intellectual perfection which these documents would indicate. In answer to doubts of this kind, expressed by the Editor of the National Gazette of this city (Philadelphia), the editor of a most respectable newspaper in Boston states, that a gentleman of that place, who has resided for some time in Hayti, and whose statements are entitled to implicit confidence, declares that, from his own knowledge, it is an unquestionable fact, that the publications alluded to are really the work of those to whom the authorship is attributed.

'A number of citizens of Boston have of late taken a strong interest in Haytian affairs, and have written zealously in favour of a recognition, by the United States, of Haytian independence. One of these, who had given a very favourable picture of the condition, institutions, and prospects of the island, in answer to some insinuations of selfish motives, avers, that he has no personal interest in the sub-

ject; that he is influenced solely by considerations of reasonableness and equity, and of the general interests of the United States.

'It is gratifying to find that the progress of the Haytians is such as every day diminishes the number of their contemners and enemies, and adds to the number of those who are convinced of the moral and intellectual capabilities of the Blacks.

'Hayti is a country of deep interest to the philosopher and statesman, and especially to the friends of African rights. It is to be hoped that it may continue a land which may be fitly looked to as an example for refuting prejudices against the Blacks, and as a suitable place of refuge for those coloured persons who may be unwilling to endure the degradation they are doomed to suffer in other countries.

'The late union of the whole island under one government is calculated to allay the apprehensions of internal commotion which arose from the possession of a part of the country by the Spaniards, and to cause it to be considered as a more suitable place of emigration than formerly. The policy of the government towards emigrants is liberal; and some time since it went so far as to pay the passage-money of all who would come from Europe or America to settle; but finding, that, under this provision, worthless characters were introduced, it discontinued the practice.'

After contemplating a people in the general, observing their government, and viewing the results of their institutions, it is natural that we should desire to see them individually, as it were, in order to become more familiarly acquainted with them. The following sketch may be deemed interesting in this point of view.

'The dress of the lower orders in Hayti is plain, but neat and clean. The men wear a short blue jacket of woollen cloth, with waistcoat and trowsers of white chintz. The women's dress consists of a cotton chemise and petticoat, with a handkerchief tied in the form of a turban round the head.

'The country people, who frequent the markets in the towns, have a healthy cleanly appearance. They are all, to the very lowest, clothed, and their general aspect indicates content and happiness. The Haytian females have the usual *failing* (as some term it) of being fond of dress; and most of their gains they lavish upon this branch of extravagance. The young women are frequently agreeable and even handsome in person. Those of a subordinate rank, we are informed, unfortunately are not very scrupulous in forming illicit connections. Public opinion has not yet so stigmatized this breach of the social duties as to detach them from a practice uncondemned in the days of their ancestors.

'In a recent Jamaica paper we recollect to have seen the sketch of a Haytian's dress and appearance:—The dress as above describ-

ed; the hair brushed upwards to the top of the head; mustaches; earrings; a straw hat placed lightly on the side of the head; an erect gait, with an air of conscious independence. These traits compose a portrait of a Haytian beau, drawn by the pen of a bitter enemy.'

We naturally cast an eye toward France, after contemplating the internal state of this most prosperous and interesting state. The strongest wish undoubtedly prevails there to obtain some footing in it, by means of which an ascendant may afterwards be acquired, and the old colonial dominion restored. The whole resources of Napoleon's genius having failed in the time when the power of the country was unbroken, and its reputation at the height, not even the most abject flatterer of the legitimate monarchs can gravely pretend to indulge in a hope of forcibly retaking possession. Intrigue has been tried, therefore, where violence was sure to fail; and a long negotiation, some say, for the last ten years, has been going on, with the view, on the part of Hayti, of securing its independence by *a formal* recognition, and with the design, on the part of France, of regaining something like a footing there, though it were at first but in name. An ample indemnity was asked, amounting to about four millions Sterling; and even this was in a train for adjustment. But at last came out the real wish of the affectionate Bourbons, containing, as it were in a postscript, like other amorous documents, the main object of the negotiation. It was so painful to quit the endearing connexion,—so delightful to retain even some little pleasing memorial of former intimacy,—that if it were but the name of the thing, the Haytians were entreated to grant this favour, and to allow France the title of *Lordship paramount* or *Suzeraineté*, the separate and independent existence of the Island being allowed and even guaranteed. Upon this the intercourse broke off; and a lesson was taught the craft of the wily Frank, which he will probably remember during all the Negro treaties he may have to negotiate. We cannot more fitly close this imperfect sketch, than with the memorable Proclamation of the President to the Commandants, upon the rupture of the treaty.

'JEAN PIERRE BOYER, President of Hayti, to the Commandants of Arrondissement.

'The Envoys whom, in consequence of an appeal which had been made to me, I had despatched to France to treat respecting the recognition of the independence of Hayti, have returned hither. Their mission did not produce the result which we had a right to expect; because the French government, incredible as it may seem, still pre-

tends to the chimerical right of *suzeraineté* over this country. This pretension, which it appeared to have renounced, is for ever inadmissible; it is a new proof, as I have already proclaimed, how much our true security consists in our immovable resolution, and how well founded were our mistrust and the measures which I have taken.

'Under these circumstances, you ought more than ever to recollect the arrangements of my Proclamation of the 6th of January last, and the particular instructions which followed it. Actively urge forward all the necessary works, the putting of the arms, artillery, and ammunition, in condition for service, &c. Nothing should be neglected. Call out the workmen of the corps; and even, in case of necessity, the privates, for the prompt completion of the carriages for cannon, which may be still unfinished. Take care, in short, in case of invasion by the enemy, not to be behind-hand in any point. Think incessantly of your duties, of your responsibility, and act accordingly.

'The national honour demands (and you should also keep this object in view), that tranquillity and safety should be insured to those foreigners who are in our country, under the sanction of the public faith and of the constitution. Protect them as well as their property, so that they may be in perfect security. A moment's reflection must make us feel what infamy would be cast upon the nation if (no matter under what circumstances) we acted differently. War to death with the implacable enemies who may plant a sacrilegious foot upon our territory! but let us not pollute our cause by any disgraceful action.

'In sending deputies to regulate the formalities of the recognition of our independence, I yielded to the invitation given to me by the agents of the government of the King of France. It was right that I should take this step in order to deprive malevolence of every pretence for charging me with obstinacy: it was right that I should do so to satisfy my conscience, and finally to settle the opinion of the nation upon this important point. I think I have in this respect fulfilled my duty; but, at least, I have the satisfaction of being able to declare that I have not been deceived.

'The Republic is free; it is for ever independent, since we are determined to bury ourselves under its ruins rather than submit to the foreigner. Nevertheless the enemies of Hayti still reckon on the chimera of a division amongst us. What error, and at the same time what duplicity! Let us be eternally united, and faithful in the discharge of our duties; and, with the aid of the All-Powerful, we shall be for ever invincible.

'BOYER.'

ART. XII. *Practical Observations upon the Education of the People: Addressed to the Working Classes, and their Employers.* By H. BROUGHAM, Esq., M. P., F. R. S. 12mo. pp. 83. London, 1825.

WE cannot make an article of this;—Both because a considerable, though not the most valuable part of it, appeared in our own pages last October—and because we have no longer time or space to deal with it as its infinite importance would require. We cannot allow this Number to go forth, however, without doing what in us lies to second the purely philanthropic views of its distinguished author, by most earnestly recommending it, both for perusal and for circulation, to all who have at any time seen reason to pay attention to our suggestions or opinions.

Since the time when the Scriptures were first printed and circulated in the common tongue, there has been no such benefit conferred on the great body of the people, as seems now to be held out to them in the institutions which it is the business of this little work to recommend and explain:—Nor can any thing be more admirable than the affectionate earnestness, the luminous simplicity, and the patient practical wisdom with which the views of the author are expounded and enforced. Of the many titles to distinction that meet in the person of Mr Brougham, there is none we should so much envy as that which rests on his services in the cause of Education. The good he has done *there* is the most unquestioned and extensive—and the honours he has gained the least alloyed with faction, the least troubled even by eager contention or dispute;—while the efforts he has lately made in behalf of the Mechanics' Institutions, appear to us the most important and meritorious of all. In his memorable exposure of the abuses of public charities, he was animated, in part, by a spirit of just indignation, and the delight of triumphing over the indolent and corrupt opposition by which he was met, in many formidable quarters. *Here* he had no other excitement than that of general philanthropy, and that high-minded anticipation of the love and gratitude of posterity, by which patriots are supported when they silently confer lasting blessings on their countrymen, without rousing their passions or making any demand for their applause. We will not, however, be tempted to say more, even on such a topic—and shall only beg leave, as a specimen of the tone and style of the work we have mentioned, to annex the few concluding sentences.

'I rejoice to think that it is not necessary to close these obser-

vations by combating objections to the diffusion of science among the working classes, arising from considerations of a political nature. Happily the time is past and gone when bigots could persuade mankind that the lights of philosophy were to be extinguished as dangerous to religion; and when tyrants could proscribe the instructors of the people as enemies to their power. It is preposterous to imagine that the enlargement of our acquaintance with the laws which regulate the universe, can dispose to unbelief. It may be a cure for superstition—for intolerance it will be the most certain cure; but a pure and true religion has nothing to fear from the greatest expansion which the understanding can receive by the study either of matter or of mind. The more widely science is diffused, the better will the Author of all things be known, and the less will the people be "tossed to and fro by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, "whereby they lie in wait to deceive." To tyrants, indeed, and bad rulers, the progress of knowledge among the mass of mankind is a just object of terror: it is fatal to them and their designs; they know this by unerring instinct, and unceasingly they dread the light. But they will find it more easy to curse than to extinguish. It is spreading in spite of them, even in those countries where arbitrary power deems itself most secure; and in England, any attempt to check its progress would only bring about the sudden destruction of him who should be insane enough to make it.

'To the Upper Classes of society, then, I would say, that the question no longer is, whether or not the people shall be instructed—for that has been determined long ago, and the decision is irreversible—but whether they shall be well or ill taught—half informed, or as thoroughly as their circumstances permit and their wants require. Let no one be afraid of the bulk of the community becoming too accomplished for their superiors. Well educated, and even well versed in the most elevated sciences, they assuredly may become; and the worst consequence that can follow to their superiors will be, that to deserve being called their *betters*, they too must devote themselves more to the pursuit of solid and refined learning; the present public seminaries must be enlarged; and some of the greater cities of the kingdom, especially the metropolis, must not be left destitute of the regular means within themselves of scientific education.

'To the Working Classes I would say, that this is the time when, by a great effort, they may secure for ever the inestimable blessing of knowledge. Never was the disposition more universal among the rich to lend the requisite assistance for setting in motion the great engines of instruction; but the people must come forward to profit by the opportunity thus afforded, and they must themselves continue the movement once begun. Those who have already started in the pursuit of science, and tasted its sweets, require no exhortation to persevere; but if these pages should fall into the hands of any one at an hour for the first time stolen from his needful rest after his day's work is done, I ask of him to reward me (who have written them for

his benefit at the like hours) by saving threepence during the next fortnight,—buying with it Franklin's Life, and reading the first page. I am quite sure he will read the rest; I am almost quite sure he will resolve to spend his spare time and money, in gaining those kinds of knowledge which from a printer's boy made that great man the first philosopher, and one of the first statesmen of his age. Few are fitted by nature to go as far as he did, and it is not necessary to lead so perfectly abstemious a life, and to be so rigidly saving of every instant of time. But all may go a good way after him, both in temperance, industry and knowledge, and no one can tell before he tries how near he may be able to approach him.'

We have only to add, that the work is very short, and very cheap—and that we shall be greatly disappointed if it does not circulate an hundred times more widely than this brief notice of it.

We have been informed of a mistake in the Article in our last Number about the Scotch Poor-laws, which we take the earliest opportunity of correcting. It is there stated, that the parish of *Hawick* is a meritorious example of the eradication of Poor's-rates, after they had been long confirmed. It is *Langholm*, and not Hawick, that is entitled to this praise.

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